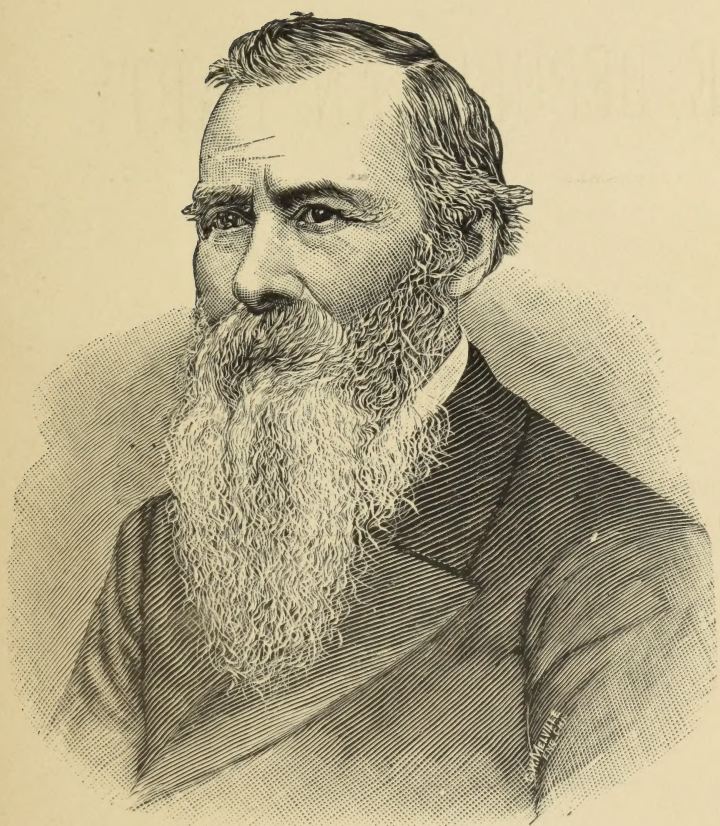





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HISTORY
—OF—
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY,

—EMBRACING—
ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH AND MISSION,

TOGETHER WITH
APPENDICES OF STATISTICS AND INFORMATION REQUIRED BY
ENLIGHTENED POLITICIANS AND PATRIOTIC CITIZENS.

BY FRANK A. FLOWER.

ILLUSTRATED.

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PREFATORY REMARKS.

THIS HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY is, as it was designed to be, partisan. But devotion to Republicanism does not imply apostacy from truth. The book contains nothing not known or believed to be true.

The volume is essentially historical, containing, it is firmly believed, a more authentic and detailed account of the early organization, struggles and disciples of the Republican Party than has hitherto been published in any form whatsoever. After tracing the growth of freedom and equality through a long period of darkness and crime, it presents sketches of all the Republican State movements in 1854; how, by whom and when the name Republican was suggested and adopted; a view of the Provisional Republican National Convention of February, 1856, and of the eight Nominating Conventions which have followed it; the salient features of the various Political Campaigns; lists of Delegates by States to National Conventions; historical accounts of Republican Administrations and of the lives of the Republican Presidents; the Financial Achievements of the party; Election Methods in the South; Condition and Prospects of the African race; a succinct chapter on the Tariff; Letters of Acceptance of the Presidential candidates; Membership of National Committees since 1856; Official calls for Conventions; popular Biogra-

phies of James G. Blaine and John A. Logan, and much other interesting matter, together with Appendices of useful information not otherwise to be had in such convenient form.

The scope and contents of this volume amply justify the claim that it is not a catch-penny invention, put forth to reap a harvest from the enthusiasm and excitement of a Presidential campaign. It was planned as a work of permanent value.

For kindly aid in its preparation, the author desires to return special thanks to Isaac P. Christiancy, of Michigan; Jas. S. Clarkson, of Iowa; John Sherman and B. R. Cowen, of Ohio; H. C. Whitley, of Kansas; John Wentworth, of Illinois; Elisha W. Keyes and John Walworth, of Wisconsin; Mark D. Flower, of Minnesota; Alden Sprague, of Maine; George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts; Norman M. Allen, of New York; Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, and the officers and members of the National Republican Committee.

The author is particularly desirous that young men should read and ponder the facts herein presented, that they may, perhaps, obtain a fuller understanding of the principles which guide and control this mighty Republic, and be further aided to judge intelligently which political party is most worthy of their support.

F. A. F.

MADISON, WIS., July 1, 1884.

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CHAPTER I.

SOURCE OF REPUBLICANISM.

The United States the Foremost Nation of the Earth—What Made It So—The Mission of the Republican Party Not Ended—Source of Republicanism—Slavery—The Seed of the Church—The Original Meaning of Slave—Slaves First Brought Into Virginia Colony—The Part Played by Great Britain—Georgia's Opposition—Jefferson's Arraignment of the Crown—Slavery in the Articles of Confederation—Taxation and Representation.

The Republican party has been the most powerful champion of freedom and equal rights in the world. The feeble and scattered elements that fifty years ago began to combine, here and there, were all lovers of human equality. Under various names, led by a purer patriotism far in advance of the different political organizations to which they had belonged, they continued to grow in numbers and influence, until, composing a majority of their respective communities in this Republic, they were, in response to an inexorable law, drawn into one great spirited army, with a common purpose—equal and perpetual freedom for all—and a common name, **REPUBLICAN.**

McClellan, in his "Republicanism in America," declares that "of all the political organizations in America, none has had so hard a struggle for National existence as that known as the Republican party of to-day; nor has any political party in any country or age achieved so much for the advancement

of human liberty and the elevation upon a common platform of the religious and civil equality of all men before the law."

Looking upon these facts as a complete and accomplished record, it is common for our enemies, and the more superficial members of our own household, to regard the Republican party as an organization that has little more to do except keep itself in office. The cry that "the mission of the Republican party is ended," and that therefore small misfortune, except that it will place the Democrats in power, will result if it shall be dethroned, contains as little truth as the declaration that the mission of the church is ended because the Bible is printed.

"Democracy is the creed of a province; it dwells in fetid wards. Republicanism is the religion of a Nation; it creates imperial commonwealths out of desert wastes." These "imperial commonwealths" constitute the foremost nation of the earth—the American Republic. It leads them all in public school systems, home comforts, multiplicity of labor-saving machinery, public service, perfect autonomy of government for local communities, modes of travel, engines of general intelligence, public caravansaries, means of adjudicating disputes between man and man, freedom of thought, religion, press and speech, and in the utmost freedom of action in individuals consistent with good order and the rights of others, without the slightest government restraint or espionage.

Notwithstanding the crimes of the South against the blacks, we hold the beacon of civil liberty and personal equality higher than any other nation. The light of our civilization goes farther into the jungles of ignorance and barbarism, deeper into the dungeons of tyranny and oppression than that of any other people. We are the loadstone of nations, the guiding star of the world.

We have achieved this proud position since the great Republican party came into power. All these glories are the results of its policy, the offspring of its principles. Who can

say such an organization has no further mission? Its mission is as vitally important as ever. It must guard and protect the people's treasures; for the finer and richer the garden, the more rank will be its growth of weeds when left without the gardener's care.

Christ was persecuted, betrayed and crucified for the emancipation of all mankind from the penalty of sin. The Republican party came into existence through scourges to kindle those fires of freedom which should melt the shackles from every slave, and obliterate every trace, effect and prospect of human servitude and political inequality in the Republic.

The emissaries of Christ, instead of laying down their burdens and leaving the Devil and his followers to convert themselves, are more numerous and zealous than ever, because the gospel of salvation has not reached every heart. So must the Republican organization press forward in its mission until every citizen of the realm is the equal in peace and safety of every other, and in the free and fair exercise of his every right and immunity.

Histories are so written now, in order not to offend the sensibilities of the guilty, and campaigns are so conducted that the young men just stepping into the public arena can hardly avoid the impression that political contests are carried on for no other purpose than to see which side shall get into the postoffices. They do not know what sacrifices their present blessings cost. They do not appreciate the dangers of the future nor the struggles of the past. This is not right.

The holy religion of our Savior is refreshed and strengthened by a perpetual return to its great author. Once every twelvemonth we go back together to the foundations of liberty, read anew the Declaration of Independence, and celebrate the deeds of our forefathers, thus rejuvenating our patriotism and love of country. So may the worshipers of the Republic, especially the rising generation, be profited,

their compasses set right and their souls inspired for the full duties of citizenship by roaming over the rich fields where were sown, amidst toil and bloodshed, the seeds of equal rights, which have grown into the freedom of all mankind in this nation, and have become the religion of the hosts of Republicanism throughout the world.

The Republican party is the party of to-day, the party of freedom, equality and progress, the party of the future. Its history deserves, therefore, to be written with no reference to the organizations that lie rotting in their shrouds, except to examine the elements out of which it sprung, discover under what circumstances it was born, for what purposes it was begotten, and what heresies, errors, vacillations, perverse passions and crimes against civil and political liberty it has contended and must continue to contend with, or has overthrown.

In other words, in this volume we shall attempt to find who were its parents, what was their condition and ambition for the child, how they brought it up, what were the surroundings of childhood, what the achievements of manhood and what yet remains for it to accomplish.

It is proper to first look for causes. The common way to account for the appearance of the Republican party as an active factor of policy and government, is to say it was the outgrowth of slavery. It would be true to the same extent and in the same sense to declare that divorce is the result of marriage. As divorce is the fruit of the infelicities and tyrannies of wedlock, and of nothing else, so Republicanism was the inevitable result of the enormous excesses of the Slave Power more than of serfdom itself—of the riots, law-breakings, outrages, indignities and crimes committed by the Democracy in the name of slavery.

The "peculiar institution" was indeed bad, but the wickedness of its defenders toward the people of the free North in their efforts for its benefit and further propagation, were, if possible, worse.

The oftener witches were burned at the stake the oftener did new ones appear to be burned. If the ancient zealots of religion had resorted to no persecutions, if there had been no Torquameda and no Inquisition; if hundreds of innocents had not been drawn and quartered in the days of Titus Oates; if none, for the form of their religion, had been burned at the stake, many great churches that are strong to-day would have been feeble. The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church.

If slavery had gone on quietly, satisfied to keep within the liberal bounds to which it had been for many years confined; committed no excesses; imported no blood-hounds and made no attempts to curse free soil by its forcible extension, we might not have had for a century yet any Rebellion, reconstruction, XIII, XIV and XV amendments, civil rights bills, or free Negroes in the South.

Slavery, through and of itself, from the depths of its own bitterness and the very productiveness of its own iniquity, finally bore the righteous fruits of universal freedom and gave us the Republican party.

The exact beginning of hereditary bondage is not recorded. Slavery was known to semi-barbaric times as the result of inter-tribal wars, the victors finding it more profitable to themselves and more humiliating to their enemies to doom captives to servitude than condemn them to death. Slavery brought within its iron grasp, victims from almost every nation of the Eastern continent before it touched the African. All Asiatic countries, as far as the records show, had slaves. Human bondage was recognized in Greece and Rome, and the Jews prospered upon its fruits.

The kings of France, by their long line of Eastern wars, filled Saracenic Spain with Slavonic captives. The term slave, in English, means the Slavonic people, and the captive bondmen of Spain were, therefore, properly referred to as slaves until the term, meaning in its own tongue *glorious*,

became the name and synonym in all civilized history of hereditary degradation and perpetual servitude.

Finding slavery a means of wealth, ease and self-indulgence, in 1442 the Portuguese began raids into Africa for the purpose of entrapping and forcibly capturing Negroes and selling them into bondage. This infamous traffic was confined mostly to Europe, and did not grow to great proportions until the 16th century. The English, Dutch and other European nations had sanctioned the slave-trade because it was profitable, and therefore, upon the discovery of America, they were ready to introduce it here.

On the 18th day of August, 1620, a Dutch ship crept up the James River, with a cargo of fabrics, farming utensils and about two dozen slaves. It was intended to bring thirty Africans, equally divided as to sex, but several of the women and one or two of the men died on the ocean. Others were sick, so the number of saleable "chattels" was twenty. They were readily sold to the colonists, and their children inherited hopeless bondage.

Thus, in the year 1620, less than five months from the landing of the Puritans upon Plymouth Rock, the seeds of a stupendous iniquity, out of which grew outrages, discords, contentions, feuds, bloodshed, civil war and finally freedom, were planted in Virginia Colony, on the rich and beautiful banks of the James River.

From that date for 150 years, down to the Revolution, the friends and propagators of slavery controlled the policy of England. The traffic in slaves and slavery itself were protected and nourished by Great Britain from the crown to the crier, because by it her merchants were pouring money into the public treasury and into their own coffers.

Great Britain had given to her North American colonies the harmless sport of passing laws, but the home government reserved the right to annul them. Repeatedly were the efforts of the colonial councils directed toward the suppress-

sion of the slave traffic, but every enactment of this kind was promptly annulled by the crown. Finally, in order to suppress all further annoyance from the philanthropic legislation of the colonies, Great Britain instructed the governors not to give even "temporary assent to such laws" on pain of instant removal.

In this manner the repeated acts of South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Virginia and of the other colonies were rendered nugatory, until Queen Anne, holding a one-fourth interest in the Royal African Company, the gigantic monopolist of the slave-trade, issued orders to its managers to furnish liberal supplies of African captives to the colonies of New Jersey and New York, and also instructed the governors of those colonies to "extend due encouragement" to that company.

So the blood and disgrace of the entire enormity must, from the beginning, fall upon Great Britain, and if, as it is natural to believe, God shall mete out his judgments to nations as to individuals, the final punishment of the British empire will be commensurate with her oppressions and her sins; for she planted and fostered vassalage in her American colonies and, under royal decree, prosecuted the traffic in African captives with such heartless zeal that upward of 300,000 of them were brought and sold here before the opening of the Revolution.

Strange as it may sound now, Georgia was one of the very last of the colonies to permit slavery; but the avarice and cupidity of English agents and Carolina traders finally triumphed, although a great mass-meeting of her citizens had declared their "disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of slavery in America," and Gov. James Oglethorpe, founder of the colony, had forbade bondage within its borders.

Up to the war of the Revolution all efforts of the colonists to suppress the traffic in human beings had been smothered by Great Britain, so that, under her mighty guardianship,

slavery had grown to such strength and favor in America that when the Declaration of Independence came up for adoption, Thomas Jefferson's arraignment of the British crown for forcing hereditary servitude upon the American plantations, in which were used the most powerful adjectives in describing this "execrable commerce and cruel war against human nature," was struck out by the votes of the South. When, too, the convention came to the questions of taxation and representation, in debating the Articles of Confederation, a motion to exempt slaves from taxation "either as persons or as property" was carried by the votes of Maryland, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia and New Jersey and a few votes from New York and Pennsylvania.)

That was one of the signal triumphs of the slave power, immediately followed by another consisting in striking from the Articles of Confederation "all grants of power" to regulate commerce by Congress, which left each State free to import Africans and sell them into bondage. Thus, without much thought, probably, concerning the importance of what had been done, Congress let slip from its hand all authority to permit or prohibit the slave-trade, or regulate commerce.

It must be easily seen, now, whence slavery came to America, by whom it was fostered and how it arose, at the period when the Constitution was adopted, to be the dominating power in the Republic. Thus far it had resorted to no outrages, except such as were perpetrated upon those in servitude and upon the poor wretches seized and fettered in the African forests to keep the supply full.

The Puritan and Quaker influences in the Northern States leavened public sentiment and kept agencies at work until provision had been made for manumission everywhere north of Mason and Dixon's line where slavery existed in any colony or State prior to the adoption of the Constitution.

That spirit of domination, intolerance and fierceness that never obtained in any other country of equal civilization,

which had grown with the growth of slavery in the South and which had triumphed for a hundred years in every important contest between freedom and bondage, now began to assert itself and concoct plans for an increase of territory. In these acts the slave masters wrought out their own destruction ; hence they must be examined.

CHAPTER II.

IN THE BEGINNING—ACQUIRING TERRITORY.

Noble Preachment, Miserable Practice—The Quakers First to Protest—Territory from Great Britain—What the Various States Claimed—Jefferson's Deed of Cession Defeated—Nathan Dane's Ordinance of 1787—Results of Defeating Jefferson's Deed—Attempts to Suspend the Great Ordinance of Freedom—Partial Success in Indiana—Illinois Wanted Slavery—Missouri and Illinois, a Prediction—Contemptible Trickery of Flesh-brokers in Illinois Defeated—Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama Admitted with Slavery.

If the fountain is impure the stream will be unclean. Let us go back quickly and observe the manner of beginning.

On the 4th day of July, 1776, a band of intrepid patriots signed articles of rebellion against Great Britain in the form of an instrument called the Declaration of Independence. They planted themselves upon the divine and enduring foundation that "*all men are created free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.*"

* * * And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor." Here was the highest preachment against human bondage ever formulated by the representatives of any nation; but it was mechanically promulgated in a country per-

meated in its every province by the uttermost forms of slavery. Its principles, noble and correct, were for years and generations basely disregarded.

The Quakers were first to discover the glaring discrepancy between the declaration of principles upon which our government reposed and the actual condition of things under them, and began to move, in their strong and dignified but quiet manner, for the adoption of corrective measures.

The Congresses spat upon the prayers of the Quakers, although, one by one, the Northern States, influenced by growing public sentiment, had either abolished slavery or enacted laws for manumission, until at the treaty of peace with Great Britain, by which we obtained a large increase of territory, slavery had but a feeble hold north of Mason and Dixon's line. But it was thriving and growing with great vigor in the States of Georgia, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, of the thirteen original colonies. These did not comprise a preponderance in territory, population and State divisions of original colonies, and the public characters of the slave-holding States were therefore incited to extend their boundaries for the purpose of swelling the number of their human possessions and augmenting their representation and power in Congress.

It has been stated that the Republican party was the child of the excesses of slavery. We should proceed, then, to examine its pedigree. Whatever may be brought out in this connection that is unpleasant, is not wantonly dragged forward so much for the purpose of making up a black record against our opponents, as to show the causes that for years were operating to conceive the Republican party, bring it forth and, under its wisdom and patriotism, transform the Republic into the resplendent picture of prosperity and progress that it now presents.

Great Britain conceded, in the treaty of Paris, signed Nov. 30, 1782, which ended the Revolution, that the claims of the States to the territory west of them between the 31st and 47th parallels, was valid, and therefore relinquished all claims to it. The attention of the leaders respectively of the parties of freedom and bondage was at once turned to this vast accession of rich and promising land. Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York, laid demand under their several charters to portions of this unorganized territory. The other States declared that the newly-acquired section should be managed for the common benefit, and not be given exclusively to the States joining it, as it was the fruit of a struggle in which all were equal participants and contributors.

In the spring of 1784, Thomas Jefferson presented to the Continental Congress, in session at Annapolis, a deed of cession to the general government of all the lands north-west of the Ohio River claimed by Virginia. It also contained a plan of government of the entire territory "ceded or to be ceded," in which was a clause providing that after the year 1800 there should be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except for the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted" in any of the territory ceded by Great Britain.

On motion of Richard Dobbs Spaight, of North Carolina, the provision prohibiting slavery was stricken out, sixteen delegates voting to retain and seven to strike out. As the votes of nine States were required to render the anti-slavery clause a permanent section of the ordinance, it failed, though less than one-third of the delegates opposed it.

In July, 1787, Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, whose name is perpetuated and honored in Dane county, a rich and beautiful shire of Wisconsin, in the center of which stands the capital of the State, reported the famous ordinance of 1787. It provided a system of government for the territory north-west of the Ohio River, with a clause prohibiting at

once and forever slavery or involuntary servitude in any form save as a punishment of crime whereof the party had been duly convicted.

On the 13th of July the ordinance passed, and thus was dedicated to freedom that splendid tract of country now comprising the prosperous and powerful States of Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana and a portion of Minnesota. There is only one black spot on this record—the opposition vote of Yates, of New York.

It is difficult to fitly characterize the importance of this act. It is not dangerous, however, to take issue with nearly all previous historical writers and declare that it was providential that Jefferson's ordinance was defeated, for, had it passed, the propagators of slavery would have made such active efforts to introduce and strengthen bondage in the entire territory embraced in the cession from Great Britain, that before the arrival of the year 1800 the tentacles of the octopus could not have been unfastened.

As it was, such a portion of the rich and rapidly-settling country acquired by the treaty of Paris was saved to freedom that, when the Rebellion, the final struggle, came, there could be but little doubt as to the ultimate result. That was the tide in the affairs of a nation which, taken at its flood, led on to victory and freedom.

If Jefferson's ordinance had been adopted slavery would have spread everywhere in the Republic, save the few Northeastern States, in spite of all enactments to abolish it in the year 1800. Dane's ordinance saved what is now one of the most wealthy, enlightened and populous portions of the Union, and which, in the Rebellion, furnished 957,000 sturdy fighters out of the two and one-half millions of all kinds that entered the field.

Quick to observe and appreciate what they had lost, the agents of slavery made several persistent efforts to have the ordinance of 1787 suspended. Twice Wm. H. Harrison, who

subsequently became President of the United States, led the movement to secure a suspension for ten years of the anti-slavery clause, knowing that once suspended it could never be returned to its original force and effect; and thrice pro-slavery committees in Congress reported in favor of a temporary suspension, but without other or further success. However, local efforts were more enthusiastic and persistent, and more nearly successful. Indiana, which at first included Illinois and other territory, admitted slavery in certain forms in direct defiance of the ordinance. Laws were enacted permitting immigrants from slave States to bring "any Negro or mulatto above fifteen years of age into the territory," provided they should register such persons and have them sign a contract to serve a stipulated number of years. Children under fifteen years were to be "held to service" in a similar manner, males until the age of thirty-five and females until the age of thirty-two; and "children born of registered servants" were likewise to be held, males to the age of thirty and females to the age of twenty-eight.

Under this ingenious system of contracts and registry, with a barbarous code of black laws, the most hateful forms of slavery were openly perpetuated in Indiana, a territory supposed to have been dedicated to freedom.

In 1816 Indiana was divided and entered the Union as it now stands, without slavery, and the territory of Illinois was erected. Two years later Illinois, as it is now bounded, became a free State.

After the admission of Missouri in 1821, emigrants from Kentucky and Virginia, with their caravans of Negroes, goods and stock, passed through Illinois on their way to that State. As they halted here and there to rest or feed, they shrewdly informed the land agents and settlers of Illinois that they had been prevented from purchasing plantations in and becoming citizens of the State because of the prohibition of slavery therein; and that Missouri would grow into a rich,

powerful, populous and enlightened commonwealth, while Illinois must remain an unsettled and feeble waste. When Missouri was admitted her area was 69,416 square miles, population 66,586. At the same time (census of 1820) Illinois contained only 56,650 square miles and 55,162 inhabitants. Now, that is, by the last official reports, Missouri, with 10,000 square miles more of territory, contains 2,168,380 inhabitants and has a debt of sixteen and a half millions of dollars and an assessed valuation of \$525,000,000. Illinois, at the same time, contained a population of 3,077,771, with no State debt of any kind, funded or unfunded, and an assessed valuation of \$800,000,000. At the present time, four years from the date of the last census, the disparity between the two States, in favor of Illinois, is even greater. Not looking into the future with the eye of wisdom, nor feeling any concern for the principles or the organic laws of their State, the settlers and speculators wrought themselves into a high state of jealousy over the supposed good fortune of Missouri, and at once began systematic agitation, led by their two pro-slavery Senators, in favor of making Illinois also a slave State.

At the election of 1822 this agitation was the chief issue of the campaign. The pro-slaveryites secured the legislature, but, having two candidates for governor, fortunately failed to elect the chief executive, and Edward Coles, a cultivated Virginian who had emancipated his slaves, was chosen by the friends of freedom to that office.

The first move made by the legislature was toward amending the Constitution. The advocates of bondage had the requisite two-thirds vote in the Senate to call a constitutional convention, but lacked one in the House. At the same moment, the designs of the slavocracy included also a plan to elect a pro-slavery United States Senator. One county had two contestants for a seat in the House. One of them would agree, if admitted, to vote for the pro-slavery candidate for United States Senator, but would not vote for the conven-

tion. The other favored the convention, but would not vote for the slave Senator.

Now mark the proceedings of the pro-slavery Democracy of Illinois: They admitted the contestant who would vote for their candidate for the Senate, and as soon as they had secured his ballot for that purpose, *expelled him and admitted the other!*

By this violent and shameless trick the enemies of freedom carried their point. They gained both the Senator and the convention. Believing their success was complete, "with low-bred and indecent effrontery," said Wilson, "they formed a disorderly procession under the lead of the lieutenant-governor, several judges and a majority of the legislature, followed by the rowdy elements about the capital, and with horns blowing and drums and tin pans beating, marched to the residence of the governor to insult him by riotous demonstrations for opposing their schemes to make Illinois a slave State."

What a picture! Yet, what a truthful representation of Democracy!

Newspapers were established, the clergy and women became aroused, mass-meetings were held everywhere in the interest of freedom and the sacredness of the ordinance of 1787. Men who had otherwise been lukewarm were urged to the most earnest efforts by the ferocious methods and brutalizing influence of the slave power, and thus the scheme to introduce slavery was defeated by a decisive majority of the people. That victory forever consecrated Illinois to liberty.

Virginia, although ceding the North-west Territory to the United States, yet retained her claim to Kentucky, a fine, well-timbered region, lying west of her to the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, in which slavery was already firmly established and many of her citizens were permanent and prosperous residents. Therefore no time was lost in erecting Kentucky

into a State, which was admitted into the Union June 1, 1792, with full provision for perpetual bondage.

North Carolina, having also what was considered a valid claim to territory west of her, compromised by ceding Tennessee to the United States in 1789 upon an iron-clad condition that not only permitted hereditary vassalage, but provided that "no regulation made or to be made by Congress" should manumit or "tend to the emancipation of slaves." In 1790 the deed of cession, with all its destructive conditions, was accepted by both houses of Congress. Many members—perhaps more than a majority—were averse to adopting the slavery clause; but knowing that servitude was already well established in the territory, felt forced to yield their consent. Undoubtedly they were wise, as an anti-slavery law would have precipitated a conflict without making Tennessee a free State.

Georgia held her claim to western territory much longer than her sisters, expecting, it is supposed, to enlarge her own boundaries rather than cede to the general government. She therefore clung to the rich cotton and sugar lands now embraced by the limits of Alabama and Mississippi until 1802, when a deed was drafted ceding them to the United States upon condition that the clause in the ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery, should not be held to apply to the cession.

On this clause of Georgia's deed arose the first debate in Congress as to the power of that body to prohibit or permit bondage in the territories. It is interesting to note that every Southern and pro-slavery member *admitted* that such power existed, and might be exercised either way, the only question being that of expediency. Mr. Harper, of South Carolina, declared that the inhibition in the ordinance of 1787 of slavery in the North-west Territory "*was proper and wise*, but as to Alabama and Mississippi, where the *conditions were different*, the contrary was true."

Many years later the representatives from Carolina and other Southern States took the opposite ground and employed volumes of argument to establish the absurd doctrine that no power resided in Congress to regulate or prohibit slavery. The chief representative of this political quackery in the North was Stephen A. Douglas, who labeled his nostrum "squatter sovereignty."

After a season of spirited debate upon the problem of expediency alone, the cession of Georgia's western claim was accepted, the only concession made by the representatives of slavery being that no slaves should be introduced into the territory from beyond the limits of the United States.

Thus, in dividing and consecrating the territory acquired by the United States from Great Britain by the treaty of 1782, five States were devoted to freedom and four to slavery. In soil, minerals, timber and natural productions the two sections were about equal, but in climate that portion given to slavery had every advantage. The area of the five free States is 239,543 square miles; population in 1880, 11,206,668. The area of the four slave States is 180,558 square miles; population in 1880, 5,585,151. The assessed valuation of the five free States is, in round numbers, four and one-quarter billions of dollars; of the four slave States, eight hundred millions of dollars. The debt of the free States is over twelve millions, and that of the slave States over forty millions of dollars. If these are not significant figures, none can be made.

CHAPTER III.

CONSTITUTIONAL SLAVERY—THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

The Arrogant Demands of the Masters—Slaves Must Be Property for One Purpose but Persons for Another—Slavery or No Union—Five Serfs Equal to Three Freemen—The First Public Disgrace—Shabby Treatment of Great Britain—The Louisiana Purchase—The Price Paid—Organization of Orleans and Missouri—The Great Compromise of 1820—No Slavery Forever North of 36 degrees 30 minutes North Latitude—Maine and Missouri admitted—The Territory of Arkansas—Violated Faith—A Black Picture.

The territory comprising the five free and four slave States mentioned in the preceding chapter was acquired though not all disposed of previous to the formation of our present Constitution. It is hardly necessary to refer to the astounding processes of reasoning and arrogant threats of the masters in the convention which adopted that instrument. They demanded that slaves should be considered "property" so that each State should be the sole judge of dealing with them as it might see fit; that they should be "persons" when it came to congressional representation so that the South might overbalance the North in national Congresses and conventions; that the slave-trade should be permitted untaxed no matter what duty might be laid upon other property imported into the United States, and finally, Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, the ideal embodiment of the pride, tyranny and arrogance of the rising slave power, warned the convention that the "peculiar domestic institution" of the South "must be protected" as the exigencies of the case might demand, or that section would not enter the Union.

This bold threat had the desired effect. The Constitution was adopted recognizing slavery ; also the slave-trade unmolested prior to 1808, and providing that slaves, although "property" for one purpose, should be "persons" for another—that of representation, five serfs being delared equal to three free white freemen.

The Constitution was adopted September 17, 1787, containing fundamental doctrines in direct and absurd conflict with the Declaration of Independence as to the States then in existence ; also in direct conflict with the ordinance for the government of the North-west Territory, adopted two months previously, by which slavery was therein forever inhibited. It also contained, what had been purposely and carefully excluded from the Articles of Confederation, a clause for the rendition of fugitive vassals.

Having secured the adoption of a slave Constitution, disposed of the lands acquired from Great Britain by the treaty of 1782, and frustrated the plans of England to suppress the slave-trade, the attention of the masters now became wholly engrossed with plans to still further enlarge our territorial possessions and open wider fields for bondage. Brief notice should therefore be resumed of their methods and successes. Spain ceded to France, in 1802, her possessions in America west of the Mississippi, consisting, as now named, of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Indian Territory, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, [in part], Iowa, Oregon, Dakota, Colorado, Idaho, Montana and Washington Territory, and by the treaty of 1803 the French ceded this territory to the United States for the sum of \$11,250,000. ¹

The territory secured was of wide limits and varied richness, and the price paid was insignificant. Although the purchase, in the legitimate sense, was a wise government stroke,

¹ The United States also assumed the obligations of the French Government to citizens of the United States for spoiliations to the amount of \$3,750,000, making the total cost of the Louisiana Purchase \$15,000,000.

yet the real designs to be carried out as soon as its acquisition should be complete, were the extension of slavery and slave territory. Therefore, though well satisfied that commercial wisdom required that the United States should have complete control of the mouth of the Mississippi and of as much of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico as possible, the friends of freedom and pure republican institutions did not consent to the purchase without deep inward dread of its consequences upon the policy, prosperity and character of the government.

By act of Congress the Louisiana Purchase was divided by the 33d parallel of north latitude into two sections for territorial purposes. That to the south was called Orleans and that to the north Missouri.

The settled portions of this new and fertile acquisition were full of slavery and thoroughly imbued with slave sentiment. Orleans was therefore early organized as a slave State, and entered the Union April 12, 1812, under the name of Louisiana.

In 1818 the inhabitants of Missouri petitioned for admission into the Union of States. The House of Representatives passed a bill to admit the State without slavery; but as the Senate refused to concur in this clause, the bill failed. Subsequently the measure was amended so as to provide for the gradual restriction of involuntary servitude, but the Senate refusing to indorse any anti-slavery proviso whatever, and the House insisting on that provision, the bill again failed.

In 1820, while the matter was under discussion, Jesse B. Thomas, of Illinois, presented an amendment which settled all differences between the two Houses and allowed Missouri to enter the Union with slavery. That amendment, famous in history as the "Missouri Compromise," is as follows:

An Act to authorize the people of the Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the Admission of such State into the Union on an equal Footing with the original States, and to prohibit Slavery in certain Territories.—ADOPTED MARCH 6, 1820.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, *shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited. Provided always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

The pro-slavery Senators consented to this prohibition because they saw by the determination of the House, that they would be unable, otherwise, to secure the admission of Missouri and other slave States. But before they consented they had linked the fate of the bill to admit Maine with that to admit Missouri, and also secured slavery in the new territory of Arkansas, which, sixteen years later, became a slave State of the Union. "Thus" said the great historian of Massachusetts, "the dark cloud, surcharged with its numberless woes and wrongs, rolled heavily across the Mississippi."

The second treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, signed at Ghent, in 1815, stipulated and pledged that the two nations should unite in suppressing the slave traffic. Three years later Lord Casterleagh proposed, through the American minister, that the war-ships of each should have the mutual right of search and the mutual power to detain any ships found with Negroes on board. The slave power forced our government to positively, almost insultingly, decline this just proposition.

In the following year, 1819, the British Parliament passed a resolution, asking a renewal of friendly negotiations with

the United States for the suppression of the African slave-trade, but our government was sullenly silent or returned an unfavorable reply.

In 1823 the British minister at Washington sent the question home to the United States government by officially calling the attention of President Adams to the persistent disregard of the treaty of Ghent by the American people. Thus pricked forward to duty, the United States minister at St. James was instructed to conclude a treaty with Great Britain making the slave-trade piracy, punishable with death. Parliament promptly accepted the terms and a treaty was signed early in 1825, on the exact basis chosen by the authorities at Washington. But when the document came before the Senate for ratification, it was emasculated, reduced and shorn of its life and spirit—in short, put into such terms as to be, as was intended, wholly ineffective. Even this was not done until the Senate had been twice urged by the President to take some action on a matter proposed and framed by ourselves and promptly accepted by the English.

The Parliament, as was natural and proper, refused to sign the changed and mutilated treaty, but proposed the mutual right of search on the coast of America. To this Henry Clay, secretary of state, replied that such a proposition would not be ratified by the Senate, and that further negotiations would be useless.

These are mild illustrations of the masquerading, insincere pretensions and vacillating—yes, dishonorable—diplomacy, shamelessly engaged by the United States government from the first for the abhorred and inhuman institution of slavery, and under the direction and influence of its masters.

In order to follow events a little more closely in their chronological sequence, we may leave the Louisiana Purchase for the present, and take a swift view of the barbarities and dishonorable transactions in another portion of the country.

CHAPTER IV.

PRICE OF FLORIDA.—A THRILLING CHAPTER.

The Seminoles—Slaves Escape into their Country—Georgia's Unlawful Expedition—Resentment by Spain—Blowing Up an Abandoned Fort—Two Hundred and Seventy Defenseless Persons Killed—Battle on the Suwannee River—Jackson's Servility—Scott Relieved—Seizure of Osceola and His Wife—Gen. Jessup's Wavering Policy—Blood-hounds Imported from Cuba—Jessup Violates the Flag of Truce—The Disappointed Cherokees—Eight Years of War for Slavery—Removal of the Seminoles—An Astounding Judgment as to Titles in Human Beings—The Purchase of Stolen Property Creates a Good Title—Fugitives Escape into Mexico—They Are Followed by Slave-Catchers—A Bloody Battle and Victory—Peace and Freedom at Last—Florida a Costly Prize.

Who has not been moved by that sad, sweet strain, "Way down upon the Suwannee River," or felt his blood boil in indignation, while reading the dark crimes and cruelties recorded in Joshua R. Giddings' "Exiles of Florida?"

Florida belonged to Spain. Among its aboriginal inhabitants was a humane and romantic tribe of Indians called the Seminoles. Their manners were gentle and their language soft; but the wrongs they suffered are as deep and wicked as any ever inflicted by a civilized nation upon a weak and defenseless people.

Escaping slaves found refuge in the Spanish territory, formed settlements along the Appalachicola and Suwannee Rivers, and became members of the Seminole and Creek Indian nations, holding lands and enjoying freedom and the fruits of their labors. Spain refused to deliver up the fugitives who had thus intermarried with the Indians, many of

whom had never been slaves, and who, after a time, became an almost indistinguishable part of the tribe.

The slave-holders were furious. They sent hunters and kidnappers into the Spanish colony, stole and shot the blacks, creoles and Indians, and carried them back to slavery without any particular discrimination. Fraudulent treaties were made with the bribed Indians of one tribe and enforced in blood on those of another. Georgia denounced the federal government, sent troops into the Creek country and laid waste villages, burned huts and killed innocent members of the tribe.

Giddings says: "If this conduct could be stripped of all the accessories of governmental prestige, and the forms and dialects, and be tested by the principles and claims of simple morality, as applied to the ordinary rules of human conduct, it would be difficult to equal it by any examples of selfishness, dishonesty, wanton cruelty, and disregard of the clearest claims of humanity, equity and fair dealing."

Washington recommended, in a special message to Congress, an appropriation to pay their pretended owners full value for the Florida exiles, but no action was taken. The English government refusing to pay for the slaves who, it was alleged, escaped during the Revolution into British territory or enlisted in the British army, the southerners became still more exasperated and made vehement demands upon the federal authorities, greatly embarrassing successive administrations.

Being practically defeated in their numerous schemes, the slave-holders demanded the annexation of Florida. They hoped by this move to secure not only the fugitive blacks in the province, but all the descendants of their intermarriage with the Indians, as well as a large tract of territory to be an unholy sacrifice to slavery.

The governor of Georgia sent an expedition to Florida to exterminate the Seminoles and in secret session the legis-

lature passed an act for taking forcible possession of the territory. Spain resented this piratical attempt, and the President was compelled to disavow any responsibility for the Georgia law or the bloody executors of it. Still later the legislature of Georgia resolved to capture Florida, and an expedition sent for that purpose passed through the country, leaving behind a track of rapine. Although towns were burned, women and children outraged and cornfields laid waste, the brave Seminoles were not subdued. Florida, their soft and perfumed country, was not conquered, nor were the exiles captured.

During the war of 1812, the British erected a small fort on the Appalachicola River, sixty miles from the boundaries of the United States. When this was abandoned the blacks and their descendants occupied it, and in humble peace tilled their rich plantations for miles up and down the river. In 1815 Gen. Gaines, commanding the Southern frontier, wrote the secretary of war that negro outlaws and savages had taken possession of the fort, as though that, on the soil of Spain, were any of his affairs, or any concern of the United States.

The government was in full sympathy with the slave-owners, and in 1816 Gen. Andrew Jackson wrote Gaines that the fort "ought to be blown up," regardless of the fact that it stood on Spanish land, and to destroy it and return the Negroes to "their rightful owners." Gaines was in high glee at this unauthorized and unlawful permission to invade the territory of a nation with which we were at peace, and at once sent two gun-boats to destroy the peaceable citadel.

On the 27th of July 1816, the fort, containing 334 persons, mostly women and children, was attacked by land and water. A hot shot soon pierced the magazine, which blew up with terrific force, tearing 270 of the defenseless inmates instantly to atoms and wounding all but three of the others.

Monett's account records that the ensuing scene was one "horrible beyond description." Most of those who recovered from their lacerations and broken bones, were delivered over to Georgia slave-holders, though they were the descendants of blacks and Seminoles who had lived in Florida for more than a century.

This inhuman deed darkens many of the bright pages that have been composed of Jackson, and is a perpetual stain upon our national escutcheon. Clay deprecated "the fact of the invasion of Florida, as an indiscreet if not unfriendly and hostile demonstration toward Spain;" but not a soul of the cowardly slave-holders raised a voice to condemn the unutterable atrocities against a weak and defenseless people.

The Seminoles, goaded from their placid ways, attempted to retaliate; but their efforts, though gallant, were feeble. For two years, therefore, Jackson and Gaines passed up and down through Florida, with military forces, for the purpose of subjugating the Indians and returning all blacks and their descendants to Georgia. The poor exiles and their kind Indian protectors, knowing that death or slavery was their only alternative, fought with heroic bravery, but were finally defeated on the Suwannee River.

One-half of the exiles perished miserably, many were stolen and carried away to bondage, and the crops, flocks, herds, plantations, houses, food, clothing and property of the little remnant were wantonly destroyed. Though defeated and reduced, the exiles were not conquered. Their feeble, starved and suffering numbers were soon augmented by other fugitives, and the greedy slave-masters, with dastardly cowardice and falsehood, pretended the trembling exiles were "menacing" the southern border.

Again, therefore, were impetuous demands made for the annexation of Florida. The masters must have more slave territory, and must have the poor exiles and their protectors, the Seminoles, brought within the iron grasp of slavery, so

that there should be no possible escape for them forever thereafter. And a servile government, enervated and prostituted by its foul companionship with slavery, yielded all its good claim to the magnificent empire now known as Texas (then, with Florida, belonging in dispute to Spain, and worth a thousand Florida glades, swamps and impenetrable jungles) for the sake of obeying the slave-hunters' demand. And so the "Land of Flowers," of bloodshed, of outrage and barbarity, was purchased in order to capture a few exiles and return them to perpetual and hopeless bondage.

But this was not all, nor the most disgraceful. The whole power of the government was now turned into the diabolical business of hunting down men for bondage, choosing, or rather forcing, the soldiers of the standing army to act as blood-hounds. Has history ever before been compelled to record such a revolting and degrading outrage?

The secretary of war, in his zeal to prostitute the active agencies of the federal government to serve the interest of private parties, a thing subversive of the most sacred and fundamental principles of a republican government, even wrote out lists of particular blacks claimed by certain slaveholders, and ordered the military to seize and deliver them up, which, to our unfathomable shame be it said, was done. The Indians protested against this flagrant violation of their treaty stipulations, and complained of the violence of the soldiers who were unlawfully scouring their country; but the reply was further insolence and indignity, and that the secretary of war had given *permission* to violate the soil of an independent nation, and seize whomsoever of its subjects the rapacious slave-hunters might fix upon!

And thus the raids upon the Seminole country and its citizens continued, or rather increased in numbers and brutality, until Jackson's administration. War with the free people, whose anger and indignation rankled deeper and deeper, was imminent. The President therefore appointed a

commission, under the direction of the slave-holders, to form a treaty with the Seminoles for their removal to a country west of the Mississippi, where the Creeks already were. This *ex parte*, so-called treaty, the Seminoles would not and never did ratify, yet Jackson indorsed, on the demand of the slave-holders, an order for their removal. Jackson's personal courage and moral fearlessness are traditional; yet the meanest black was never a more servile slave of the masters of the South than "Old Hickory."

Gov. Eaton, Gen. Clinch and many others protested to the government against the wrongs being heaped upon the Seminoles, but Jackson dared not disobey his master, slavery, and Lewis Cass, secretary of war, though a northern man, sneeringly characterized the appeals in behalf of the Indians and exiles, as the cantings of "false philanthropy," and insisted that they must be moved westward and be subjects of the Creeks. This did not suit the slave-holders, who asked the President for permission to go among the Indians on Florida soil "for the purpose of *purchasing* slaves. Attorney-General Grundy reported that there could be no objections to granting the request, and Jackson signed the grant of permission—an unauthorized, illegal and infamous proceeding.

Armed with this permission, the slave-holders swarmed into the Seminole reservations, getting false bills of sale from various Indians, after first making them drunk, and in such manner carried away bond and free. Clamor and indignation at once became so general and hurtful to the administration, that the order was countermanded. But it was too late. The government had been wickedly false to the Indians at every step, and hounds, hunters and manacles awaited them in every ambush. They resolved to put no further trust in the government, but to defend themselves as best they might.

At this time the enslavement of the descendants of early marriages between Africans and Seminoles became particularly cruel. Osceola, a young and handsome chief, had married the daughter of another chief whose wife was an exile. The young couple went together to Fort King to effect some purchases. While there the wife was seized by slave-dealers, torn from her husband-lover and carried away in withes to perpetual bondage. Osceola, frantic with grief, was cast into a dungeon for some days; but finally escaping, rallied his companions for revenge. Several weeks later he caught the Indian agent Thompson and several army officers walking outside the fort, and fired upon them with unerring effect. Thompson was pierced by fourteen bullets.

We may now employ *verbatim* quotations from Giddings and Wilson in narrating one of the most thrilling chapters in our history. No citizen of the Republic can devote his attention for half an hour to anything more suggestive and instructive:

In November General Clinch ordered Major Dade, then near Tampa Bay, to prepare for a march to Fort King, about 130 miles distant. As his march would be through an unsettled forest, with swamp and lake and hommock, he obtained for a guide Lewis, slave of Antonio Pacheco, who spoke and wrote with facility the English, French and Spanish languages, and also the Indian dialect. Knowing the persecutions and outrages inflicted upon his race, he determined to embrace this opportunity to avenge their wrongs. He communicated to the Indians and exiles the information that Major Dade was to go to Fort King, that he was to act as guide, and that he would conduct them near the great Wahoo Swamp. Hostilities had commenced, and the Indians and exiles had gathered near the designated place.

The memories of past wrongs and the fear of impending evils gave them a purpose and courage to strike a blow for safety and revenge. Entering the defile into which he and his 110 men had been lured, Major Dade was fired upon, and himself and more than half of his command were killed at the first discharge. Only two soldiers escaped. The murder of the Indian agent and the massacre of Dade's command, both on the 28th of December, 1835, inaugurated

a war, which proved to be costly in both blood and treasure. But the Indians and exiles had been forced into it by the sordid and all-grasping avarice, the hatred and contempt of the slave-hunters of Florida and the adjacent States.

On the 25th of May General Jessup wrote to Colonel Harvey: "If you see Osceola again, I wish you to tell him that I intend to send exploring parties into any part of the country during the summer, and I shall send out and take all the Negroes that belong to the white people, and he must not allow Indians and Indian Negroes to mingle with them. Tell him I am sending to Cuba¹ for blood-hounds to trail them, and I intend to hang every one that don't come in." Blacks who had come in fled, though ninety of them, confined within the pickets of Tampa Bay, were immediately, on the 2d of June, sent to New Orleans.

This act so alarmed the Indians, who had come in for the purpose of emigrating, that they fled into the interior, resolved to defend themselves.

Hostilities were renewed. The guilt and dishonor rest on General Jessup. At least he was the instrument, though slavery was the inspiration. He had promised the Creeks the "plunder," understood by both parties to mean the slaves they might capture. He now held out the same kind of inducement to the Florida militia. In a letter to Colonel Warren he promised that the Negroes of the Indians should belong to the corps that captured them. Field officers were to have three shares, company officers two shares, and privates one share each. Documents published by the XXVth Congress reveal the dishonorable fact that the war, which had been renewed, was to be stimulated by the hopes of sharing the profits or spoils of forays in the Indian country, including the capture of Negroes.

Even the Indians west of the Mississippi were thus appealed to, and the same disgraceful motives held out, and some of the Choctaws and Delawares actually entered the service of this great and magnanimous Christian nation, for the purpose of harrying and distressing this handful of Indians and Negroes, with the pledge that Negroes taken, instead of being held as prisoners of war, might be sold as their reward or the price of their service.

¹ It is not generally remembered, probably, that the frightful cruelties of chasing slaves with blood-hounds date back to the trouble with the Seminoles, during which these ferocious beasts were imported for that purpose. It was formerly common for the Southerners to boast vociferously of their superior civilization. Hunting fellow beings with blood-hounds was one of the prominent features of it. These beasts were brought from Cuba for that purpose during Madison's administration.

And to make the thing more disgraceful still, at their expressing some discontent at the amount of pay realized, General Jessup sought to pacify them with an additional offer, though admitting he had transcended his authority and the law in what he had already "stipulated." He, however, promised that he would pay them \$50 for every Negro captured.

The war went on and General Jessup continued to employ the military power of the nation in seizing and returning fugitives. While the officers and soldiers of the United States army regarded this as odious and degrading, the Florida volunteers were adepts.

After General Taylor, however, took the command, there was a great improvement. Discarding his predecessor's policy, the army was no longer employed to chase down and seize women and children, to be delivered into slavery. He denied the right of any citizens to inspect those captured or to meddle with his prisoners. He no longer separated the Indians from the Negroes, but treated both as prisoners of war. Under his more humane and dignified policy many came in and were sent to their homes in the West.

In the spring of 1839 General McComb went to Florida. After consulting with the Indians, he issued an order setting apart a portion of this territory for their future residence, at the same time forbidding any white persons to enter upon it without permission. The people of Florida, understanding that in the war with the Indians the Negroes were to be given up to them, protested for this reason against the peace.

The war had continued for nearly eight years. During that time several hundred persons had been seized and enslaved, nearly \$40,000,000 had been expended, and hundreds of lives had been lost. The exiles who had been sent west, fearful that they would be reduced to slavery by the Creeks, remained in the Cherokee country, hoping that there would be assigned to them a territory as stipulated in the "additional treaty."

The Cherokees, too, were dissatisfied with the refusal of the government to set apart territory for the Seminoles and exiles. But the President adhered to his policy of having the Seminoles removed to the jurisdiction of the Creeks; while the Creeks held firmly to their purpose to re-enslave the exiles whenever they should come under their jurisdiction.

In 1845 a treaty was made with the Creeks and Seminoles, in which it was agreed that all contests between the tribes in

regard to rights of property should be subject to the decision of the President. The Creeks agreed that the Seminoles should settle as a body or separately in their country, and no discrimination should be made between the two tribes; and the Seminoles agreed to move to the Creek reservation.

But a slave-dealer, who appears by documents in the War Department to have been previously engaged in kidnapping, went among the Creeks and offered them \$100 for any exile taken and delivered to him, he assuming all risk of titles.

Two hundred Creeks assembled, entered the Negro villages and seized several of the exiles. Those, however, who had arms offering resistance, the Creeks retired with their captives, delivered them to the slave-dealer, and received the stipulated price. The Indian agent obtained a warrant from the nearest judge in Arkansas, and the captured exiles were brought before him. He urged in their behalf the promises of General Jessup, the opinion of the Attorney-General, and the action of the President, as evidence that they were free. But the judge decided that the Creeks *had obtained a title to them by their contract*; that their title was good; and, having sold them to the claimant, *his title was also good*. By this strange and wicked decision these manacled victims were thus suddenly and hopelessly bereft of freedom, taken to the New Orleans market, and sold into perpetual bondage.

Thoroughly alarmed, and having lost all confidence in the government, all but about 200 of the blacks abandoned their country and fled to Mexico. Those remaining behind were supposed to be so thoroughly intermarried with or descended from intermarriage with the Seminoles as to be comparatively safe.

Stimulated by offers from the slave-dealers the Creeks organized, armed, and pursued the fugitives to Mexico. Overtaking them, a spirited battle was fought, but the exiles, desperate and determined to the last degree, rallied under the leadership of Wild Cat and drove back the Creeks with great slaughter. The dead slave-catchers were left unburied on the field.

Pursuing their course south-easterly, the exiles discovered a rich valley in the Mexican province, where they found homes,

liberty, peace and protection—all of which had been wantonly and wickedly denied them in the land of their fathers.

This, one of the black and revolting chapters in the history of civilized nations, was one of the early and powerful factors in giving birth and direction to that sentiment which ultimately crystalized into the great Republican party.

Florida, having cost the federal government an abundance of blood, treasure, inhumanity and cupidity, became a slave State in 1845, and made an early attempt, in 1861, to destroy the Union.

CHAPTER V.

RIGHT OF PETITION DENIED—THE MAILS RIFLED.

James H. Hammond and the ‘Impropiety’ of Free Speech—John Adams Censured—His Petition from Slave Women—Raving Southerners—Lewis Falls into an Exasperating Blunder—The Circulators of Abolition Documents Should be Punished—Barbarism of Rev. Woods—The Charleston Postoffice Rifled—Amos Kendall’s Remarkable Position—Jackson’s Message and John C. Calhoun’s Bill Relating to use of the mails by Abolitionists—Wm. Lloyd Garrison Indicted in North Carolina—Brazen Demand of Gov. Gayle, of Alabama—Anti-Slavery Sentiment Thriving upon Persecution.

We have examined briefly the misbehavior of the pro-slavery party only in connection with their schemes and conspiracies to acquire more slave territory. We shall now give some notice to crimes and barbarities of a different character, which, oft-repeated and long-continued, drove the people at last to organize the Republican party in self defense.

In 1834–5 the Democrats, having a steadfast majority in Congress, refused to receive the petitions of thousands of citizens sent up from various portions of the United States asking for the abolition of slavery in the District of Colum-

bia, for suppressing the slave-trade or for the enactment of laws looking to emancipation.

This contemptible form of tyranny which was kept up for some time, had a different result from that expected by the flesh-brokers. James H. Hammond, of South Carolina, said "the large majority by which these petitions had been rejected had been very gratifying to him and to the South; and he hoped it would satisfy the gentleman charged with such petitions of the *impropriety* of presenting them."

It had, however, the very opposite effect. The natural lovers of freedom, who are always numerous but never as active as the emissaries of tyranny and bondage, alarmed at the insolence with which the Democrats stifled the freedom of expression and trampled on the sacred right of petition, sent in such a flood of anti-slavery documents and prayers as startled the slave-drivers of Congress. Measures were then offered for the *punishment* of any member who should offer an anti-slavery petition, but none were actually adopted.

Furious debates ensued. The Southern members were not simply solid against receiving any petitions relating to slavery, but were supported zealously by most of the servile Democrats of the North. Thus session after session, the right of petition was denied and thwarted and the petitions themselves imperiously and insultingly suppressed.

John Adams, of Massachusetts, was the central figure in this struggle. He had repeatedly been offered for "censure," "severe censure" and "proper punishment" for presenting petitions "touching the subject of slavery." Finally he offered a prayer from nine slave women of Fredericksburg, Virginia. This was beyond their endurance, and the Southern Democrats raved like infuriated beasts. John M. Patton, of Virginia, examined the names and declared there was only one that he recognized "and that was of a mulatto woman of infamous character."

A half-dozen "fire-eaters" from the South impetuously demanded that Mr. Adams be called at once to the bar of the House and censured. Others wanted the documents burned from the clerk's desk and Mr. Adams expelled before proceeding with any other business.

Thus the tempest raged until Dixon H. Lewis, of Alabama, presented a resolution reciting that inasmuch as Mr. Adams had attempted to present a petition praying for the abolition of slavery contrary to its rules, he had committed a flagrant contempt of the House, etc. Mr. Adams, who had sat calmly contemplating the violence and antics of the South, quietly remarked that the resolution of Mr. Lewis employed a false statement of facts. Thereupon the petition was read and lo! it protested *against* the abolition of slavery!

This incident shows that the Democrats were governed by no principle whatever. Like the intolerant barbarians which slavery had made them, they proposed to gag and silence whoever opposed their hellish brokerage in human—often-times their own—flesh, by any means, right or wrong. They did not care to make respectful examinations of matters coming lawfully before them, but determined to suppress by sheer force, without inquiring into its merits, whatever was presented by their opponents.

Naturally the people of the free States were greatly incensed at this arrogant form of autocracy in a pretended free country; but it was well. Otherwise the masses would not have been awakened to the designs and encroachments of the slave power until too late to check them. As it was, an earnest interest awoke which never thereafter disappeared nor lagged, but strengthened and grew apace until the opening of the Rebellion, when it had become too powerful to be overthrown by the parasites of human bondage.

The friends of freedom, stimulated into activity, were not satisfied with the formation of Abolition societies and agitation by discussion, but contributed liberally of their means.

for the printing and circulation of anti-slavery literature. This was a form of agitation and education that the slave-drivers of Congress could not reach. Thereupon, demands were everywhere made that "the printing, publishing, writing or circulating pamphlets or articles on slavery should be made indictable offenses," punished in "such a severe manner as would effectually suppress these crimes."

The *Literary and Theological Review*, published in New York by Rev. Leonard Woods, subsequently president of Bowdoin College, declared that "the Abolitionists were justly liable to the highest civil penalties and ecclesiastical censures." Meetings were held throughout the slave States demanding the suppression of abolition literature, and the punishment of its authors and circulators. But they only served to increase the volume of objectionable papers and pamphlets.

Goaded to desperation by the devotion and fearlessness of the anti-slavery people, the slave-owners resorted to riot, fire and bloodshed to suppress the "fanatics." In July, 1835, the postoffice at Charleston, South Carolina, was forced open by a mob, the mails rifled, and anti-slavery publications destroyed. A few days later the mob, composed of "persons of high respectability," re-assembled to organize for ferreting out and punishing all "Abolitionists and persons in sympathy with them." The clergy of the various churches participated in these disgraceful proceedings, and received for their services the comfort of a resolution of thanks by the lawless assemblage.

Postmasters throughout the South arrested all anti-slavery matter and held it until the mobs could seize and burn it. Such an uproar followed these crimes that the postmaster of New York asked the American Anti-Slavery Society to cease putting out their publications. Of course the request was promptly refused, whereupon Jackson's postmaster-general, Amos Kendall, was asked to order postmasters to refuse to deliver publications treating of slavery.

He replied that he had no authority to do so, but that *he did not condemn the action taken by the Southern postmasters*. Also, that he did not himself order the whole series of anti-slavery publications excluded simply for want of power!

Thus encouraged, all the lesser postal employes seized everything "obnoxious" to the Southern Democrats that entered the mails, and not one of them was ever brought to punishment, or even dismissal. In fact they knew from Amos Kendall's letter that the crime of rifling the mails for the benefit of slavery, would never be punished.

President Jackson, crawling to do the bidding of slavocracy, issued a message recommending the enactment of "such a law *under severe penalties*" as would "prohibit the circulation in the Southern States, through the mails," of the matter complained of.

John C. Calhoun, in 1836, drafted a bill on the subject which was not in exact accordance with Jackson's idea. Looking into the future he held that if the Congress then in session could declare what mail matter should *not* be circulated, the next Congress might, having different political views, declare that the same matter *should* be circulated through the public mails. His bill provided that whenever any State declared certain publications to be incendiary or detrimental to the community, no postmaster should deliver such mail under penalty.¹

All the Southern States wished either to pass bills defining all publications that referred to slavery as "incendiary," or demanded of the Northern States the "prompt enactment of laws to suppress and punish the malignant deeds and traitorous designs of the Abolitionists."

A short time before, the city of Columbia had offered \$1,500 for the detention and conviction of every person found

¹ The bill was at last defeated by a vote of 25 to 19, but James Buchanan, Martin Van Buren and Silas Wright, to the astonishment of mankind, voted for it.

circulating a newspaper called the *Liberator*, and Georgetown passed an ordinance making it a penal offense for any person of color to take Wm. Lloyd Garrison's paper from the postoffice.

The grand jury of Raleigh indicted Garrison for sending his paper into the Carolinas, and the legislature of Georgia offered a reward of \$5,000 for the arrest and conviction of Garrison under the laws of that State. Gov. Gayle, of Alabama, made a formal demand upon the governor of New York for the person of Williams, the publishing agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, who had him indicted in that State for publishing in the *Emancipator*, this sentence: "God commands, and all Nature cries out that man should not be held as property. The system of making men property, has plunged him and a quarter-million of our fellow-countrymen into the deepest physical and moral degradation, and they are every moment sinking deeper."

The governor of New York, a safe and staunch Democrat and friend of slavery, was warned that no such monstrous outrage as that could be consummated, and however much it hurt his political feelings, he was compelled to refuse this audacious demand. It was well known that Williams had never been in Alabama; therefore, if he could be delivered to the brutal slave-hunters, who threatened to hang him without trial, every other citizen of New York whom they might demand, could also be turned over to them to be "hung without trial or the benefit of clergy."

The attempt of the South to suppress Abolitionism was a more powerful agency in promoting and strengthening the growth of it than the normal condition of Northern sentiment. If the slave-drivers had not resorted to extreme and uncivilized methods to exterminate it, Abolitionism would have been for some years a sickly plant.

CHAPTER VI.

MARTYRDOM OF ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY.

Early Life of Lovejoy—He Edits an Anti-Slavery Paper in St. Louis—Denounces Burning Slaves at the Stake and Has His Office Demolished—Removes to Alton—Press Destroyed—The *Missouri Republican* Advises Mobbing—Another Press Destroyed—His Bravery Before the Infuriated Democrats—Relation by Geo. T. M. Davis, of New York—A Third Press Destroyed—A ‘‘Quiet and Gentlemanly’’ Mob—Attacked While Watching His Sick Wife—His Own Account of It—The Democrats Meet and Order Him to Cease Discussing Slavery or Leave Alton—The Night of Nov. 7, 1837—The Attack Described by Lovejoy’s Surviving Brothers—Shot Dead—Democrats Jeer as the Funeral Procession Passes—At Rest Between Two Oaks—The Grand Jury’s Miserable Travesty—The Country Fired From Ocean to Ocean—*Hic Jacet Lovejoy.*

We now come to where the hosts of freedom met their first baptism of blood. But in recording the long series of enormities which became the seed of equal liberty and of the Republican party in America, the English language fails as an adequate means of description.

Elijah Parish Lovejoy was born at Albion, Maine, November 9, 1802. His youth developed extraordinary mental qualities. He reveled in literature, wrote poetry and defended the principles of human equality with vehement power. At the proper age he entered Waterville College, Maine, from which he graduated in September, 1826, with the first honors of his class.

A few months later he emigrated to St. Louis, Mo., and engaged as a school teacher; also became a contributor of poetry and philosophy to the *Missouri Republican*. In 1828

he engaged in publishing the *Times*, advocating the claims of Henry Clay for the Presidency. In January, 1832, he embraced active Christianity, and a few weeks later entered Princeton (N. J.) Theological Seminary for the purpose of studying for the ministry. In April, 1833, he graduated, and received a license from the Philadelphia Presbytery to preach the gospel. His preaching, at New York, Newport and other places, attracted attention throughout the country.

In the fall of 1833 he was invited to return to St. Louis, and in November of that year issued the first number of the *Observer*. This publication early began a series of unanswerable reasonings with slave-owners against the unfathomable iniquity of human slavery. St. Louis being the center of a large slave-holding aristocracy, his writings brought about him malignant and unsparing enemies.

The "foremost citizens," as the *Missouri Republican* put it, organized a mob and passed resolutions declaring "that the discussion of slavery was obnoxious and must be discontinued." During Lovejoy's absence, therefore, the proprietors of the *Observer* published a card avowing their cowardice and protesting that such discussion was not with their suggestion, but came alone from Lovejoy, the editor.

The mob adopted resolutions saying the Constitution guaranteed the right of free speech, but it did *not* extend to or "imply a moral right to freely discuss the question of slavery, either orally or through the medium of the press." They also accused Lovejoy of sending the *Emancipator* "in a box" to a friend at Jefferson City, and warned him to desist from such "seditious and obnoxious acts." To these resolutions he replied at length in a strain of stirring and lofty eloquence, maintaining the right of free speech, freedom of the press and inviolability of the mails. He closed by declaring that he would submit to no dictation as to how he should conduct his journal, and was "prepared to abide the consequences."

Other meetings of slave-holders were held and committees appointed to "remove" Lovejoy from the community. The leader of these was Arthur L. McGinnis, a slave-owner and State's attorney for the district. The law officer for St. Louis was the leader of a mob. Two men, charged with the awful crime of "being suspected of being Abolitionists," were actually whipped to death, and a recital of the revolting deed was embodied in a resolution as a warning to Lovejoy.

Early in 1836 a mob of "respectable and *peaceable* citizens" tied a man to a tree in St. Louis, and in a manner shockingly barbarous and prolonged, burned him to death. An attempt was made to indict the perpetrators but Judge Lawless (Is there, after all, nothing in a name?) decided that the terrible deed was the "act of the multitude, seized upon and impelled by a mysterious, metaphysical and electric frenzy," and the case therefore "transcended the jurisdiction of the court—was beyond the reach of human law!"

Lovejoy commented upon this with some severity, and the mob re-organized and demolished the office of the *Observer*.

A removal to Alton, across the river, to Illinois, had already been decided upon. The press was therefore towed over the river, reaching Alton Saturday night. Its presence attracted the leading Democrats during Sunday, who early the next morning gathered and broke it in pieces.

A new press was at once purchased, which arrived in season to enable Lovejoy to resume the publication of the *Observer* at Alton, on September 1, with double its former circulation. Its tone was not less emphatic and its argument not less eloquent and powerful against slavery. Some of his appeals were masterpieces of human oratory. They produced, as he wrote his brother, "tremendous effect." An article advocating a State anti-slavery organization was too much for the Democrats. They called a meeting to take steps to compel Lovejoy to leave Alton or cease discussing slavery. One Alexander Botkin presented a resolution,

which was adopted, declaring that while the assembled "free-men, unseduced by mercenary motives," deprecated mob violence, Mr. Lovejoy must "discontinue his incendiary publications." Meaning that Lovejoy must keep still or be killed.

The reply was through the *Observer*, in an article defining his views and aims and maintaining the right to speak and write according to conviction, answerable only to the law for any abuse of the privilege.

Four days later the *Missouri Republican* stated that "something must be done in this matter, and that speedily." It declared Lovejoy was a fanatic and must be suppressed or expelled from Alton, as he had, by "disturbing the *harmony* of the *virtuous* people, forfeited all claims to the protection of that or any other community." In the South, when the Democrats wish to slaughter a man in a dignified and respectable way, they declare that he has forfeited the right to protection.

The Democrats therefore organized a mob of about twenty "peaceable and respectable" but "indignant" citizens, who, on August 21, 1837, assembled shortly before midnight with stones and guns to teach the editor of the *Observer* that the Constitution guaranteed freedom of speech only so far as it suited the sympathizers with slavery. Two employes of the office were seriously wounded, and the press, type and other materials were utterly destroyed.

How he himself escaped the "virtuous and respectable citizens" who had organized themselves into a mob, let Col. Geo. T. M. Davis, of New York, an eye-witness, relate:

A few weeks prior to the assembling of the mob on the 7th of November, 1837—in resistance of whose attack upon Mr. Gilman's building, as well as upon his own life and that of others associated with him, he met his death—some eight or ten citizens of Alton, calling themselves of the highest respectability, determined to tar and feather Mr. Lovejoy, and then send him adrift, in a canoe secured for such purpose, down the Mississippi River. The night selected for the consummation of their design was as bright and clear as could be. Mr. Lovejoy resided at that time at Hunterstown, in a

building in a secluded spot below the road that led to Upper Alton, and his wife, whom he idolized, was prostrated upon a bed of sickness, with but little hope of her physicians or husband that she could recover. Between 10 and 11 o'clock, while on his way on foot to the drug store in Alton, a distance of about three-quarters of a mile from his residence, to procure some medicine for his wife, he was met by these eight or ten citizens—all of them disguised—who stopped him in the road, and at once disclosed to him their object and purpose.

With the most perfect composure and calmness, he immediately replied to them: "Gentlemen I have but a single request to make of you. My wife is dangerously ill, and it is necessary she should have this prescription immediately, and which I was on my way to town to procure. Will one of you take it and see that it is delivered at the house, but without intimating what is about to befall me. I am in the hands of God and am ready to go with you."

For a few moments, entire silence reigned. At last it was broken by one of the medical men that made up in part, the disguised party, exclaiming: "Boys, I can't lay my hands upon as brave a man as this is," and turning away, was followed by the rest, and Mr. Lovejoy was spared the degradation of being tarred and feathered, though a few weeks later, he suffered the death of a martyr, in defense of liberty of the press and of speech.

It is a most singular coincidence, that scarcely one of those who made up the tar-and-feather-party of that night, died a natural death.

At sunset of September 21 another press and newspaper outfit arrived on the banks of the Mississippi—the third Lovejoy had brought to Alton. He was absent on the arrival of his new materials. Although hostile demonstrations were numerous, the press was safely stored in the large warehouse of Gerry & Weller. The mayor, John N. Krum, stationed a constable at the door, to remain on guard until midnight, informing the people of what he had done. After the departure of the officer, twelve or fifteen of the foremost citizens of the place, with masks on their faces, broke into the warehouse, rolled the press to the river bank, broke it in pieces and hurled it into the stream.

While the Democrats were thus enjoying themselves, Mayor Krum arrived and ordered them to disperse. They answered that they "were busy," that as soon as they had "completed their little job" they would go home, and that "he had best do the same at once."

The brave mayor thereupon speedily departed, and in subsequent testimony deposed that he "had *never* seen a more quiet and gentlemanly *mob*."

A party of armed Democrats who came over from St. Louis at this time to kill Lovejoy failed to find him, and thereupon returned home bloodless, but not liquorless.

Mrs. Lovejoy¹ was a sickly, delicate woman. At this time she was with her mother at St. Charles, across the river, in Missouri. On Sunday night, ten days after the destruction of the third press, while Lovejoy was nursing her and a little babe in St. Charles, he was again mobbed. At 9 o'clock an ugly knock was heard at the door, accompanied by a ruffianly call for Lovejoy, who answered bravely, "I am here." Now let him relate his own story:

They immediately rushed up the portico and two of them² coming into the room, laid hold of me. I asked what they wanted. "We want you down stairs, damn you," was the reply. They accordingly attempted to pull me out of the house. And not succeeding immediately, one of them, Litterer, began to beat me with his fists. By this time Mrs. Lovejoy had come into the room. In doing so, she had to make her way through the mob on the portico, who attempted to hinder her coming by rudely pushing her back, and one chivalrous (?) Southerner actually drew his dirk upon her.

Her only reply was to strike him in the face with her hand, and then rushing past him, she flew to where I was, and throwing her arms around me, boldly faced the mobites, with a fortitude and self-devotion which none but a woman and a wife ever displayed. While they were attempting with oaths and curses to drag me from the room, she was smiting them in the face with her hands, or clinging to me

¹ Before her marriage, Miss Celia Ann French.

² One from Mississippi and one from Virginia and "prominent citizens."

to aid in resisting their efforts, and telling them that they must first take her before they should have her husband. Her energetic measures, seconded by those of her mother and sister, induced the assailants to let me go and leave the room.

As soon as they were gone, Mrs. Lovejoy's powers of endurance failed her, and she fainted. I carried her into another room and laid her on the bed. So soon as she recovered from her fainting, she relapsed into hysterical fits, moaning and shrieking and calling upon my name alternately. Her situation at this time was truly alarming and distressing. To add to the perplexities of the moment, I had our sick child in my arms, taken up from the floor, where it had been left by its grandmother, in the hurry and alarm of the first onset of the mob.

The poor little sufferer, as if conscious of danger from the cries of its mother, clung to me in silence. In this condition, and while I was endeavoring to calm Mrs. Lovejoy's dreadfully excited mind, the mob returned to the charge, breaking into the room, and, rushing up to the bedside, again attempting to force me from the house. The brutal wretches were totally indifferent to her heart-rending cries and shrieks—she was too far exhausted to move; and I suppose they would have succeeded in forcing me out, had not my friend, William M. Campbell, at this juncture come in, and with undaunted boldness, assisted me in freeing myself from their clutches; so the house was now clear for a second time.

They did not, however, leave the yard of the house, which was full of drunken wretches, uttering the most awful and soul-chilling oaths and imprecations, and swearing that they would have me at all hazards. I could hear the epithets, "The infernal scoundrel, the d—d amalgamating Abolitionist, we'll have his heart out yet!" etc., etc. They were armed with pistols and dirks, and one pistol was discharged, whether at any person or not I did not know. The fellow from Mississippi seemed the most bent on my destruction. He did not appear at all drunken, but both in words and actions manifested the most fiendish malignity of feelings and purpose.

On October 30, 1837, Rev. Edward Beecher, president of Illinois College, preached in Alton, and declared Lovejoy and the right of free discussion must be defended. The church was mobbed, but, although the building was damaged,

no person was seriously hurt. Lovejoy's recommendation that a State anti-slavery association be formed had been carried into effect, and the Democrats were furious.

On the day and evening of November 2, 1837, a meeting of those interested in the perpetuation of Democracy and slavery was held, and Lovejoy was warned to desist from slavery discussion or resign, "as respectable men had received numerous communications from the slave States demanding the destruction of the *Observer* office unless its editor should keep silence on the subject of Abolition."

Lovejoy was present and stated that the power to control and dictate the utterances of men and newspapers did not reside with the sympathizers of slavery, and he should continue as before. He then traversed the violence and indignities of his enemies, reciting how night after night his frail wife, suspended between life and death, had been carried into the garret to escape the deadly missiles of the Democratic mobs, and ending with the declaration that men could be killed, but not the spirit of freedom. That, he said, received its undying power from the persecutions of its advocates, and he should not turn back though he knew death only waited on his efforts for liberty.

His earnestness and manifest sincerity made a deep impression upon the audience. Dr. Edward Beecher, who was present, thus describes the scene: "I have been affected oftentimes with the power of intellect and eloquence, but never was I so overcome as at this hour. He made no display, there was no rhetorical decoration, no violence of action. All was native truth, and deep, pure and tender feeling. Many a hard face did I see wet with tears as he struck the chords of feeling to which God made the soul to respond. Even his bitter enemies wept; it reminded me of Paul before Festus, and of Luther at Worms."

On the night of November 5, 1837, at 3 o'clock, another press was landed at Alton, and secretly conveyed to the ware-

house of Godfrey, Gilman & Co., although the sentinel of the mob vigorously blew his horn to rally the marauders for its destruction. Many assembled, but too late. At that advanced hour they had become too sober for the work required.

All day Tuesday, November 7, the Democrats fired up with whisky and gathered all sorts of deadly weapons. At 9 o'clock they assembled at the warehouse and began a bombardment of stones, irons and bricks. The proprietor of the warehouse, Lovejoy and a dozen of his friends were present, armed to a certain extent for the protection of their property. Joseph C. and Owen Lovejoy, brave men who were in the warehouse at the time, brothers of the editor of the *Observer*, can best finish this recital:

Those in the building had agreed not to fire unless their lives were endangered. After throwing stones for some time, the mob fired two or three guns into the building, without, however, wounding any one. The fire was then returned from within. Two or three guns were discharged upon the rioters, several of their number wounded, and one by the name of Bishop mortally. This checked the efforts of the mob and they departed, carrying away those that were wounded. The number is not known, as they were concealed by their friends.

After a visit to the rum shops, they returned with their ladders and other material to set fire to the roof of the warehouse, shouting with fearful imprecations and curses, "Burn them out, burn them out." The mayor and Justice Robbins were then deputed by the mob to bear a flag of truce to those within, proposing as terms of capitulation that the press should be given up, and on that condition they might be permitted to depart unmolested, and that no other property should be destroyed.

The mayor made known the terms of surrender to the little band, at the same time informing them that the mob had determined to fire the building. They promptly replied that they came there to defend their property, and should do it. On returning and reporting the result of his embassy, the mob set up a shout, and rushed on with cries of "Fire the building, fire the building," "Burn 'em out, burn 'em out," "Shoot every d—d Abolitionist as he leaves." It was now near midnight. The bells had been rung and a large

concourse of citizens assembled, who stood inactive spectators to these deeds of arson and murder.

The mob now raised their ladders and placed them on the north-east corner of the store, and kindled a fire on the roof, which, although of wood, did not burn very readily. About five individuals now volunteered to go out and drive them away. They left the building on the south end, came around to the south-east corner of the building, turned the angle, and two or three fired upon the man on the ladder, drove him away and dispersed the mob. They then returned into the store and re-loaded.

Our brother and Mr. Weller with one or two others again stepped to the door, and, seeing no one, stood looking around just without the threshold, our brother being a little before the others and more exposed. Several of the mob had in the meantime concealed themselves behind a pile of lumber that lay at a short distance. One of them had a two-barreled gun and fired.

Our brother received five balls, three in his breast, two on the left and one on the right side, one in the abdomen and one in his left arm. He turned quickly 'round into the store, ran hastily up a flight of stairs, with his arms across his breast, came into the counting-room, and fell exclaiming, "Oh God, I am shot, I am shot," and expired in a few moments. Mr. Weller received a ball in the calf of his leg, but has since recovered.

Some in the building were for continuing the conflict, but they finally resolved to yield. One of their number, the Rev. Mr. Harned, then went up to the scuttle, and informed the mob that Mr. Lovejoy was dead and that they would give up the press, provided they might be allowed to escape unmolested. When this announcement was made the mob set up a yell of exultation, which rent the very heavens, and swore they should all find a grave where they were.

Mr. Roff then determined to go out at all hazards and make some terms if possible. As soon as he had opened the door, and placed one foot without, he was fired upon and wounded in the ankle. All except two or three then laid down their arms, left the building at the southern door, and fled down the river. As they escaped, they were fired upon by the mob. The mob then rushed into the building—the fire being extinguished—threw the press out of the window upon the shore, broke it to pieces, and cast it into the river.

About 2 o'clock the mob dispersed. On the door of the building where some of those who had escaped had taken

refuge, figures of coffins were drawn, under which was written, "Ready-made coffins for sale, inquire of, etc.," referring to the individuals who had been in the store that night.

The next morning the bloody remains of our brother were removed by a few friends from the warehouse to his dwelling.

As the hearse moved slowly along through the street, it was saluted with jeers and scoffs, which showed that the hatred of his enemies still raged in their breasts, unsatisfied with his blood.

One who had been a principal actor in the tragedy of the previous night said: "If I had a life I would play the dead march for him." He was buried on Thursday the 9th of November, just thirty-five years from the day of his birth. There was not a large number who attended his funeral. He looked perfectly natural but a little paler than usual, and a smile still upon his lips. He sleeps in a graveyard a short distance from his dwelling, between two large oak trees, one standing at his head and one at his feet.

Here ends the tale of blood and barbarity, but the ensuing farce was hardly less disgraceful to the community. The grand jury, composed of pro-slavery Democrats, promptly indicted a large number of citizens because they had "*unlawfully, riotously and in a violent and tumultuous manner resisted and opposed an attempt to break up and destroy a printing press,*" etc.

Thomas B. Hawley as foreman, and Francis B. Murdock as prosecuting attorney, signed a "true bill" of indictment against peaceable, respectable, sober citizens who, while consulting in their castle, were attacked by a mob with deadly weapons, and whose heinous offense was "resisting and opposing the attempt" of the mob to "break up and destroy a printing press."

W. S. Gilman, one of the owners of the warehouse, secured a separate trial, and after prolonged proceedings was acquitted. Subsequently the denunciations of the entire country grew so hot and irresistible that the other citizens guilty of the awful crime of self-defense were discharged.

Then a clamor arose for the indictment of the "virtuous and respectable" Democrats who fired the warehouse, destroyed

four presses, and murdered Lovejoy, which became so impetuous that a bill was found against them. At the trial Alexander Botkin, before mentioned as the author of a resolution pointing out that the mob might destroy Lovejoy and his press unless he should cease publishing in the *Observer* articles that were "obnoxious" to the Democracy, was foreman of the jury, most of whom were in the mob that attacked the warehouse and did the killing. The trial was simply a travesty. The proceedings were railroaded through and Botkin with great promptness and *eclat* sent up a verdict of "not guilty."

This infamous outrage occupied the attention of the Republic for months and years, is in fact still familiar to every citizen and school child that can read the English language. The storm of denunciation and indignation that followed was enough, had it been directed against an organization more humane and civilized than the pro-slavery Democracy, to have resulted in utter and ignominious destruction.

Quincy, Beecher, Channing, Phillips, Garrison and Gidding raised their voices in thrilling eloquence, the pulpit thundered and the press hurled its flaming bolts across the public horizon. The great North, teeming with mass-meetings and public demonstrations, resembled an army called suddenly and tumultuously to arms from the quietude of peaceful encampment.

The general public had not yet begun to understand the aims and acts of slavery, its barbarism and cruelty; and the assaults and killings of its proprietors and partisan sympathizers were, in the light of Lovejoy's blood, made so distinct and palpable before the masses, that all the liberty-lovers of the Republic were aroused. The battle against human bondage received an impetus that continued to grow in power and breadth, until it took form in the Republican party, and through the Rebellion, extirpated the very causes of Lovejoy's death.

The orators, the federal judges, the chivalry, the newspapers and the "virtuous citizens" of the country who then rejoiced at the assassination of liberty in the murder of Lovejoy, were the ancestors of the great army now marching on the White Horse in the name of State rights, anti-Negro, anti-pure election, anti-civil rights, anti-tariff, anti-national banks, anti-surplus, anti-whisky tax, anti-tobacco tax and anti-everything, almost, that has made the American Republic what it is.

In recent years admirers of Lovejoy caused to be erected over the martyr's tomb a plain monument, on which is inscribed :

Hic jacet

LOVEJOY

Jam parce sepulto.

"Here lies Lovejoy; now spare his grave."

The spot is visited annually by hundreds of people, who have read Lovejoy's martyrdom with sad but absorbing interest.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL VIOLENCE--EXPULSION OF SAMUEL HOAR.

Disgraceful mob in Cincinnati—A ‘Conquered Province of Kentucky’—Bloodshed and Rapine in Philadelphia—Churches and Dwellings Demolished—Giddings Arraigns the Slave Power—Dawson Draws a Dagger in the Halls of Congress—A threat to cut off Giddings’ Ears—A General Index to the Intolerance and Fierceness of Slavery—Southern States Seize, Imprison and Sell Citizens of the North—Their Acts Declared Unconstitutional but Without Effect—Massachusetts Sends Samuel Hoar to Charleston—The Legislature Orders the Governor to Expel Him—He is Waited Upon and Warned to Leave, in Order to Avoid Violence—Not Frightened—The Mob Embarrassed by the Presence of Mr. Hoar’s Daughter—Compelled at last to Return to Massachusetts—Henry Hubbard Goes to New Orleans on a Similar Errand and meets with Similar Treatment—A Disgraceful Affair.

The murder of Lovejoy developed so much earnestness and strength among the friends of freedom, that the mob spirit subsided in the free States until September, 1841, when it broke out with renewed vigor and barbarity. A comparatively large number of free people of color and a still larger number of Abolitionists resided in Ohio, especially at Cincinnati. The slave-breeders of Kentucky warned the business men of the city, that unless these “nuisances” should be done away with, they would withdraw their trade.

Accordingly the business men invited the ruffians of Kentucky to come over and hunt out the Abolitionists and capture what Negroes they could. The Kentuckians flocked in and precipitated a riot, which, swelled and strengthened by the Democrats of Cincinnati, held unrestrained sway over

the city for several days. Bands of armed men patrolled the streets in search of Negroes, men were cast into prison at the caprice of the leaders of the mob, the office of the *Philanthropist* was attacked and its press and material destroyed, a colored church edifice was demolished, several dwellings were razed and others sacked, and personal outrages upon women and children were inflicted without number or restraint.

Immediately after a public meeting of the merchants and business men and Democratic politicians was held, at which the Kentuckians boasted that hundreds more at home stood ready to come over when needed. Resolutions were adopted, signed by the mayor as chairman, declaring that free Negroes should be discovered and watched, escaping slaves should at once be delivered up to claimants and the law requiring free Negroes to give bonds should be rigidly enforced. The resolutions also declared to their "Southern brethren" that the people of Cincinnati were "in earnest," and closed by denouncing the entire class of Abolitionists.

Thereafter Cincinnati went by the name of "the conquered province of Kentucky," a term as appropriate as it was well earned.

In August, 1842, the colored people of Philadelphia attempted to celebrate the West India emancipation. Their procession was assailed by the Democracy armed with guns, stones and bludgeons. Deeds of violence and bloodshed were enacted with brutal glee, a public hall and a colored church edifice were burned amidst shouts and yells, and many private houses were demolished. For three days Democratic incendiarism, rapine, destruction and outrage held high carnival. The fire companies refused to extinguish the fires, and the city authorities, heart and soul in sympathy with the rioters, refused to take any steps for the restoration of peace and order.

Dozens of Northern cities were the theaters of similar violences, winked at by the sympathetic authorities and lustily

cheered by the newspapers of the South. These occurred largely in the Middle and New England States. The West and North-west were never strongly tainted with sympathy for slavery, though Ichabod Coddington and a few other anti-slavery orators were "rotten-egged" and otherwise maltreated in those sections.

During this period the action of President Tyler was so scandalous that Henry Wilson boldly writes him down in the first volume of his great history of slavery, as having failed "to save his character from the taint of treason and himself from being remembered as the only traitor President."

At the close of a session of Congress in 1841, Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, presented a bill to appropriate \$100,000 in some form to the Seminole Indians. The object was to purchase from them certain citizens and their descendants who had found refuge from bondage among the people of the tribe.

Joshua R. Giddings, familiar with the rascalities of the Seminole war, laid bare the infamous but half-concealed purposes of the bill, in a speech of great power and eloquence. His *expose* caused great excitement among the Southern members, many of whom resorted to all forms of blackguardism and personal abuse. Ed. J. Black, of Georgia, denounced Giddings "and his Abolition crowd" as a "moral pestilence" and declared that "if Giddings should ever go to Georgia, he would be hanged without ado."

Later, when the slave-breeders applied to Congress for the remainder of \$75,000 paid by the British government for slaves lost on the *Hornet* and *Ecomium*, which remainder the President had covered into the treasury after paying claims to suit his caprice, Giddings again interposed his vigorous opposition. The losses had been incurred in the slave-trade and Giddings denounced the principle of the attempt to compel the American people to pay for captives lost in the

slave-trade as though they were property, as a libel and a falsehood upon them and their principles.

He said he felt humbled and deeply humiliated, on looking around him, to see two 230 American statesmen sitting in that hall and gravely legislating in behalf of piratical slave-dealers, whose crimes had rendered them moral outlaws, unfit for human association, and fitted only for the gallows. He showed with great force of logic that Congress had neither moral nor constitutional right to involve the people of the free States in a war for the defense of the slave-trade. He sharply criticised, too, both the President and the Senate for their action in committing the nation to the support of the domestic slave-trade, and of the heathenish doctrine of property in man.

Mr. Giddings then rose to a privileged question. He stated that while he was addressing the House he noticed several persons standing in front of the clerk's desk, one of whom was Mr. Dawson, of Louisiana; that when he had concluded his speech he was pushed by what appeared to be the elbow of a person, and at the same moment Mr. Dawson passed him on his way to the clerk's desk; that he addressed him in an undertone when he turned round, seized the handle of a bowie-knife, which partly protruded from his bosom, and advanced towards him till within striking distance.

Looking him in the eye, he inquired whether he pushed him in that rude manner. "Yes," he answered. "For the purpose," inquired Mr. Giddings, "of insulting me?" "Yes," he replied, partially removing his knife from its sheath. Mr. Giddings then said: "No gentleman will wantonly insult another. I have no more to say to you, but turn you over to public contempt as incapable of insulting another." Dawson was then seized by one of his colleagues and taken from the hall. In laying these facts before the House, Mr. Giddings wished it to be distinctly understood that he did not claim

the protection of the House, but left that body to protect its own dignity.

Alexander H. H. Stuart, a Whig member from Virginia, afterward Secretary of the Interior, then stated that he had noticed Mr. Dawson standing in front of the clerk's desk; that from his appearance, he apprehended an intention of violence, but lost sight of him until he appeared in the aisle where Mr. Giddings was standing.

Mr. Adams rose and alluded to an incident that occurred a few days before, when the same individual, offended at some remarks made by Thos. D. Arnold, of Tennessee, went to the seat of that gentleman and assured him that if he did not keep quiet he would "cut his throat from ear to ear." Mr. Adams inquired whether Dawson had made the same threat to Mr. Giddings. It was believed that, acting with the approbation of others, Dawson intended to insult Mr. Giddings and thus draw from him a blow, which would have been an excuse for an assault with a deadly weapon.

In a letter, written on the same day this scene occurred, David Lee Child wrote: "I was sitting in the gallery. I saw Dawson in the center of the hall, amidst a crowd of Southern members, all of whom were looking extremely wrathful; and one of them, as I am informed by a member, said with an oath: 'I would like to cut off Giddings' ears.'"

On another occasion Mr. Giddings introduced some resolutions touching a meeting of slaves on the ship *Creole*. For this the Democrats moved a vote of censure. Giddings resigned and was at once triumphantly re-elected.

In 1845 Mr. Giddings made another speech on the claims of the slave-breeders for compensation for the children that would have been born of fugitives that escaped into Florida if they had not so escaped. His speech was so strong that the flesh-brokers were beside themselves with passion. E. J. Black, of Georgia, rushed at him with an uplifted cane, loudly threatening to knock him down. Black was removed,

whereupon Dawson, of Louisiana, at whose ruffianism we have just taken a glimpse, drew his pistol, cocked it, and profanely exclaimed to Giddings: "I'll shoot him, God damn him, I'll shoot him!"

Owing to the interposition of others, he did not commit the murder he had threatened.

These illustrations of the courtesy and refinement of Southern chivalry are a few taken from the official records of Congress. They might be multiplied at pleasure; but the foregoing amply show the nerve required of the little minority that first began to publicly espouse Republican principles. It clearly records, too, the general spirit of fierceness and intolerance that characterized and still characterizes the leaders of the slave States.

At a comparatively early day South Carolina enacted laws to restrain the emancipation of slaves and prevent free persons of color from entering the State. Louisiana and other Southern States quickly followed this example. Under these barbarous statutes the slave-drivers arrested and captured all persons of African descent entering their ports in the employ of the vessels of other States and countries.

Petitions and official communications asked Congress to relieve mariners, at least, from these unjust and odious laws, but that body, in full control of the flesh-brokers, refused to act. William Wirt, a Southerner and a slave-holder, declared, as attorney-general of the United States, that the laws complained of were "infractions of the federal Constitution, and violations of treaties with friendly nations." William Johnson, of South Carolina, while on the bench of the United States Supreme Court, pronounced the laws "unconstitutional and void."

The Southern States then partially ceased seizing colored persons from the vessels of foreign nations, but enacted and enforced still more merciless laws against the colored citizens entering their ports as seamen on the vessels of free States.

Some of those thus forcibly dragged from their ships were only fined and cast into prison; but many were sold into perpetual bondage.

This continued for years, the protests of Northern States against such gross treatment of their citizens being cast aside with scornful contempt. Finally, in 1844, the legislature of Massachusetts authorized the governor to appoint a commissioner to reside at Charleston, and another at New Orleans, to collect information as to the number from that State unlawfully seized in those cities. Also, to prosecute some of the suits before the higher courts for the purpose of testing the constitutionality of the laws under which the forcible seizures were being made.

To carry out the purpose of this resolve the governor appointed the well-known Samuel Hoar to proceed to Charleston. Venerable, conservative, scholarly, able and kind, Mr. Hoar started at once, with his daughter, on his mission of humanity, arriving at his destination in November, 1844.

James H. Hammond was then governor of South Carolina. He was the rankest of those blood-thirsty men for which the Carolinas have long been famous. While in Congress he boldly declared: "I warn the Abolitionists—ignorant, infatuated barbarians as they are—that, if chance shall thrust any of them into our hands, *they may expect a felon's death!*"

On receiving the letter announcing Mr. Hoar's appointment, Hammond made all haste to lay it before the legislature. That body promptly flew into an uproar, which was not allowed to subside until a series of resolutions were adopted declaring the right of South Carolina to exclude from her borders all persons whose presence might be considered dangerous; denying that free Negroes were citizens of the United States, and calling on the governor to expel² the emissary sent by Massachusetts to their territory.

² *Resolved*, That his excellency, the governor, be directed to expel from our territory the said agent, after due notice to depart; and that the legislature will sustain the executive authority in *any measures* that may be adopted for the purpose aforesaid.

Not satisfied with going beyond the pale of civilization and common decency, to say nothing of courtesy, the legislature followed up these resolutions with an act to banish, fine and imprison any person entering the State for the purpose of hindering or questioning the operation of the laws relative to free persons of color.

These resolves and acts were promulgated before the presence of Mr. Hoar became generally known. Charleston rose to a ferment of rage. The sheriff called on him to say that his mission was considered "an insult to the State;" that the people were highly incensed; his life was in imminent peril and the best thing to do was to leave the city at once.

The attorney-general wrote a letter practically suggesting a resort to lynching—that is, he wrote that Mr. Hoar should be warned to leave in order to avoid being lynched, which "would be a disgrace to the city." He did not care for Mr. Hoar, apparently, but did not like to "disgrace" Charleston by hanging him.

The venerable emissary declined to depart, saying he had been charged in a legal way with a legal duty, and he could not leave without attending to it. As warnings increased he offered to make up a case and take it to the Supreme Court for the purpose of receiving a decision in the most remote way possible. This offer the sheriff accepted; but as the flesh-brokers saw that the matter would thus be fairly brought before a court where their chances for success were doubtful, they ordered him to withdraw it and renewed their clamors for Mr. Hoar's instant departure.

Finally, a bank president and two eminent lawyers, one of them McGrath, subsequently a leader in the Rebellion, called and half ordered Mr. Hoar to leave the city. He refused, saying he had come in a lawful manner, had kept the peace and the laws, and could not be rightfully disturbed. They replied that they "would return soon and *escort* him to the boat." He replied that, although he was too old to

fight, he would not fly, and therefore they would find him there on their return to be disposed of as they might see fit.

As they turned to depart Mr. Hoar observed that his daughter was with him, to which Rose, the bank president, replied: "It is *that* which creates our embarrassment."

They were embarrassed in deciding how to dispose of him in the presence of his daughter without employing too much barbarity. If he had been alone it is easy to surmise what would have become of him. He was "escorted" out of the city, as it was, with his daughter by his side, and returned in sorrow and humiliation to Massachusetts.

* The outlawry of South Carolina, which has been painfully demonstrated again and again during the last fifty years, in this case took a more wantonly discourteous form than it ever had before. Although the Constitution of the United States declares that "citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States," she vauntingly defied and violated that provision not only as to the seamen temporarily entering her ports, but hustled from her midst Samuel Hoar and daughter, two of the most respectable, peaceable, refined and accomplished children of the Old Bay State.

But the Democratic disgrace of South Carolina was not without company. At the same time Mr. Hoar went to Charleston, Henry Hubbard, a respectable and able lawyer, was sent to New Orleans on a similar errand. His arrival there precipitated demonstrations hardly less violent than had that of Hoar in Charleston. Pierre Soule, subsequently the brilliant United States Senator from Louisiana, called with others and warned Mr. Hubbard to leave, as a general mob outbreak was apparent, and lynching was prepared for and threatened. Mr. Hubbard stated that he was not an Abolitionist, did not intend to infringe or comment upon the rights of the Pelican State, but only hoped to protect citizens of

Massachusetts imprisoned and sold into slavery without crime.

This disclaimer only added fuel to the flames. Several former citizens of Massachusetts, observing that Mr. Hubbard was about to be publicly hanged, begged him to leave, which he did. Returning home he made a brief report of his flight to escape death at the hands of the "respectable and law-abiding" people of Louisiana, and resigned.

Gayerre's History of Louisiana, written, it must be presumed, for the use of the young in schools, sanctions the hustling of Hubbard out of New Orleans by a mob, and declares with complacent relish that the Massachusetts agent "was not *permitted* to accomplish *all the mischief that was intended*." By mischief he meant preventing the free citizens of Massachusetts from being sold into bondage in Louisiana.

These flagrant inroads upon civilization and ordinary comity were laid before Congress, but that body, in deeper slavery to the Democratic masters of the South than were even the blacks themselves, refused to take any action. Mr. Hoar in his report inquired:

Has the Constitution of the United States the least practical validity or binding force in South Carolina? * * She prohibits, not only by her mobs, but by her legislature, the residence of a free white citizen of Massachusetts within the limits of South Carolina whenever she thinks his presence there inconsistent with her policy. Are the other States of the Union to be regarded as the conquered provinces of South Carolina?

Thus the Southern States, determined that everything, including decency, courtesy, humanity and the Constitution, must be subordinate to the interests of bondage, continued these cruel laws upon their statute books until cause and consequence went down together before the fire and sword of the Rebellion.

CHAPTER VIII.

TEXAS, LOPEZ, OREGON, CALIFORNIA.

Texas Relinquished for Florida—Slave-holding Settlers on Mexican Soil—The Machinations of Adventurers and Desperadoes—Americans Forbidden by Mexico to Settle in Texas—Sam Houston's Conquest—Texas Becomes a Quasi-Republic—It Must be Annexed or the Union Dissolved—Protest and Withdrawal of the Mexican Minister—Annexation Followed by War with Mexico—Remarkable Prophecies Against the Slave Power—Expedition of Southerners Under Narciso Lopez to Cuba—Defeat and Death—Young Democrats Captured and Carried to Spain—The Spanish Consul at New Orleans Mobbed—California With or Without Slavery—More Slave States or Disunion—Compromise of 1850—The Barbarous Fugitive Slave Act—Webster's Speech and Prophecy.

In 1803 when Louisiana was ceded by France to the United States, Spain claimed that her cession of the territory to France which the French made over to the United States, did not include Texas, and the United States held that it did—that is, those who favored the extension of slavery so held. Thus Texas became disputed territory, claimed by both this Republic and Mexico, which was a Spanish province. The inhabitants of the slave States rushed upon the disputed territory, formed settlements, introduced slavery, and from 1806 to 1816 made several unsuccessful attempts to forcibly wrest the country from Mexico. In one of these, in 1813, 2,500 Americans and Mexicans were killed, as well as 700 inhabitants of San Antonio.

In 1819 the river Sabine was established as the boundary between Texas and Louisiana, and the United States, in order to quiet the clamors of the Georgia and Carolina slave masters, relinquished her claim to Texas as a part of the consideration in purchasing from Spain the territory of Florida.

Citizens of this Republic, however, mostly agents and proprietors of slavery in the South, continued to pour into Texas, and by every known means fomented trouble and rebellion. They defied Mexican laws, committed numerous outrages and counseled revolution. In 1829 slavery was abolished in Mexico, yet Southern adventurers and desperadoes continued to carry slaves into Texas, in open defiance of Mexican law.

These disturbances and insurrections grew into such aggravated forms that the Mexican government was compelled to forbid any more Americans settling within her borders. Soon after, in 1833, led by the agents of slavery, an attempt was made to form Texas into an independent Mexican State, which failed.

Secret agencies were formed throughout the South for enlisting men to capture the Texan Republic, and in 1835 Sam Houston, of Tennessee, succeeded in this plot, and formed a provisional government, and, being chosen commander-in-chief, received aid enough from the South to enable him to drive the Mexicans out of Texas. Santa Anna invaded the country, but was finally routed at San Jacinto, and Texas became an independent republic. Her independence was, with indecent haste, acknowledged by the United States in 1837, and by European countries two years later.

Now began a conscienceless and desperate struggle for possession of this new republic, Secretary Calhoun announcing that the United States would take possession of it as soon as possible. The Southern Democrats demanded its annexation because its accession would open up a new and vast field to slavery, and ultimately make several new States with Senators and Representatives to overbalance those of the free North. The Free-Soilers opposed the scheme for that very reason. "We want it," said Hamilton, "to give a Gibraltar to the South," and said Henry A. Wise, "to give more weight to her end of the lever."

Mexico never acknowledged the independence of Texas, as did the United States and various foreign countries, but still claimed her as insurgent territory. Therefore when the scheme of annexation was proposed, the Mexican minister at Washington notified our government that its adoption would be regarded by Mexico as an act of hostile and warlike aggression, which must certainly be resisted to the uttermost by armed force. Heedless of this protest, the slave-drivers continued to howl for annexation. "Texas or disunion" was the Democratic watchword everywhere.

At a great mass-meeting in South Carolina, a convention of slave-holding States was demanded, "to take into consideration the question of annexing Texas to the Union, if the Union will accept it; or, if the Union will not accept it, *then of annexing Texas to the Southern States.*"

A convention at Beaufort announced that the Democracy of the South "*would dissolve the Union sooner than abandon Texas.*" Other conventions put forth similar threats, but the first treaty was defeated in 1843, notwithstanding these threats and the use by the agents of slavery and by the administration, of the most corrupt influences ever brought to bear upon the Senate.

In 1844 James K. Polk, a weak and comparatively unknown character from Tennessee, was nominated for the Presidency by the Democrats. His chief qualifications were that he was a slave-holder, favored the annexation of Texas and all other schemes that would advance and strengthen slavery, and was a servile tool of slavocracy. He was elected on the "annexation-or-disunion" cry and by gross fraud, and the next year a resolution defining the terms of annexation was passed, which was signed on March 2, 1845.

Texas formally assented to these terms July 4, 1845, and the Mexican minister demanded his passports, and returned home. Two days later the United States sent a squadron into the Gulf of Mexico to overawe the Mexicans. War en-

sued, and Gen. Zachary Taylor, a Louisiana slave-holder, advanced with an army to the Rio Grande to meet the Mexicans.

In the meantime Texas had not become a State of the Union; but in December, 1845, Stephen A. Douglas presented a bill for her admission with a constitution forever providing for slavery within her borders. Against its passage Webster made one of his earnest and ponderous speeches, and all the eloquence, argument, humanity and Christianity of the North were poured against it like a mighty flood, but without avail. Texas became a slave State on the last day of the black and eventful year of 1845.

Immediately afterward hostilities were opened between the United States and a country which had borne the insults and outrages of our slave power until patience had ceased to be a virtue, and a war was inaugurated which lasted just two years. It was a conflict conceived in sin and carried forward in iniquity, mostly by the slave-breeders of the South for the benefit of human bondage and the ascendancy of the slave power, and for no other purpose. It resulted (February 2, 1848) in a treaty by which the United States not only received clear title to Texas, but acquired the large stretch of territory that is now included within the boundaries of California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona.

This was a vile plot and a wicked conquest. It was a conflict in which the banners of Mexico were those of freedom and civilization and the standards of the United States those of subjugation, bondage and degradation. It presented the humiliating spectacle of a national effort on the part of Republican and Christian America to plant slavery where it had been prohibited by law by Mexico.

Edward S. Hamlin, of Ohio, declared that the correspondence of the Secretary of State concerning this matter showed that "we have no other God but slavery." Henry Wilson cried aloud to the South: "You are warring against

civilization, against humanity, against the noblest feelings of the heart, the noblest influences of the human soul and the providence of God, *and the conflict must ultimately end in your defeat.*"

Daniel D. Barnard said that if slavery should triumph the contest would "thenceforth be between freedom and slavery, and the South would then find not only that the sceptre had departed from Judah and a lawgiver from between his feet, *but that the Shiloh of the slave had come.*"

Thundered Joshua R. Giddings: "There is a power above us that will visit national sins with national judgments. I feel as confident that chastisement and tribulation for the offenses committed against the down-trodden sons of Africa await that people [the South] as I do that justice controls the destinies of nations and guides the power of Omnipotence."

Wonderful prophecies! With what terrible exactness they have been fulfilled the prostrate and suffering South alone can tell.

Somewhere in 1848 the Democracy of the South invited Narciso Lopez, a Venezuelan by birth, to come to the United States and organize an expedition to seize the island of Cuba and annex it to this Republic in order to prevent Spain, to which it belonged, from abolishing slavery therein. The slave masters were incensed because Spain had refused the offer made by President Polk under pressure of the slave power, of one hundred millions for the island, and desired to accomplish by unlawful means that which they had failed to do by lawful efforts.

Lopez, a desperate and ambitious man, willing to lend himself to almost any scheme, accepted the invitation and came to New Orleans in 1849. Several leading Southern Democrats allied themselves with him and began, not very secretly, to raise men and money to plunder Cuba and wrest her from Spain. President Taylor, observing the prepara-

tions of the pirates, issued a proclamation on August 11, 1849, calling attention to the treaty between the United States and Spain, warning all citizens of this Republic to abandon the expedition or suffer the extreme penalty in such cases made and provided, and calling upon federal officers everywhere to arrest all persons aiding and abetting or connected in any manner with the plot.

In Mobile, New Orleans and one or two other cities in the South Taylor's proclamation was suppressed as far as possible, and of course was disregarded. Hundreds of men and scores of fortunes were pledged to Lopez, and a strong military organization was formed at New Orleans, the headquarters of the outlaws, under his leadership.

The expedition, less than 1,000 strong, sailed for Cuba in May, 1850, expecting, no doubt, to be joined on the island by whatever portion of the people might be dissatisfied with Spanish rule. On the contrary the people gathered *en masse*, and the slave-breeding pirates were driven down into the sea. Hasty flight was made toward Key West, but the Spanish war ship *Pizarro* overtook and captured them. They narrowly escaped death at the hands of the Spanish government, as pirates.

Lopez escaped to New Orleans, where he was secreted by the Democratic slave-masters, and another expedition was at once organized. President Fillmore issued a proclamation in April, 1851, similar to that of Taylor, but it had no greater effect than that of his predecessor, except to make the pirate slave-masters more cautious. On the 3d of August another squad sailed from New Orleans on the *Pampero*. On the 11th they landed in Cuba and prepared for a season of rapine. Lopez went one way with his "army" and Col. Crittenden, his chief officer, with less than 100 men, went another. These were captured by the Spaniards on the 15th, speedily tried, condemned and shot on the following day.

A few days later Lopez was routed by Gen. Enna and some of his command killed, and ultimately himself and 150 men were captured. On August 26, with two or three others, he was garroted as a malefactor. The other prisoners, ambitious young Democrats, were taken to Spain, but in 1852, through federal intercession, they were released and permitted to return to the United States to organize and participate in the Rebellion against the federal Union.

The Southern Democrats were so incensed because Spain did not permit the pirates to seize, plunder and annex her rich and beautiful colony, Cuba, that they organized a riot and mobbed the Spanish flag and consular officers at New Orleans. For this bit of elegant and refined pastime of the Democracy, the United States was compelled to give redress to Spain.

This wicked scheme met a just fate, which was not the case with many of the plottings of Democracy and slavery until the war of the Rebellion.

In relation to the report that Spain, under pressure of Great Britain, was about to emancipate her slaves, Gov. Herbert, of Louisiana, said in his message of 1854: "Will the federal government, charged with the international interests of the States, anticipate the threatened peril, or patiently and quietly await the occurrence of it? The evil would then be irremediable."

This message, milder than many others of the South, meant that President Pierce must do what Lopez and his outlaws had failed to accomplish, namely, acquire Cuba by any means that might be necessary, in order to *prevent the abolition of slavery therein*. Listening to the clamor of the slave power, Congress had previously offered Spain \$100,000,000 for Cuba, but was met with a firm refusal. Gayerre's History calls this a "miserable failure" to "*protect Southern rights*."

The Democratic theory of "protecting Southern rights" was to seize, like a thief in the night, or like a mountain rob-

ber, all the adjacent provinces of friendly countries and swiftly convert them into slave States. Christian principles, humanity and national honor were never taken into consideration in discussing or carrying out their party policies and programmes.

Several expeditions for the seizure of Cuba have since been organized. Against these Millard Fillmore issued a proclamation and again in 1854 Franklin Pierce was compelled to promulgate a similar manifesto. They were all planned in the interests of slavery and slave-extension, and all failed.

On August 6, 1846, S. A. Douglas reported a bill for the organization of the territory of Oregon. It did not pass, but was raised at the next session. General Burt, of South Carolina, moved to amend by declaring that "inasmuch as Oregon was north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, known as the Missouri Compromise," slavery might be prohibited therein.

This was a crafty trick to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean. It was defeated in the House, but the slave-drivers, believing they had recruited some new strength, Douglas, a few months later, moved the following substitute:

That the line of 36 degrees and 30 minutes of north latitude, known as the Missouri Compromise line, as defined in the eighth section of an act entitled, "An Act to authorize the people of the Missouri territory to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit slavery in certain territories, approved March, 6, 1820," be, and the same is hereby, declared to extend to the Pacific Ocean; and the said eighth section, together with the compromise therein effected, is hereby revived, and declared to be in full force and binding for the future organization of the territories of the United States, in the same sense and with the same understanding with which it was originally adopted.

The substitute passed the Senate but was defeated in the House. Finally, after a long and able debate, the Oregon bill passed under the ordinance of 1787, though every Southern Democrat in the Senate voted nay, and Oregon came into the Union free.

The bill to admit California, reported by Henry Clay in the winter of 1849-50, precipitated discussion which clearly demonstrated the gross dishonesty of the Democrats. They had clung desperately to the State-rights and nullification heresies, because they were the ones most favorable to the extension of slavery, claiming that each State and not Congress had sole authority to regulate the "divine institution." But when it was proposed to admit California with a constitution of her own adoption (November 13, 1849), which forever excluded and forbade domestic slavery, the Southern Democrats opposed it. They favored State sovereignty when State sovereignty was asserted in favor of slavery; but like the outlaws that they were, opposed and conspired to overthrow it when it declared for the divine tenets of equal freedom.

The slave-holders of the Senate, not satisfied with speaking and voting against admitting California without forcibly injecting slavery into her constitution and borders in spite of the expressed will of the people to the contrary, adopted a set of resolutions "solemnly protesting against the admission" because the fundamental law of the Golden State "made an *odious* discrimination" against the sacred "property of fifteen slave-holding States of the Union," and declaring that *the erection of more free States "must lead to the dissolution of the Confederacy."*

This seditious protest, signed by J. M. Mason and R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia; A. P. Butler and R. P. Barnwell, of South Carolina; H. L. Turney, of Tennessee; Pierre Soule, of Louisiana; Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi; David R.

Atchison, of Missouri, and Jackson Morton and J. D. Yates, of Florida, was spread on the journals of Congress.

California, however, came into the Union September 9, 1850, free, but there grew out of the discussion relative thereto as an offset to her free constitution, the barbarous fugitive slave act of September 18, 1850, by which persons of color could be seized and arrested anywhere within the United States without a warrant or other process, and carried into slavery by any person who would make affidavit that he had lost a slave.

It also provided that the seized person's testimony should not be taken in evidence; that any citizen called upon by the slave-hunters must give aid in catching and holding any person of color who might be under chase; that if any such alleged fugitive escaped from an officer "*with or without* the assent of such marshal or his deputy," the officer should be liable for the value of the escaped fugitive; that any person harboring or concealing, or aiding in the escape of any alleged fugitive should be fined not more than \$1,000 and imprisoned for not more than six months, "and should moreover forfeit and pay the sum of \$1,000 for each fugitive so lost;" and each commissioner should receive an independent fee of \$10 for holding any alleged fugitive, but only \$5 in case the alleged slave should *not* be held.

Of course every colored person dragged before a Democratic commissioner was held to slavery, even though he had been born and always lived free; for it was twice as profitable for the commissioner to hold as to discharge.

The other concessions made by the advocates of freedom to pacify the wrath of the slave-holders which had been kindled by the admission of California as a free state, were bills erecting Utah as a territory to be admitted as a State with or without slavery as she might elect, and creating the territory of New Mexico upon a similar proviso. The Texas boundary bill, limiting that State as she now appears, upon the payment to her of \$10,000,000, and a bill abolishing the

slave-trade in the District of Columbia, also accompanied as "compromises" the admission of California.

When the Democrats announced that although they would break up the Union unless California should be admitted with slavery, they should do it "calmly and peaceably," Daniel Webster rose in his greatest majesty and uttered this prophetic warning:

I hear with pain, anguish and distress the words *secession*, peaceable secession! Sir, your eyes and mine are never destined to see that miracle—the dismemberment of this vast country without convulsion! The breaking up of the fountains of the great deep without ruffling the surface! Who is so foolish as to expect to see such a thing? Sir, he who sees these States now revolving in harmony around a common centre, and expects to see them quit their places and fly off without convulsion, may look the next hour to see the heavenly bodies rush from their spheres and jostle against each other in realms of space, without producing the crash of the universe. *There can be no such thing as peaceable secession.* Peaceable secession is an utter impossibility. Is the great Constitution under which we live here, covering the whole country, is it to be thawed and melted away by secession, as the snows of the mountains melt under the influence of the vernal sun, disappear almost unobserved and die off? No, sir! No, sir! I see it as plainly as I see the sun in heaven. *I see disruption must produce such a war as I will not describe in its two-fold characters.*

This matchless warning, this remarkable prophecy, the voracious and unscrupulous Democrats would not heed. Has it not been divinely fulfilled, and have they not felt their just punishment?

The North received California free, and the Democrats of the South received from Webster an earnest signal of danger, that, wisely heeded, would have saved them from destruction. That warning was unheeded, as will be those of to-day, which are not less earnest or important.

CHAPTER IX.

KANSAS AND NEBRASKA—A BLOODY CHAPTER.

The Slave-Breeders' Last and Most Desperate Sally—Douglas' Squatter Sovereignty Bill—Douglas Resided in Illinois But Held Slaves in Mississippi—Proposal to Repeal the Missouri Compromise—Vote on the Passage of the Bill in the Senate—Disgraceful Scenes—Vote in the House on May 22, 1854—Settlers Pour into Kansas—Immigrants From Free States Intercepted and Assaulted—Resolutions by the Desperadoes—The Federal Government Sends an Army to Support the Border Ruffians—The Election of November 29, 1854—Shocking Laws Against Freedom Adopted by the Slaveryites—A Congressional Committee Discovers Gross Frauds—Gov. Reeder Removed—Militia From the Slave States—The U. S. Marshal Places Them on Federal Pay—Lawrence Sacked—The Free Legislature Dispersed by Federal Troops Commanded by Slave-holders—The Legislature Again Dispersed for "Treason"—Gov. Geary Resigns—Gov. Walker Appointed, but Shocked at Federal Excesses, Resigns—Gov. Denver Resigns and is Succeeded by Gov. Medary—Peace Restored and a Free Constitution Adopted—Kansas Admitted in 1861—A Frightful Record of Democratic Misdeeds.

We now come to the last and bloodiest attempt of the slave-breeders and flesh-brokers to over-ride and violate the laws previously made by themselves and plant human bondage on soil solemnly dedicated to eternal freedom—their last effort to force slavery into free territory against the wishes of its people.

Missouri was admitted as a slave State in 1820 only upon the terms of the Missouri Compromise, which forever prohibited involuntary servitude in territory now constituting Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho and a portion of Minnesota. In 1853, when a

bill to organize the territory of Kansas was presented, a Southern Democrat arose and demanded that the Missouri Compromise should not be held to prohibit slavery within the new territory, though in express terms it *did* prohibit it forever, and was passed for that purpose.

This bill was abandoned and one far more cunning was brought in by Stephen A. Douglas, a slave-holder of the State of Mississippi, who resided in and pretended to represent in the United States Senate the free State of Illinois, but who really represented the slave interests of the South.¹ His bill proposed to erect two territories—Kansas and Nebraska—instead of one, to be admitted as States with or without slavery, as their people might elect. This flagrant violation of the compromise of 1820 he labeled “squatter sovereignty.” He expected that through it Kansas would be captured by way of Missouri by the slave-breeders, and that Nebraska would fall an easy victim to the same unholy monster by the hordes that could pass through the gates of Kansas after it had become a slave State.

¹ MR. EDITOR.—I had the pleasure of attending a barbecue given by Mr. James Strickland, the agent and overseer of the Hon. S. A. Douglas, of Illinois, at the plantation of this gentleman on Pearl River, in this county, on the 30th ult. The barbecue was intended really for the slaves on the place, in accordance with a yearly custom which Mr. Strickland has adopted, but there was a goodly number of ladies and gentlemen present from the immediate neighborhood.

The Negroes followed the invited guests at the tables, and sat down to the same dainties and delicacies which had just afforded so much satisfaction to our palates. They numbered some 140 in all. It was a goodly sight to see the dark countenances lighted up with pleasure at the sight of the eatables before them; the entire *abandon* with which they pitched into the good things; the extreme delicacy of the female portion of the crowd, ordering the delighted waiter with fastidious taste and careless toss of the head to “fetch the nicest piece of the sheep-meat they could find,” or “to cut a big slice of de cake wid de icing on it,” or to “stand further back, and not crowd on de lady when she war drinking her coffee.”

The most amusing part of the scene was a table full of little snow-balls—some forty in number, and all about one size and age. They were the blackest of black “little niggers.” Their heads rolled from side to side as they crammed in the food, and more particularly the cake, in a pure repletion of animal enjoyment. They did enjoy it. Tears were in their large rolling eyes, but they were tears produced by satiety of cake. They wept because they could

“Eat no more!”

My object, Mr. Editor, in thus detailing the scene which I witnessed on this plantation is to call the attention of your readers (and it may be some who are not) to the fact that here in our county of Lawrence, in the State of Mississippi, is a large plantation of Negroes owned by a Northern United States Senator, and that these Negroes are better fed, better clothed, and their bodily comforts better provided for, than many of even the white laboring classes of the North—passing by for the present the condition of its free Negro population.—*From the Southern Journal, August 5, 1853.*

This bill,¹ wicked as a covenant with hell, was of course passed, because the President, a majority of the Supreme Court and of Congress favored the extension of slave territory by any means, no matter how foul and dishonorable. And thus was laid bare a splendid region to become a bloody battle-ground between freedom and slavery.

As the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, with its legitimate consequences,, was a more potent factor than any other in giving force and direction to that tremendous revulsion which bequeathed to history the Republican party, the Rebellion and the freedom, it is proper to bring to view here the names of those who voted for as well as those who voted against it. The present generation should not be permitted to forget the distinguished statesmen who acted a part which changed the character of the Republic.

At 5 o'clock on Saturday morning, March 4, 1854, the anniversary of the inauguration of Franklin Pierce, amidst scenes of drunkenness and disgrace never before witnessed in that chamber, the bill was passed by the following vote:²

YEAS.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Moses Norris, Jared W. Williams.

CONNECTICUT—Isaac Toucey.

NEW JERSEY—John R. Thomson.

PENNSYLVANIA—Richard Brodhead, Jr.

INDIANA—John Pettit.

ILLINOIS—Stephen A. Douglas, James Shields.

¹ SEC. 2. And be it further enacted * * * that the Constitution and laws of the United States which are not locally applicable shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory of Kansas and elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850 commonly called Compromise Measures, is *hereby declared inoperative and void*: it being the true intent and meaning of the act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to revive or put in force any law or regulation which may have existed prior to the act of March 6, 1820, either protecting, establishing, prohibiting or abolishing slavery.

² Whigs in *Italics*, Democrats in Roman and Free-Soilers in SMALL CAPITALS.

IOWA—Aug. C. Dodge, Geo. W. Jones.
 MICHIGAN—Lewis Cass, Chas. E. Stuart.
 CALIFORNIA—Wm. M. Gwin, John B. Weller.
 DELAWARE—James A. Bayard.
 MARYLAND—*Thomas G. Pratt.*
 VIRGINIA—Jas. M. Mason, R. M. T. Hunter.
 NORTH CAROLINA—*George E. Badger.*
 SOUTH CAROLINA—A. P. Butler, Josiah J. Evans.
 GEORGIA—*William C. Dawson.*
 ALABAMA—Benj. Fitzpatrick, Clement C. Clay, Jr.
 MISSISSIPPI—Stephen Adams, Albert G. Brown.
 FLORIDA—Jackson Morton.
 LOUISIANA—John Slidell, *J. P. Benjamin.*
 KENTUCKY—*Arch. Dixon, John B. Thompson.*
 TENNESSEE—*James C. Jones.*
 MISSOURI—D. R. Atchison, *Henry S. Geyer.*
 ARKANSAS—W. K. Sebastian, Robert W. Johnson.
 TEXAS—Thomas J. Rusk.

NAYS.

MAINE—Hannibal Hamlin, *Wm. Pitt Fessenden.*
 MASSACHUSETTS—CHARLES SUMNER.
 RHODE ISLAND—Charles T. James.
 CONNECTICUT—*Truman Smith.*
 VERMONT—*Solomon Foot.*
 NEW YORK—*William H. Seward, Hamilton Fish.*
 OHIO—SALMON P. CHASE, *Benjamin F. Wade.*
 WISCONSIN—Isaac P. Walker, Henry Dodge.
 TENNESSEE—*John Bell.*
 TEXAS—Sam Houston.

ABSENT.

MASSACHUSETTS—Edward Everett.
 RHODE ISLAND—Philip Allen.
 VERMONT—Samuel S. Phelps.
 NEW JERSEY—William Wright.
 PENNSYLVANIA—James Cooper.
 DELAWARE—John M. Clayton.
 MARYLAND—James A. Pearce.
 INDIANA—Jesse D. Bright.
 GEORGIA—Robert Toombs.
 FLORIDA—Stephen R. Mallory.

The free States gave fourteen yeas—all Democrats; the slave States twenty-three yeas—fourteen Democrats and nine Whigs. The nay votes consisted of twelve from the free and two from the slave States—seven Whigs, two Free-Soilers and five Democrats. The ten absentees consisted of five Whigs, four Democrats and Robert Toombs.

In the House the bill met with such able and determined opposition that for some weeks the lovers of freedom had high hopes of its ultimate defeat. Thousands of earnest protests, from all parts of the free States, were showered upon the Representatives; tens of thousands of letters were written and hundreds of thousands of prayers offered against the iniquitous and fraudulent measure, but in vain. The administration and the wealthy slave-owners exerted their utmost influence, corrupt and otherwise, in favor of its passage, and postponed final action until May 22, when, having secured the required majority, it became a law by the following vote:¹

YEAS 113.

FREE STATES.

MAINE—Moses McDonald—1.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Harry Hibbard—1.

CONNECTICUT—Colin M. Ingersoll—1.

VERMONT—None.

MASSACHUSETTS—None.

RHODE ISLAND—None.

NEW YORK—Thomas W. Cumming, Francis B. Cutting, Peter Rowe, John J. Taylor, William M. Tweed, Hiram Walbridge, William A. Walker, Mike Walsh, Theo. R. Westbrook—9.

PENNSYLVANIA—Samuel A. Bridges, John L. Dawson, Thomas B. Florence, J. Glancy Jones, William H. Kurtz, John McNair, Asa Packer, John Robbins, Jr., Christian M. Straub, William H. Witte, Hendrick B. Wright—11.

NEW JERSEY—Samuel Lilly, George Vail—2.

OHIO—David T. Disney, Frederick W. Green, Edson B. Olds, Wilson Shannon—4.

¹ Whigs in *Italics*, Democrats in Roman, Free-Soilers in SMALL CAPITALS.

INDIANA—John G. Davis, Cyrus L. Dunham, Norman Eddy, William H. English, Thomas A. Hendricks, James H. Lane, Smith Miller—7.

ILLINOIS—James C. Allen, Willis Allen, Wm. A. Richardson—3.

MICHIGAN—Samuel Clark, David Stuart—2.

IOWA—Bernhart Henn—1

WISCONSIN—None.

CALIFORNIA—Milton S. Latham, J. A. McDougall—2. Total—44.

SLAVE STATES.

DELAWARE—George R. Riddle—1.

MARYLAND—William T. Hamilton, Henry May, Jacob Shower, Joshua Vansant—4.

VIRGINIA—Thomas H. Bayly, Thomas S. Bocock, John S. Caskie, Henry A. Edmundson, Charles J. Faulkner, William O. Goode, Zedekiah Kidwell, John Letcher, Paulas Powell, William Smith, John F. Snodgrass—11.

NORTH CAROLINA—William S. Ashe, Burton Craige, Thomas L. Clingman, *John Kerr*, Thomas Ruffin, Henry M. Shaw—6.

SOUTH CAROLINA—William W. Boyce, Preston S. Brooks, James L. Orr—3.

GEORGIA—David J. Bailey, Elijah W. Chastain, Alfred H. Colquitt, Junius Hillyer, *David A. Reese*, Alex. H. Stephens—6.

ALABAMA—*James Abercrombie*, Williamson R. W. Cobb, James F. Dowdell, Sampson W. Harris, George S. Houston, Philip Phillips, William R. Smith—7.

MISSISSIPPI—William S. Barry, William Barksdale, Otho R. Singleton, Daniel B. Wright—4.

LOUISIANA—William Dunbar, Roland Jones, John Perkins, Jr.—3.

KENTUCKY—John C. Breckenridge, James S. Chrisman, *Leander M. Cox*, *Clement S. Hill*, John M. Elliott, *Benj. E. Grey*, *William Preston*, Richard H. Stanton—8.

TENNESSEE—William M. Churchwell, George W. Jones, *Charles Ready*, Samuel A. Smith, Frederick P. Stanton, *Felix K. Zollincoffer*—6.

MISSOURI—Alfred W. Lamb, *James J. Lindley*, *John G. Miller*, *Mordecai Oliver*, John S. Phelps—5.

ARKANSAS—A. B. Greenwood, Edwin A. Warren—2.

FLORIDA—A. E. Maxwell—1.

TEXAS—Peter Hansbrough Bell, Geo. W. Smyth—2. Total—69.

Total, Free and Slave States—113.

NAYS 110.

NORTHERN STATES.

MAINE—*Samuel P. Benson, E. Wilder Farley, Thomas J. D. Fuller, Samuel Mayall, Israel Washburn, Jr.*—5.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—*George W. Kittredge, George W. Morrison*—2

MASSACHUSETTS—*Nathaniel P. Banks, Jr., Samuel L. Crocker, ALEX. DE WITT, Edward Dickinson, J. Wiley Edmands, Thomas D. Eliot, John Z. Goodrich, Charles W. Upham, Samuel H. Walley, Tappan Wentworth*—10.

RHODE ISLAND—*Thomas Davis, Benjamin B. Thurston*—2.

CONNECTICUT—*Nathan Belcher, James T. Pratt, Origen S. Seymour*—3.

VERMONT—*James Meacham, Alvah Sabin, Andrew Tracy*—3.

NEW YORK—*Henry Bennett, Davis Carpenter, Gilbert Dean, Caleb Lyon, Reuben E. Fenton, Thomas T. Flagler, George Hastings, Solomon G. Haven, Charles Hughes, Daniel T. Jones, Orsamus B. Matteson, Edwin D. Morgan, William Murray, Andrew Oliver, Jared V. Peck, Rufus W. Peckham, Bishop Perkins, Benjamin Pringle, Russell Sage, George A. Simmons, GERRIT SMITH, John Wheeler*—22.

NEW JERSEY—*Alex. C. M. Pennington, Charles Skelton, Nathan T. Stratton*—3.

PENNSYLVANIA—*Joseph R. Chandler, Carlton B. Curtis, John Dick, Augustus Drum, William Everhart, James Gamble, Galusha A. Grow, Isaac E. Hiester, Thomas M. Howe, John McCulloch, New Middleswarth, David Ritchie, Samuel L. Russell, Michael C. Trout*.
—14.

OHIO—*Edward Ball, Lewis D. Campbell, Alfred P. Edgerton, Andrew Ellison, JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, Aaron Harlan, John Scott Harrison, H. H. Johnson, William D. Lindsley, M. H. Nichols, Thomas Ritchey, William R. Sapp, Andrew Stuart, John L. Taylor, EDWARD WADE*—15.

INDIANA—*Andrew J. Harlan, Daniel Mace, Samuel W. Parker*—3.

ILLINOIS—*James Knox, Jesse O. Norton, Elihu B. Washburne, John Wentworth, Richard Yates*—5.

MICHIGAN—*David A. Noble, Hestor L. Stevens*—2.

WISCONSIN—*Ben. C. Eastman, Daniel Wells, Jr.*—2.

IOWA—None.

CALIFORNIA—None.

Total—91.

SOUTHERN STATES.

VIRGINIA—*John S. Millson*—1.

NORTH CAROLINA—*Richard C. Puryear, Sion H. Rogers*—2.

TENNESSEE—*Robert M. Bugg, Wm. Cullom, Emerson Eerthidge, Nathaniel G. Taylor*—4

LOUISIANA—*Theodore G. Hunt*—1.

MISSOURI—*Thomas H. Benton*—1

OTHER SOUTHERN STATES—None. Total—9

ABSENT, OR NOT VOTING—21.

NEW ENGLAND STATES—*Wm. Appleton, of Massachusetts*—1.

NEW YORK—*Geo. W. Chase, James Maurice*—2.

PENNSYLVANIA—None.

NEW JERSEY—None.

OHIO—*George Bliss, Moses B. Corwin*—2.

ILLINOIS—*Wm. H. Bissell*—1.

CALIFORNIA—None.

INDIANA—*Eben. M. Chamberlain*—1.

MICHIGAN—None.

IOWA—*John P. Cook*—1.

WISCONSIN—*John B. Macy*—1.

MARYLAND—*John R. Franklin, Augustus R. Sollers*—2.

VIRGINIA—*Fayette McMullen*—1.

NORTH CAROLINA—None.

DELAWARE—None.

SOUTH CAROLINA—*Wm. Aiken, Lawrence M. Keitt, John McQueen*—3.

GEORGIA—*Wm. B. W. Dent, James L. Seward*—2.

ALABAMA—None.

MISSISSIPPI—*Wiley P. Harris*—1.

KENTUCKY—*Linn Boyd (Speaker), Presley Ewing*—2.

MISSOURI—*Samuel Caruthers*—1.

ARKANSAS—None.

FLORIDA—None.

TEXAS—None.

TENNESSEE—None.

LOUISIANA—None.

There was no necessity for organizing the territory of Nebraska, as, according to the reports of the government agent, Geo. W. Maypenny, it contained no settlements and but three or four licensed traders when the agitation began. Its untimely organization was therefore put upon the government by main force, solely in the interests of the slave-breeder's realm.

The civilization of Kansas, when the agitation looking to her erection into a slave dominion began, was but little farther advanced than that of Nebraska. Therefore it was found slow work to colonize the new territory, even from Missouri, by a permanent immigration; for the people of that State had land enough of their own, still unoccupied, to absorb for years their surplus population. Their only recourse, therefore, was to send their worst inhabitants across the border, not to become settlers, but to vote and fight for slavery.

The determination to plant bondage in Kansas at whatever cost of fraud and violence may be inferred from the following extract from the Jackson *Mississippian* of July 11, 1854:

All the best locations in the territory have already been staked out, *and the foundation for a log cabin laid, by hundreds and thousands of slave-owners from the border slave counties in Missouri, who have entered into solemn pledges to protect each other in their claims, and to keep all Abolitionists from the Territory.* There remains no longer a doubt but that Kansas has already made a beginning *which insures it a slave State.* Greeley and the Abolitionists may flounder and flutter until they are satisfied; *Kansas is now a slave Territory, and will be a slave State.* There are already enough slave-owners interested in Kansas *to whip out all the Abolitionists who may dare to pollute the soil with their incendiary feet.* The slave-owners of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, by hundreds and thousands, will soon seek that delightful country, and would you believe it, Mississippians have already been in the Territory and staked out claims, *in the names of men whom they have taken along to erect a log cabin on each pre-emption.*

* * * It is reasonable to suppose that Kansas will soon present to Congress her constitution, with a slavery clause. Then Southern men will be required to breast the gathering storm, as men who have a country to love; and they will take pleasure in despising such traitors and doughfaces as Benton, Houston, Bell, and their Free-Soil allies.

On July 29, 1854, a meeting of Democrats was held at Weston, Mo., at which resolutions were adopted declaring in favor of extending slavery into Kansas, and a Defensive Association was formed, sworn to assist in removing any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of Northern

emigrant aid societies. These resolutions were published, signed by G. Gallow as president and B. F. Stringfellow as secretary. Subsequently they were adopted by public meetings held in other cities in Missouri.

A meeting was held at Salt Creek by ruffians from Missouri and Mississippi which adopted several very significant resolutions. One declared that Kansas must be made a slave State; another that it was the duty of Missourians to prevent by force or otherwise all Northern fanatics, Abolitionists or "hostile emigrants" from the free States from passing through the State to Kansas, and the eighth announced: "We will afford protection to no Abolitionist as a settler of Kansas Territory."

Everybody acquainted with Southern methods knows what is meant when a public meeting in that section resolves to "furnish no protection." The resolution meant violence. No devotee of freedom and equality would ever be guilty of the absurdity of asking protection from such a wicked and bloody band.

Massachusetts had chartered a wealthy corporation called the Emigrant Aid Company; Connecticut followed soon after with a similar company. The New York *Tribune* opened a Kansas contribution, and aid societies sprang into activity at hundreds of points in the North-west. Thus stimulated, the people of the free States flocked to Kansas in such numbers that in a few months they constituted a decided majority of the actual settlers.

The Missourians, with force and arms, attempted to carry out their resolutions and prevent Northern and Eastern settlers from passing through their State, for that purpose taking numerous lives and destroying a large amount of property. But the emigrants then wound around through Iowa, thus circumventing the Democratic ruffians. The administration became alarmed at the ill success of its palpable wickedness, and dispatched an army to Kansas to compel the

establishment and acceptance of slavery. That was not the reason assigned, but history shows unmistakably that it was the true one.

The people only slumbered. This high-handed outrage awoke them from their lethargy, and the next House of Representatives lost its Democratic-ruffian majority. Kansas thus gained a remote chance of becoming free; but the war continued. The "Border Ruffians,"¹ who were numerous near the Missouri frontier, became more violent than ever. The first choice of a delegate to Congress took place November 29, 1854. It was carried by organized bands from Missouri, who crossed the border on election day, and returned at once after giving in their ballots. In the spring of 1855, the ruffians in this way voted to organize a Territorial legislature; and this measure was carried in the same manner. The same roughs, by the same unlawful process, met at Pawnee the next July, and adopted a State Constitution. In their haste, as well as to secure at once the establishment of slavery, they took a summary vote, adopting *en masse* the laws of slave-holding Missouri; and at the same time enacted a set of original statutes, which, to the horror of the civilized world, denounced the penalty of death for nearly fifty different offenses *against the institution of human bondage!*

A committee, of which John Sherman was a member, was sent by Congress to investigate the condition of Kansas. Southern journals, knowing the startling crimes their agents had committed, advised resistance and violence, and it was thought for a time that an investigation would be impossible. Notwithstanding all the obstacles interposed, the active members of the committee discovered that of the 2,871 votes cast at the first election 1,729 were known and proved to be fraudulent. They also found that of the 6,218 votes thrown at the election of March 30, 1855, only 1,310 were legal, and

¹ The name by which the Democratic party was known for several years before the Rebellion,

791, or a majority, were for the free State or anti-slavery candidates.

Gov. Reeder¹ was after a time removed and Wilson Shannon, of Ohio, appointed to fill his place. Mr. Reeder was at once nominated and elected for delegate in Congress. At the same time delegates were chosen for a constitutional convention. They met at Topeka on September 25, 1855, and promulgated a constitution in which slavery was forever prohibited, which, after a bloody fight between the people of Kansas and the armed Democrats of Missouri, was adopted.

On January 15, 1856, an election for State officers was held, resulting in choosing Charles Robinson for governor, and a legislature under the Topeka constitution. In April a large body of armed men from Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and other slave States, arrived in Kansas under command of Gen. Buford. Scandalous as it may seem, the Democratic United States marshal placed Buford's men on the pay rolls of the government and armed them with federal muskets.

These marauders started at once to lay waste the territory. The people of Lawrence, under promise of peace and protection, gave their arms to the sheriff. Instantly the Southern ruffians attacked the town, blew up the hotel, burned Gov. Robinson's house, destroyed the anti-slavery printing offices and rifled the residences of the free settlers.

Civil war now spread throughout the territory. The people of the North held meetings to enlist additional settlers, cash poured into the *Tribune* fund, and food, clothing, seeds, arms and money were sent in quantities to the beleaguered freemen.

The legislature met at Topeka on July 4, 1856, and was dispersed by the mongrel United States troops. The "grand

¹ Mr. Reeder went from Pennsylvania a staunch Democrat, but the conscienceless frauds of the federal administration and of the Democracy in Kansas drove him at once over to the Republican party, in which he served faithfully till his death. He was removed because he would not aid in forcing slavery into Kansas.

jury" indicted Gov. Reeder, Gov. Robinson and James H. Lane, and other Free-State men for "treason," and the Democrats gleefully cast them into jail. On September 8, 1856, John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania, was appointed governor to succeed Shannon. He issued a proclamation of peace, and promised the free settlers protection in their persons, pursuits and property. They therefore laid down their arms.

This was no sooner done than the pirates from the Southern States organized a numerous army, and with their regiments and cannons attacked Lawrence under the command of a leading Democratic member of the Missouri legislature. Gov. Geary, calling forth the United States troops, finally induced the invaders to retire.

On January 26, 1857, the free legislature met at Topeka, but was dispersed by the United States marshal, who captured several members and cast them into jail at Tecumseh. The slaveryites now met in legislature at Lecompton and adopted a resolution calling a convention to frame another State constitution. Gov. Geary resigned because the pro-slavery United States Senate refused to confirm his appointment of Harrison to succeed Lecompte as chief justice. Lecompte had discharged without trial the ruffians that came before him for killing Free-State men. Robt. J. Walker, of Mississippi, was appointed to succeed Geary.

The election for a constitutional convention was participated in only by a few slavery men along the border. Soon after, the regular territorial election was held. Gov. Walker guaranteed protection to the settlers, and they turned out and elected M. J. Parrott delegate in Congress by a vote of 7,600 to 3,700, and secured a large majority of the legislature.

Enraged at Gov. Walker for guaranteeing protection to the settlers on election day, the pro-slavery invaders attempted to overturn the result by a false return from Oxford, a place of only eleven small shanties. Gov. Walker rejected it as a manifest fraud, and on making a further examination

discovered that a somewhat distinguished Democrat of Louisiana had copied the fraudulent Oxford return alphabetically from an old Cincinnati directory!

The pro-slavery convention, appointed without an election worthy of the name, met at Lecompton and promulgated a constitution recognizing and protecting slavery and prohibiting the passage of any laws of emancipation. A despicable trick was resorted to for the purpose of securing its adoption. The ballots were prepared for and against thus: "Constitution with slavery," and "Constitution without slavery." This thimble-rig game made it impossible to vote against the Lecompton constitution. No matter which ticket was voted, it was for the slavery Lecompton constitution.

Gov. Walker condemned both the constitution and the nefarious proceedings connected with its promulgation, and started for Washington to prevent Congress from accepting it. Apprised of his mission, the President hastened to approve the fraudulent instrument, and had officially signed it before the arrival of Gov. Walker, who, shocked at the dishonorable course of the administration, promptly resigned. J. W. Denver, of California, was appointed to succeed him.

An election was held for the rejection or adoption of the slave clauses of the Lecompton constitution, on December 21, 1856. Being unable to vote in a free manner, the Free-State men did not go to the polls. The obnoxious and fraudulent instrument was therefore adopted by a vote of 6,143 to 569. The affirmative votes came almost solidly from a little stretch of uninhabited country along the Missouri border, in which whites and blacks from every slave State in the South, including, it was alleged, an ex-governor and two congressmen, fraudulently stuffed the ballot-boxes.

The invaders' legislature ordered a vote for State officers under the Lecompton constitution, on January 4, 1858. The settlers' legislature then submitted the Lecompton constitution to the people, *as a whole*, to be accepted or rejected, the elec-

tion also to take place on January 4, 1858. It was rejected by a majority of 10,226. Congress, after a long discussion, again sent the Lecompton fraud to a vote of the people, and again was it rejected by a majority of 10,000 votes, on August 3, 1858. Gov. Denver then resigned and Samuel Medary, of Ohio, succeeded him.

The settlers' legislature submitted another constitution, which was adopted. Some portions of it proved unsatisfactory, and in January, 1859, the legislature submitted to the people the question of whether they would call another constitutional convention. The proposition was accepted by about 4,000 majority. The new constitution, forever prohibiting slavery, was promulgated at Wyandot, July 4, 1859, and was adopted October 4, by 4,000 majority.

On December 6, 1859, a State election was held under the new constitution and Charles Robinson was chosen governor. On January 29, 1861, Congress having approved her constitution, Kansas, with an humane and Christian constitution, became a free State, and under her blood-stained banner marched proudly but peaceably into the capitol just as her foes of the South were rallying to dismember the Union.

The facts thus briefly related constitute the civil history of the Kansas struggle against slavery. A fratricidal war raged over her rich plains for three years. Bloodshed, robbery, devastation and fire spread like a pestilence through her humble settlements, and but a faint shadow of the fearful record made by pro-slavery Democracy during that eventful period is brought out in this narration. The details of it would fill many volumes.

The scenes of butchery, persecution and atrocity that attended the effort of the Democratic flesh-brokers to forcibly overthrow their old-time political god, State-sovereignty, because that sovereignty had been asserted *against* instead of in favor of human bondage in Kansas, have never been written. Nor will they ever be recorded, except upon the pages

of those mighty tomes, which, fortunately for the Democracy, will not be opened until the end of time, when God shall sit in judgment on us all with punishment according to our several sins.

CHAPTER X.

THE BLUDGEON IN THE SENATE:

Charles Sumner's "Crime Against Kansas"—Slavocracy Aroused—Its Devotees Contrive Violence—Preston Brooks Assaults Sumner—Committees Appointed to Investigate—Henry Wilson, Sumner's Colleague, Describes the Affair—Brooks' Egotistical Speech—Jeff. Davis and the "Chivalry" Cast Laurels upon the Assailant—The Richmond *Enquirer's* Brutal Sentiments—Sumner and His Friends Must Hang or the Union Dissolve—South Carolina Resolutions—Southern Sentiment—Other Northern Freemen Threatened With Similar Treatment—Sumner Never Fully Recovered—Ultimate Results of the Ruffianism of Brooks and His Friends.

It is impossible to deny that in the popular view the horrors of crime are added to or mitigated by immediate surroundings. The world is shocked when a President or other high dignitary is struck down by the agents of political diabolism, but the drunken brawl that ends fatally passes into oblivion without particular notice or regret.

On the 19th day of May, 1856, Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, delivered, on the floor of the Senate, his famous philippic, "The Crime Against Kansas." While it was dignified and devoid of personality, it was nevertheless a terrible indictment of the pro-slavery Democracy. In closing he made answer to Senator Butler, of South Carolina, saying:

The Senator dreams that he can subdue the North. He disclaims the open threat but his conduct implies it. How little that senator knows himself, or the strength of the cause he presents! He is but a mortal man; but against him

is an immortal principle. With finite strength he wrestles with infinite, and he must fail. Against him are stronger battalions than any marshalled by mortal arm—the inborn, ineradicable and invincible sentiments of the human heart; against him is nature in all its subtle forces; against him is God. Let him try to subdue these!

This bold and unsparing utterance lashed the Southern fire-eaters into a furious rage. The speech, being founded on the Gibraltar of principles and truth, was not answerable by any form of logic, eloquence, justice or sentiment that the Democrats could command. They must make a defense of another kind.

Contriving together, they agreed that a personal assault should be made upon Sumner, and Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, the State particularly referred to by the senator from Massachusetts, was chosen to carry the ruffianism into effect. He at first proposed to meet Sumner at the gate-house of the Capitol grounds, or at the foot of the great stairway leading up to the building; but Henry A. Edmundson, a representative from Virginia, advised him that Sumner was physically a brave and powerful man, and it would be “more safe and discreet” to take him at some disadvantage. In this Lawrence M. Keitt, of South Carolina, concurred.

Therefore, on Thursday, May 22, Brooks, having fired his courage with whisky, proceeded to the Senate chamber. Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, Robert Toombs, of Georgia, John Slidell of Louisiana, Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana, (Vice-President of the United States) and Lawrence M. Keitt, having been previously informed of the hour the outrage was to take place, were present.

Brooks held a long gutta percha cane, over one inch in diameter and very heavy. Following the advice of Keitt and Edmundson, he approached Sumner, who sat at his desk leaning heavily forward over his writing, from behind, and at once dealt him a powerful blow on the head. Half-dazed, Sumner attempted to rise, wrenching loose his desk in the

effort; but Brooks continued to rain still fiercer blows upon him, and he soon fell, unconscious, terribly lacerated and bruised, his blood flooding the aisle.

Keitt, having also fortified his "chivalry" with liquor, stood cursing and warning back with flourishes of a heavy bludgeon, the advances of those who rushed forward to save Sumner from death.

On the following day Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, called the attention of the Senate to the "brutal, murderous and cowardly assault" on his colleague, but declined to offer any resolution. No Democratic senator moving, Wm. H. Seward, of New York, offered a resolution of inquiry. Vice-President Jesse D. Bright, to whom the friends of slavery, ruffianism and disunion owe an undying debt of gratitude, appointed to conduct the inquiry, James A. Pearce of Maryland, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Henry Dodge, of Wisconsin, Philip Allen, of Rhode Island and Henry S. Geyer, of Missouri—all slave-holders or pro-slavery Democrats, and Sumner's enemies.

In the House Lewis D. Campbell, of Ohio, A. C. M. Pennington, of New Jersey, Francis E. Spinner, of New York, Howell Cobb, of Georgia and Alfred B. Greenwood, of Arkansas, were appointed to look into the matter.

While these committees were engaged in their labors, the entire Republic was blazing with fierce excitement. The South was frantic with delight—the North was profoundly stirred by a mighty indignation. Meetings were held in every community throughout both sections; but their resolutions were in violent conflict. In the South Brooks was lauded as a "chivalrous hero," a "brave representative," a "noble son of the Southern Republic," etc.

The Senate committee reported "want of jurisdiction," as the assault was made by a member of the other House. The story may be finished by employing the strong but moderate language of Henry Wilson, who was Sumner's colleague when

the assault was made, and who nearly lost his life¹ in consequence of his denunciations of it :

The House committee made two reports; the majority recommended the expulsion of Mr. Brooks, and expressing "disapprobation of the act of Henry A. Edmundson and Lawrence M. Keitt." The minority, pleading want of jurisdiction, gave sixty-six votes for the minority report. The House censured Keitt, but failed to condemn Edmundson. Keitt resigned. One hundred and twenty-one members voted to expel Brooks and ninety-five voted against expulsion. Having failed to expel—a two-thirds vote being necessary—a vote of censure was adopted by a large majority.

After these votes were declared, Mr. Brooks addressed the House in a speech of mingled assumption, insolence and self-conceit. While disclaiming all intentions to insult Congress, the Senate or State of Massachusetts, he seemed to be utterly oblivious that there had been any infringement of law or rights of others; it being simply, he said "a personal affair, for which I am personally responsible." With infinite effrontery he affirmed: "I went to work very deliberately, as I am charged—and this is admitted—and speculated whether I should employ a horsewhip, or a cowhide, but knowing that the Senator was my superior in strength, it occurred to me that he might wrest it from my hand, and then (for I never attempt anything I do not perform) I might have been compelled to do that which I would have regretted the balance of my life."

What that contingency he so coolly admitted was, every reader can conjecture. With still greater assurance and self-assertion, he claimed as a matter of credit for his forbearance, that he had not plunged the nation into civil war, as if he had held the destinies of the Republic in his hands.

"In my heart of hearts," he said, "such a menacing line of conduct I believe would end in subverting this government and drenching this hall in blood. No act of mine, on my personal account, shall inaugurate revolution; but when you, Mr. Speaker, return to your own home, and hear the people of the great North—and they are a great people—speak of me as a bad man, you will do me the justice to say that a blow struck by me at this time would be followed by a revolution. *This I know.*"

¹ In 1873 James L. Orr, a member in 1856 from South Carolina, informed Mr. Wilson that at a secret meeting of Southerners it was resolved to make an attack on him. By the strenuous efforts, however, of Mr. Orr, actual violence was prevented, but for many weeks Wilson went armed, and in a letter to Wm. Claflin, made provision for his little son in case he should fall a victim to Democratic ruffians.

Concluding his speech, he announced the resignation of his seat, and walked out of the House. He returned to his constituents, was triumphantly re-elected, in about two weeks went back with his commission of re-election, and again took his seat.

A faint conception of the spirit that pervaded the entire slave section of the country may be obtained by perusing the subjoined article published in the Richmond *Enquirer*, the great administration organ of Pierce's term, a day or two after the assault, and while the question of whether Sumner would live or die, was yet in doubt :

It is idle to talk of union or peace or truce with Sumner or Sumner's friends. Cataline was purity itself compared with the Massachusetts Senator, and his friends are no better than he. They are all (we mean the leading and conspicuous ones) avowed and active traitors. The sending the Congressional Committee to Kansas was done with the treasonable purpose of aiding the rebellion in that Territory.

The Black Republicans in Congress are in open war with the government, and like their allies, the Garrisonian Abolitionists, equally at war with religion, female virtue, private property and distinction of race. *They all deserve the halter*, and it is vain and idle to indulge the expectation that there can be union or peace with such men. Sumner and Sumner's friends must be punished and silenced.

Government which can not suppress such crimes as these has failed of its purpose. Either such wretches *must be hanged* or put in the penitentiary, *or the South should prepare at once to quit the Union.*

We would not jeopardize the religion and morality of the South to save a Union that had failed of every useful purpose. Let us tell the North at once, if you can not suppress the treasonable actions, and silence the foul, licentious and infidel propagandism of such men as Stephen Pearl Andrews, Wendell Phillips, Beecher, Garrison, Sumner and their Negro and female associates, let us part in peace.

We would like to see modesty, female virtue, common morality and religion, independent of government. The experiment at the South, to leave these matters to the regulation of public opinion, works admirably. *We are the most moral, religious, contented, law-abiding* and are daily becoming more so.

The reverse of all this is, for the time at least, true at the North. If you can not expel the Black Republicans

from power, punish them and silence them for the future, you are incapable of self-government. You should adopt a military despotism. We adhere to our Republican institutions. Your sympathy for Sumner has shaken our confidence in your capacity for self-government more than all your past history, full of evil potents as that has been.

He had just avowed his complicity in designs far more diabolical than those of Cataline or Cethegus, nay, transcending in iniquity all that the genius of Milton has attributed to his fallen angels. We are not surprised that he should be hailed as a hero and saint for his proposed war on everything *sacred and divine* [meaning human bondage] by that pandimonium where the blasphemous Garrison and Parker and Andrew, with their runaway Negroes and masculine women congregate. He belongs to that crew himself. He is a proper saint for a free-love saloon or an infidel convention.

But unless there be enough of patriotism, religion and morality at the North to express general detestation of his crimes and congratulations at his merited castigation, *we had better part company*. No evil that can befall the South would be so great as association with Sumner and Sumner's sympathizers.

SYMPATHY WITH SUCH A WRETCH IS A CRIME AGAINST MORALITY, RELIGION AND GOD!

The foregoing utterance was copied and approved throughout the South and the following resolutions, adopted at a great mass-meeting in Columbia, South Carolina, are samples of hundreds adopted by similar gatherings in the slave States:

Resolved, That we cordially indorse the conduct of the Hon. P. S. Brooks, of the House of Representatives of the United States, in inflicting upon Senator Sumner of Massachusetts, the punishment he so richly deserved by his libelous attack upon the State of South Carolina, and our faithful Senator, and upon the entire South.

Resolved, That the attack upon our absent Senator was false as it was cowardly, and was *gallantly* met by his kinsman, his countryman and his friend in the Senate Chamber, which the Abolitionists had desecrated by their foul attack.

Resolved, That in the crisis which is upon us, it is expected of every man to do his duty, and especially those to whom the public interests are confided, and that our gallant countryman has shown a noble and just appreciation of that solemn duty.

Said the Petersburg *Intelligencer*:

„We are exceedingly sorry that Mr. Brooks dirtied his cane by laying it athwart the shoulders of the blackguard Sumner. We regret that he did so, not because Sumner got a lick amiss, not because he was not justly entitled to all he got and more besides, but because the *nasty scamp* and his co-scamps will make capital for their foul cause out of the affair.

They will raise a howl that will split the public ear, about the violation of the privilege of debate, Southern bullying, etc. Master Horace Greeley in particular will jump out of his boots and breeches, have about 4,000 fts, and thus put up the price of asafœtida and burnt feathers throughout the country.

Disagreeing with the Richmond *Whig* as to the effect of Sumner's thrashing, we entirely concur with it, that if thrashing is the only remedy by which the foul conduct of the Abolitionists can be controlled, that it will be very well to give Seward a double dose at least every other day until it operates freely on his political bowels.

It is true that the cunning rascal is a little too smart to violate the decorum of debate, but his adroit demagogism and damnable doctrines are infinitely more dangerous to the country than the coarse blackguardism of the perjured wretch Sumner.

Said the Richmond *Whig*:

As will be seen by telegraph, Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, after the adjournment of the Senate on yesterday, administered to Senator Sumner, the notorious and foul-mouthed Abolitionist from Massachusetts, an elegant and effectual caning. We are rejoiced at this. The only regret we feel is that Mr. Brooks did not employ a horsewhip or cowhide upon his slanderous back, instead of a cane. *We trust the ball may be kept in motion. Seward and others should catch it next.*

The students and officers of the University of Virginia, voted Brooks a cane, on which the leading Democratic organ of the South remarked approvingly: "The chivalry of the South, it seems, has been thoroughly aroused." The Richmond *Examiner* said: "Far from blaming Mr. Brooks, we are disposed to regard him as a conservative gentleman, seeking to restore its *lost dignity* to the Senate," * * *

* * * whose example should be followed by every

Southern gentleman whose feelings are outraged by unprincipled Abolitionists."

The Richmond *Enquirer*, some weeks after the assault, said: "In the main, the press of the South applauds the conduct of Mr. Brooks, without condition or limitation. Our approbation, at least, is entire and unreserved. * * * It was a proper act, done at the proper time and in the proper place."

Nor were leading statesmen less explicit in their approval. Mr. Mason, in reply to an invitation to attend a public dinner in honor of Mr. Brooks, after referring to his "social and political intercourse" with their "able and justly honored representative" adds: "I know of none whose public career I hold more worthy the full and cordial approbation of his constituents than his." Jefferson Davis, on the same occasion, wrote: "I have only to express to you my sympathy with feelings which prompt the sons of Carolina to welcome the return of a brother who has been the subject of villification, misrepresentation and persecution, because he resented a libelous assault upon the representative of their mother."

Nor were they alone Southern men who joined in this formal endorsement. Mr. Buchanan, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, referring to Mr. Sumner's speech, characterized it as "the most vulgar tirade of abuse ever delivered in a representative body," and added that though "Mr. Brooks was indiscreet, Senator Butler was a very mild man."

Mr. Savage, of Tennessee, in an eulogy in the House, said: "To die nobly is life's chief concern. History records but one Thermopylæ; there ought to have been another, and that one for Preston S. Brooks. * * * So shall the scenes in the Senate chamber carry the name of the deceased to all future generations, long to be remembered *after all men are forgotten* and until these proud walls crumble into ruins."

History affords no parallel to the brutality and ruffianism displayed by the pro-slavery Democracy in applauding and approving Brooks, and insolently threatening similar or "more effective" punishment for Garrison, Wade, Giddings, Wilson and Beecher, Sumner's valiant co-workers for liberty, unless they should "cease discussing" the crimes of bondage.

Sumner was ill for many months in consequence of the blows he received. Gashes four inches in length, and laying the skull bare, covered his head. The fifteen scars left by them never disappeared, in fact, he never was a well man thereafter, though he lived until March 11, 1874—a period of eighteen years.

Nor did the slave power of the Democracy ever recover from the blows dealt it by Brooks, when he shattered his bludgeon over the head of the great apostle of freedom. Sumner, indeed, only partially recovered, but slavocracy, wounded to the heart, could never rally. It staggered on desperately, yet lower and lower, for a few years, and finally bit the dust in its last prodigious effort of rebellion and bloodshed to secure dismemberment of the Union.

Strangely enough Brooks, a few months after the assault, died in a sudden and tragic manner; Keitt fell fighting for State-rights, Democracy and slavery, while nearly all the others lived to see their treasonable prophecies disappear in disgrace and disaster.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION.

Dred Scott, an Alleged Slave, Brings Suit for Assault and for His Freedom—Statement of the Case—He Wins But the Superior Court Reverses the Decision—Scott Appeals to the United States Supreme Court—Roger B. Taney's Sophistry—Himself and Four Other Justices Were Slave-Holders—Justices Curtis and McLean Dissent—The Decision Analyzed—What It Declared—Missouri Compromise Unconstitutional—Ordinance of 1787 Unconstitutional—The Free States Astir—Martin Van Buren Tells What the Supreme Court Attempted to Do—The Slave-Holding Justices Became Mere Political Quacks—They Wanted to Save Slavery and Democracy—What They Ought to Have Done—The Unlawful and Iniquitous Foundation of American Slavery.

The friends of freedom, down to the lukewarm and indifferent, were deeply excited after the promulgation of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Dred Scott. The cause arose originally in a complaint of assault and battery by Scott, an alleged slave, against John F. A. Sandford, and was tried in the United States Circuit Court for the District of Missouri. The declaration set out three separate assaults—one on the complainant Scott, another on his wife and a third on two of his children.

The defendant's plea was "not guilty;" and in addition he pleaded in abatement that the plaintiff and his wife and children were defendant's slaves, and liable, without legal redress, to "flogging or other needful means of coercion." The case was tried in May, 1854, and went to the jury on the following statement of facts to which both parties had agreed:

In the year 1834, the plaintiff was a Negro slave belonging to Dr. Emerson, who was a surgeon in the army of the United States. In that year, 1834, said Dr. Emerson took the plaintiff from the State of Missouri to the military post at Rock Island, in the State of Illinois, and held him there as a slave until the month of April or May, 1836. At the time last mentioned, said Dr. Emerson removed the plaintiff from said military post at Rock Island to the military post at Fort Snelling, situate on the west bank of the Mississippi River, in the Territory known as Upper Louisiana, acquired by the United States of France, and situate north of the latitude of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north, and north of the State of Missouri. Said Dr. Emerson held the plaintiff in slavery at said Fort Snelling, from said last mentioned date, until the year 1838.

In the year 1835, Harriet, who is named in the second count of the plaintiff's declaration, was the Negro slave of Major Taliaferro, who belonged to the army of the United States. In that year, 1835, said Major Taliaferro took said Harriet to said Fort Snelling, a military post, situated as hereinbefore stated, and kept her there as a slave until the year 1836, and then sold and delivered her as a slave at said Fort Snelling unto the said Dr. Emerson hereinbefore named. Said Dr. Emerson held said Harriet in slavery at said Fort Snelling, until the year 1838.

In the year 1836, the plaintiff and said Harriet at said Fort Snelling, with the consent of said Dr. Emerson, who then claimed to be their master and owner, intermarried, and took each other for husband and wife. Eliza and Lizzie, named in the third count of the plaintiff's declaration, are the fruit of that marriage. Eliza is about fourteen years old, and was born on board the steamboat Gipseý, north of the north line of the State of Missouri, and upon the river Mississippi. Lizzie is about seven years old, and was born in the State of Missouri, at the military post called Jefferson Barracks.

In the year 1838, said Dr. Emerson removed the plaintiff and said Harriet and their said daughter Eliza from said Fort Snelling to the State of Missouri, where they have ever since resided.

Before the commencement of this suit, said Dr. Emerson sold and conveyed the plaintiff said Harriet, Eliza and Lizzie to the defendant as slaves, and the defendant has ever since claimed to hold them and each of them as slaves.

At the time mentioned in the plaintiff's declaration, the defendant, claiming to be owner as aforesaid, laid his hands

upon said plaintiff, Harriet, Eliza and Lizzie, and imprisoned them, doing, in this respect, however, no more than what he might lawfully do if they were of right his slaves at such times.

Before beginning this suit Scott had brought another suit in the State courts of Missouri for his freedom, on the ground that, having been a resident of a free State and a free Territory, he thereby relieved himself from the chains of bondage and became a citizen of the United States. The inferior court gave a judgment in his favor, but on a writ of error to the Supreme Court of the State the judgment was reversed and the case remanded back for a new trial. By consent this action was continued to await decision on the suit for assault and battery against Sanford, brought in the federal court.

At the conclusion of the trial Scott's attorney asked the court to charge the jury, on the agreed statement of facts, to find for plaintiff. This was refused and the jury, being instructed that the law was with defendant, were ordered to so find. The verdict accordingly was that the plaintiff and his wife and children were slaves as alleged by Sanford, and that therefore they had no rights in court and no redress against their master for personal violence.

Scott's attorney filed a bill of exceptions to the charge of the court, and thereupon carried the case by writ of error to the United States Supreme Court. The matter was argued at the December term of 1855, and as strong differences of opinion existed among the members of the court, it was continued to the next term, and argued again.

In the meantime, by subtle and unseen influences, powerful pressure was brought to bear on the members of the court, as far as possible, against the cause of the alleged slave. These were emphatically charged as facts by the journals of the North and openly boasted by the indiscreet publications of the South.

The court was composed of Roger B. Taney,¹ chief justice, and John McLean, James W. Wayne,¹ John Catron,¹ Peter

V. Daniel,¹ Samuel Nelson, Robert C. Grier, Benjamin R. Curtis and John A. Campbell,¹ associate justices. The opinion, as delivered by Chief Justice Taney, would occupy about seventy-five pages of this volume, and with the opinions of the five who sustained his judgment, touched upon almost every principle and problem save those of civil service reform and infant damnation. He argued:

The question before us is, whether the class of persons described in the plea in abatement compose a portion of this people, and are constituent members of this sovereignty. We think they are not, and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word "citizens" in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States. On the contrary, they were at that time considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, *whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority*, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant them.

In the opinion of the court, the legislation and histories of the times, and the language used in the Declaration of Independence show that neither the class of persons who had been imported as slaves, nor their descendants, whether they had become free or not, were then acknowledged as a part of the people, nor intended to be included in the general words used in that memorable instrument.

They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, *and thoroughly unfit to associate with the white race*, either in social or political relations; *and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect*; and that the Negro might *justly and lawfully* be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold, and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever a profit could be made by it. This opinion was at that time fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race. It was regarded as an axiom in morals as well as politics, which no one thought of disputing, or supposed to be open to dispute; and men in every grade and position in society daily and habitually acted upon it in their

¹ Slave-holders at the time of trying the case.

private pursuits, as well as in matters of public concern, without doubting for a moment the correctness of this opinion.

Upon the whole, therefore, it is the judgment of this court, that it appears by the record before us, that the plaintiff in error is not a citizen of Missouri, in the sense in which that word is used in the Constitution; and that the Circuit Court of the United States, for that reason, had no jurisdiction in the case, and could give no judgment in it. Its judgment for the defendant must, consequently, be reversed, and a mandate issued directing the suit to be dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

Although the learned slave-holder and chief justice strained himself to the breaking point to establish that a slave was mere property, a chattel and not a person or "part of the people" within the meaning of the several words of the Constitution, and that a man has no right to himself unless he is white, yet Sec. 2 of Art. 1 of that sacred charter declares that representatives may be apportioned among the States by allowing one representative for every 30,000 white free men and one for every 50,000 slaves. The blacks were, therefore, contrary to Taney, a "part of the people."

Taney was a learned man and for that reason his mass of sophistry was as difficult to attack and destroy as any ever delivered from that bench before or since. He could indeed, like Belial, "make the worse appear the better reason."

In erecting a foundation for his argument he made use of the colonial and other laws of several States which once tolerated slavery, but had long before wiped it out—an inexcusable mode of reasoning. He declared that "a free Negro of African race whose *ancestors* were brought to this country and sold as slaves" was not a citizen within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States; whereupon McClellan, in his "Republicanism In America," observed: "It will be seen that the court held Scott to be a slave and not a citizen, in consequence of the *status of his ancestors*. I apprehend that if all persons were held to this rule, many interesting changes would be made even among 'first families.'"

Justices Curtis and McLean dissented¹ from the barbarism of the majority of the court, rendering their names immortal. There was no cherished principle of slavocracy that the pro-slavery justices did not in some manner indorse, though in attempting to so fortify the "divine institution" that it could never thereafter be interfered with in any manner whatever, even by Congress, they certainly turned in the yoke.

It was held by seven judges (McLean and Curtis dissenting) that the record showed Scott to be unable to maintain a suit. Taney, Wayne and Daniel so held on the fact "that Scott being a Negro of African descent whose ancestors were of pure blood and who were brought into this country and sold as slaves," was not a citizen and therefore the court had no jurisdiction, and they wanted the case remanded back for dismissal for want of jurisdiction.

Campbell and Grier, however, while agreeing that Scott, a slave, was incompetent to sue, thought the more proper course would be to confirm the judgment of the court below, which, instead of dismissing his suit for want of jurisdiction, heard his plea and decided him a slave and subject to the assaults of his master without legal redress.

Such a confirmation of the judgment below was held by Nelson and Catron to be the only proper course, thus arraying themselves, so far as the question of jurisdiction is concerned, with McLean and Curtis; while Grier (making with the other four a majority of the bench) admitted that the record disclosed a *prima facie* case of jurisdiction.

McLean and Catron held that there was no appeal from the judgment of the Circuit Court on the plea in abatement, the question of jurisdiction not being before the court. Taney, Wayne, Daniel and Curtis held, *per contra*, that, as the courts of the United States were of limited jurisdiction,

¹ See 19 Howard U. S. Court Reports, page 393.

the question of jurisdiction was always in order. Grier, Nelson and Campbell were silent on this point.

Three judges—Taney, Wayne and Daniel—held that, although the court below had no jurisdiction, and the case must be dismissed on that ground, it was still competent for the Supreme Court to give an opinion on the merits of the case, and on all the questions therein involved. McLean and Curtis dissented from this view. In their opinion, any doctrines laid down under such circumstances must be regarded as extra-judicial. They based their right of going into the merits on the assumption that the court below had jurisdiction, a view in which they were sustained by Catron and Grier. Nelson and Campbell, as they had avoided any expression of opinion on the question of jurisdiction, did the same on this point of judicial propriety; but Nelson, by confining himself, in his opinion, to the single point of the revival of Scott's condition of slavery by his return to Missouri, seemed to concur in the view of judicial propriety taken by McLean and Curtis.

Three judges—Taney, Wayne and Daniel—held that a Negro of African descent was incapable of being a citizen of the United States, or even of suing as such in a federal court. From this doctrine McLean and Curtis dissented, while Nelson, Grier, Campbell and Catron avoided any expression of opinion upon it.

Taney, Wayne, Daniel and Campbell held that the *Constitution conferred no power on Congress to legislate for the territories*, the power to make all needful rules and regulations being confined solely to the disposition of the land as property, and even that authority being *limited to the territories belonging to the United States when the Constitution was made*.¹ They, however, seemed to admit a certain power of legislation in Congress, based on the fact of acquisition, and

¹ The territory north-west of the Ohio River, acquired by the treaty of 1782.

growing out of the necessity of the case. McLean, Catron and Curtis held, on the other hand, that under the authority to make needful rules and regulations, as well as by the necessity of the case, Congress had full power of legislation for the territories, limited only by the general restraints upon its legislative power contained in the Constitution. Nelson expressed no opinion on this point; nor did Grier.

Taney, Wayne and Daniel held that the ordinance of 1787, though good and binding under the Confederation, expired with the Confederation, and that the act of Congress to confirm it was void, because *Congress had no power to legislate for the territories*. McLean, Catron and Curtis held, *per contra*, that the re-enactment of the ordinance of 1787 was a valid exercise of the power of Congress; while Campbell admitted, and in this Catron concurred with him (Daniel *contra*, the others silent), that the ordinance of 1787, having been agreed to by Virginia, became thereby a part of the compact of the cession permanently binding on the parties, and was so regarded by the convention that framed the Constitution.

Five judges, a majority of the Court—Taney, Wayne, Daniel, Campbell and Grier—held that *the Missouri prohibition of 1820 was unconstitutional and void*; while Catron argued that it was void, because it conflicted with the French treaty for the cession of Louisiana. McLean and Curtis held the prohibition constitutional and valid. Nelson, silent.

Five judges—Taney, Wayne, Daniel, Campbell and Catron—a majority of the court, held that slaves were property in a general sense, *as much so as cattle*, were so recognized by the Constitution of the United States; and as such might be carried into the territories, *notwithstanding any Congressional prohibition*. McLean and Curtis held, *per contra*, that slaves were recognized property only locally, and by the laws of particular States, being out of those States not property,

nor even slaves, except in the single case of fugitives. Grier and Nelson silent.

It was held by six judges—Taney, Wayne, Daniel, Campbell, Catron and Nelson—that whatever claim to freedom Scott might have had, he lost it by his return to Missouri. This opinion on the part of Taney, Wayne and Daniel, was based solely on the law of Missouri, as previously laid down by the Supreme Court of that State. Nelson and Catron based it on what they thought the prevailing current of legal decision on the subject; and Campbell on the fact that no sufficient domicil, either in slave or master, appeared either in Illinois or Minnesota. McLean and Curtis held, *per contra*, that Scott had been made free by his residence in Illinois and Minnesota, and that the rules of international law respecting the emancipation of slaves by residence were a part of the law of Missouri, which law had been improperly departed from and set at naught by the Missouri decision in the plaintiff's case; and that on questions depending not on any statute or local usage, but on principles of universal jurisprudence, the decisions of State Courts are not conclusive on the United States Courts as to the laws of the States.

Seven judges (McLean and Curtis dissenting) held, that by the facts on the record, it appeared that Scott was a slave, notwithstanding his residence in Illinois and Minnesota.

We now can see by this examination, that only three points commanded a majority of voices on the bench, and that no others could properly have been considered settled by this extraordinary effort at wiring in and wiring out, namely:

1. Scott was a slave at the time of bringing the suit, notwithstanding his residence in free Illinois and Minnesota—seven to two.
2. The Missouri Compromise or prohibition of 1820, was unconstitutional and void because Congress had no power to

legislate for the territories—five to two, one silent and one holding it void but not unconstitutional!

3. Slaves are as much property as cattle—five (all slaveholders) to two, and two silent.

The great question of whether Congress had power of legislation over the territories was left *inter canem et lupem*, four pro-slavery judges denying any such power, three asserting its existence, Nelson silent and Grier "*in nubibus*—hanging by the heels in the clouds."

The promulgation of this decision threw the people of the North into excitement of an intense and demonstrative character. Those *syllibi* which said black people were as cattle; that they possessed no more immunities than cattle and that they had no rights which a white man was bound to respect, called down a storm of wrath and indignation.

The five pro-slavery judges were pictured with the broad hats, pistol-belts and spurs of a slave-overseer, sitting on the bench lashing poor Scott and his children, while every Northern legislature and every community in the free States held indignation meetings and adopted resolutions devoting the members of the court to everlasting disrespect.

The decision was clearly an attempt to establish, by the highest tribunal on the Continent, the correctness of Douglas' sophistical nostrum that Congress had no power to legislate slavery either into or out of the territories, but that, unless the people of a territory should by express vote *exclude it*, human bondage was permissible therein and could not be disturbed by the Congress of all the States.

That is to say, if Nebraska had a population of fifteen, and eight of them should vote for involuntary servitude, the Congress of the entire Union would be powerless before the eight to disturb slavery!

The decision also established the monstrous doctrine that the slave laws of a slave State followed a slave into and

through every free State, in spite of any laws of the free State; but that no laws of free States respecting free blacks or Africans alleged to be slaves, were entitled to any notice in the slave States, or even in the free States.

These enunciations, although coming from the high elevation of the Supreme Bench, were too rank for the masses. Their indignation could not be expended in mere resolutions, but crystalized into a well-grounded determination to resist in the free States the enforcement of the laws of the slave States which contravened or were repugnant to their own. The great State of New York was perhaps more moderate than any of her sisters. Her legislature appointed a committee to discover "what measures the State should adopt to protect her citizens from the serious and alarming doctrines of the United States Supreme Court," and adopted a series of resolutions declaring "that this State will not allow slavery within her borders, in any form, or under any pretense, or for any time," and "that the Supreme Court of the United States, by reason of a majority of the judges thereof, having identified itself with a sectional and aggressive party, has lost the confidence and respect of the people of this State."

An act was then submitted providing that "every slave who shall come, or be brought, or be in this State, with the consent of his or her master or mistress, or who shall come or be brought, or be involuntarily in this State, shall be free." Also that "every person who shall hold, or attempt to hold, in this State, in slavery, or as a slave, any person mentioned as a slave in the second section of this act, or any free person of color, in any form, or under any pretense, or for any time however short, shall be deemed guilty of felony, and, on conviction thereof, shall be confined in the State Prison at hard labor, for a term not less than two nor more than ten years."

The act passed the Assembly but failed to become a law by the adjournment of the Senate without final action.

The resolutions and acts of New York are singled out as illustrating the public temper of the North toward the pro-slavery court, because they are less rabid than those of other free States, all of which, however, took firm ground, so far as involuntary servitude was concerned, upon the beloved State-right and nullification doctrines of John C. Calhoun and his co-laborers.

The worshipers of State-rights had unsheathed a weapon that, in the hands of the North, became a deadly boomerang against them. The South invented and espoused that doctrine for the benefit and perpetuation of slavery; the North seized upon it for the purpose of resisting and destroying slavery. The former hugged a principle intrinsically wrong for the sake of protecting and fortifying a wrong, while the latter made use of it temporarily for the extirpation of a gigantic and cancerous iniquity.

The court said that "the act of Congress prohibiting a citizen of the United States from taking with him his slaves when he removes to the territory in question, to reside, is an exercise of authority over private property which is not warranted by the Constitution."

In other words, the Missouri Compromise of 1820, prohibiting slavery in the territory north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude, was unconstitutional, and its repeal by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, was good Democratic slavocracy. The same sentence declares that the great ordinance of 1787, first drawn by Thomas Jefferson and forever consecrating the North-west Territory to freedom, was also unconstitutional, because "*Congress had no power to legislate for the territories.*"

Thus Mr. Taney, at a single blow, opened the entire territory of the Union to the bloody advance of slavery.

It was the general impression that the Supreme Court had less consideration for the constitutional principles and equity involved in the case, than for the political condition and tendency of the public mind. Martin Van Buren, in his curious but interesting "Inquiry into the Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States," declares that the judges who united in pronouncing the Dred Scott decision hoped to "arrest the extraordinary revolution in the fraternal and political feelings of the people of the United States" produced by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

This is high authority. It declares that the justices of the United States Supreme Court felt called upon, in the interests of Democracy and slavery, to temporarily abandon the search for equity and become quack-doctors, mixing and distilling nostrums intended to purge and sweat the great body politic of its growing anti-slavery and anti-Democratic symptoms.

In the same volume Mr. Van Buren says it was expected that such a decision, "in addition to its quieting effect on the public mind, [meaning its supposed tendency to counteract and destroy the increasing demonstrations of hostility toward the Democracy] of right, ought to have a controlling influence over the action of other departments of the government, * * * the action of Congress in particular."

In other words, the Supreme Court, observing that the control of Congress and the government was slowly passing out of the hands of the Democracy by the tremendous expansion of the North and the growth of the spirit of freedom, hoped, before it was too late, to so wall in and hedge about the "divine institution" of slavery, that future Congresses would be unable and would not dare attempt to reach it by legislative enactment.

What should this United States Supreme Court have done? Original slavery was founded (1) on the sale of children by parents, (2) the sale of a person by himself, (3) capture

of persons in a *just* war and, by way of damages, exaction of their services, and (4) deprivation of liberty of persons convicted of crime. Justinian gave three grounds for slavery, viz: (1) capture in war, (2) consent—that is, sale of self—and (3) hereditary bondage—offspring of persons enslaved under the first two laws.

But none of these gave the master the right of assault or the right to kill his slave. Under the old slave laws then, it was the duty of the court to have condemned Sandford for assault and false imprisonment.

But American slavery was founded on none of the original laws of bondage. Our slaves were not captured in war, “just” or otherwise; they did not consist of persons who had voluntarily sold themselves for any period of service, nor of the descendants of such captives or self-sold persons. *They were stolen from their own native land and brought hither by force and violence, without war, excuse or claim of damages.*

American slavery, therefore, rested on no shred or shadow of law. It was founded on piracy, robbery and violence—the abduction and false imprisonment of a whole race.

It is of no consequence that slavery existed here for 200 years; that it was winked at by the Constitution; that it was recognized by some of the courts; that it was protected and fostered by the black codes of the South; that it was succored by the fugitive slave laws of Congress and that even up to 1862, Lincoln and his cabinet dared not touch a hair of its head. No title is acquired of stolen property. No system of slavery can ever grow into a right—especially that founded on piracy, robbery, murder, violence and theft. If it could, Mormonism would now be right, for has it not for some time been tolerated by its enemies and recognized and strengthened by its friends?

The pretended right to the black man and exaction of his service for 200 years, simply intensified the wrong.

Whatever laws were enacted by Congress or the Cotton States relative to slavery and recognizing it, did not make it right, but simply protected a wrong. Our slavery was contrary to natural law, which underlies all human commandments, and contrary to the law of nations.

Our Constitution did not declare in favor of slavery, nor afford positive authority for its existence. It simply slid over it with closed eyes.

It was the duty, the oath-bound duty, of the Supreme Court, therefore, in addition to condemning Sandford for assault and false imprisonment, which it did not do, to stand up bravely in the face of the slave States and of the whole civilized world and set Scott and his family free, at the same time declaring American slavery without lawful foundation and void.

But that was not done. Taney and his four accomplices chose rather to hedge about the monstrous wrong because it was the corner-stone of Democracy. And subsequent history shows that even as grave and respectable a body as the Supreme Court of the United States, can not with impunity or success espouse the cause of oppression, wrong and bondage. They expected to so firmly anchor slavery that it could never be moved; but instead of that they contributed to the strength of a storm that swept it away before the end of a single decade.

CHAPTER XII.

BOOTH AND GLOVER—STATE AND FEDERAL COURTS AT LOGGERHEADS.

An Active Friend of Freedom—Joshua Glover Kidnapped—Beaten and Manacled—The Public Excited—Mass-meetings Held—Writ of *Habeas Corpus* Refused by Judge Miller—The Fugitive Liberated by the People—An Exciting Ride—Booth Arrested by the Federal Court—Released by the State Court—Justice Smith's Opinion—Booth Re-arrested—Tried and Partially Convicted—Judge Miller Sentences Him on the Charges of Which he was Acquitted as well as on the others, to Imprisonment for Life—Subscriptions by Charles Sumner and Others—The State Court Again Orders Him Released—A Demonstration by the People—The United States Supreme Court Threatens the Clerk of the State Court—Defiance of the Federal Court—The Record Captured by the Washington Justices—Another Suit Against Booth—He is Imprisoned on the Old Charge—Is Rescued, Chased, Captured and Re-imprisoned—Sends a Communication to President Buchanan—Attorney General Black Answered it to Please the Man-Stealers—Stanton Discovers Black's Error—Buchanan's Last Official Act—Effect of the Prolonged Persecution—Wisconsin Turned the Battery of State-rights Upon the Southerners—Paid in Their Own Coin, Though some of it was Probably Counterfeit.

The decision in the Dred Scott matter brought the people of the free States—if not to a fighting pitch, certainly to that unusual public tension which resulted in acts and resolves counseling resistance to the fugitive slave act and other barbarous measures of slavocracy.

Attention may now be drawn to a thrilling episode which began contemporaneously with Scott's suit, and which, continuing for some years, carried the spirit and very fact of re-

sistance by the free States to the enactments of pro-slavery Congresses, far beyond the resolves of conventions and mass-meetings, or the acts of legislatures, and in which the Supreme Court of a young and vigorous State sided unequivocally with freedom and fearlessly defied the pro-slavery Supreme Court of the United States.

Reference is had to the rescue of Joshua Glover, which resulted in the so-called "Booth War" and a long series of suits before the federal and State courts, great public excitement and more or less physical violence.

Sherman M. Booth, a graduate of Yale College and jointly with Ichabod Coddington and Rev. Josiah Brewer the successful editor of the *Christian Freeman* at Hartford, Connecticut, was induced in 1848 to remove to the Territory of Wisconsin and take charge of the *American Freeman*, an anti-slavery paper published by the Liberty Association. He was well-known and hated by all the slave-hunters of the South, who had set a price on his head.

In the spring of 1854 a Negro named Joshua Glover was engaged by Rice & Sinclair, of Racine, Wisconsin, to work in their saw-mill. Glover, who was a faithful, quiet workman, lived in a little shanty not far from the mill and three miles from the city of Racine. The professional slave-hunters, with which the North-west was thoroughly infested in those days, discovered Glover, and seeing big fees and fat bills of expense in his black skin, reported his presence.

Benammi W. Garland, a slave-owner of St. Louis county, Missouri, went to Racine, where he obtained a guide and proceeded in the night with officers and helpers to Glover's humble cabin to effect his capture. The hunters broke into the shanty, felled the colored man without ado, bound him, and tossed him, half-conscious and bleeding, without hat, coat or boots, in hand-cuffs, into a "democrat" wagon and jolted him like a bundle of faggots to Milwaukee, twenty-five

miles distant, where the party arrived early in the morning of March 11, 1854.

Booth asked Andrew G. Miller, the federal judge who issued the warrant for Glover's arrest, that there might be a fair and open trial, and that the fugitive might have counsel. He then rode through the streets on horseback, calling the people to assemble in the court-house square. A very large number responded. Writs of *habeas corpus* for the release of Glover were obtained, and a committee, headed by C. K. Watkins, was appointed to ask Judge Miller whether they would be obeyed. In a short time Mr. Watkins reported to the crowd that Judge Miller had decided that the writ of *habeas corpus* should not be obeyed, and that "no earthly power should take Glover from jail before the next Monday morning." Booth announced that adjournment would be had to the hotel for consultation. Instantly the citizens made a rush for the jail, and in fifteen minutes Glover was liberated.

John A. Messinger, a strong Democrat, was out with his horse and carriage in the throng that filled the streets after Glover was taken from the jail, and having his sympathy aroused by the apparent heartless manner in which the alleged slave was being hunted down, as though he were a dangerous wild beast, took him into his carriage and drove at all possible speed to Waukesha. He returned to Milwaukee that night. The next day the mayor of Racine telegraphed to know whether Glover had been kidnapped. Booth telegraphed in answer that Glover would be in Racine at a certain place by daylight on the following morning. Messinger hired a livery horse, returned to Waukesha, and at daylight on Monday morning met the mayor with the fugitive, on time. The slave was then concealed for a month or more on the premises of Sam Pratt, at Spring Prairie, and then sent by a propeller to Canada, never to be re-captured.

Soon after Booth was arrested, charged with having "unlawfully aided, assisted and abetted a person named Joshua Glover, held to service or labor in the State of Missouri, under the laws thereof, to escape from the lawful custody of a deputy of the marshal of the United States," and Winfield Smith, United States Court Commissioner, held him to bail. On May 27, Booth had his bailer surrender him, and he petitioned Justice A. D. Smith, of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, for a writ of *habeas corpus*. It was granted, Justice Smith declaring:

The fugitive slave law of 1850 (by providing for a trial of the constitutional issue, between the *parties* designated thereby, by officers not recognized by any constitution, State or National) is unconstitutional and void. Every person is entitled to his day in court, to be legally notified of the proceedings taken against him, and duly summoned to defend. The passing of judgment upon any person without his "day in court;" without due process or its equivalent, is contrary to the law of nature and of the civilized world. Other courts and other judges may pronounce this provision of the act of 1850 to be in conformity with that provision of the Constitution which declares that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," but while I have a mind to reason and a conscience to dictate me, and an oath to support the Constitution of the United States resting upon my soul, I can not so declare it, and for the price of worlds I will not.

When the matter came for review before the full bench, Justice Smith's position and his writ of *habeas corpus* to Booth were sustained, Chief-Justice Whiton delivering the opinion, re-pronouncing the infamous provisions of the fugitive slave act unconstitutional and void. In closing he declared :

The States—the free States—will never consent that a slave-owner, his agent, or an officer of the United States, armed with process to arrest a fugitive from service, is clothed with entire immunity from State authority; to commit whatever crime or outrage against the laws of the State, that their own high prerogative writ of *habeas corpus* shall be annulled, their authority defied, their officers resisted, the

process of their own courts contemned, their territory invaded by federal force, the houses of their citizens searched, the sanctuary of their homes invaded, their streets and public places made the scene of tumultuous and armed violence, and State sovereignty succumb, paralyzed and aghast, before the process of an officer unknown to the Constitution and irresponsible to its sanctions. At least, such shall not become the degradation of Wisconsin, without meeting as stern remonstrance and resistance as I may be able to interpose, so long as her people impose upon me the duty of guarding their rights and liberties, and of maintaining the dignity and sovereignty of their State.

The next day after his release by the Supreme Court, Booth was arrested upon a warrant issued by Andrew G. Miller, and cast into jail. He again applied to the State Supreme Court for a writ of *habeas corpus* on the ground that the fugitive slave act being unconstitutional and void, its violation by him was no crime and he was therefore illegally imprisoned and restrained of his liberty. This application was denied on the ground that the United States District Court had obtained jurisdiction of Booth's case, and that judicial comity required the State court to presume that the federal court would, on hearing the matter, decide the fugitive slave law unconstitutional and void, and thereupon discharge him.

In January 1855, he was put on trial. The proceedings lasted five days and were remarkable for their extraordinary bitterness toward the prisoner. The presiding judge, A. G. Miller, a strong pro-slaveryite, was so marked in his prejudice against Booth as to become the subject of condemnation by the press. As the soil of Sardinia is so bitter that its acidity is perceptible even in the honey of the country, so Judge Miller's Democracy was conspicuous in his very judicial rulings against Booth. The jury could not agree, whereupon Judge Miller charged them that the fact alone that Booth drew and presented to the mass-meeting on the day of Glover's rescue the following resolutions, was sufficient to convict him:

Resolved, That every person has an indefensible right to a fair and impartial trial by jury on all questions pertaining to his liberty.

Resolved, That the writ of *habeas corpus* is the great defense of freedom and that we demand for this prisoner as well as for our own protection that this sacred writ shall be obeyed.

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to stand by this prisoner and to do our utmost to secure for him a fair and impartial trial by jury.

The judge also charged that Booth was responsible for everything said and done on the 11th of March in connection with the rescue "within three miles of Milwaukee!"

The jury convicted Booth of aiding Glover to escape, but acquitted him of resisting an officer, the charge Judge Miller and his friends were most anxious to fasten upon him. Judge Miller promised to have the record show this acquittal, but subsequently refused to allow it to go on the record, and sentenced the prisoner upon the whole indictment.

The jurymen said it was understood the court and not the United States was prosecuting Booth, and a portion of them "in order to set themselves right before the public" drew and signed a preamble and resolution characterizing the fugitive slave act as "cruel and odious," declaring that Booth, in rescuing Glover "had performed a noble, benevolent and humane act" and commending him to the mercy of the court. This novel proceeding still further enraged Judge Miller, who sentenced the prisoner to pay a fine of \$1,000 and \$461.01 costs, and to stand imprisoned *until the fine and costs should be paid*—a virtual life-sentence.

Booth, with John Ryecraft, previously convicted of the same alleged offense, was then conducted to the jail in the center of the most intense excitement ever witnessed in Milwaukee.

The news of Booth's conviction and of the manner of his trial spread over the Union like wild-fire. Throughout the North indignation meetings were held and money was sub-

scribed to pay the fines and costs. Horace Greeley subscribed \$50, Charles Sumner \$100, the New York *Independent* \$427, James H. Wadsworth \$50, the anti-Nebraska members of Congress \$10 each, and so on over the free portion of the country, while in the South Judge Miller was glorified in all the extravagant phrases and resolves for which the volatile Southerners have always been famous.

Booth at once applied to the Supreme Court of Wisconsin for release on a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was granted. The jury had found him guilty on a portion of the counts in the indictment but the court sentenced him on the entire array of counts in the presentment of the grand jury. In ordering his release Chief Justice Whiton said :

It will not be denied that the Supreme Court of a State, in which is vested by the Constitution of the State, the power to issue writs of *habeas corpus*, and to decide the questions which they present, has the power to release a citizen of the State from illegal imprisonment. Without this power, the State would be stripped of one of the most essential attributes of sovereignty, and present the spectacle of a State claiming the allegiance of its citizens without the power to protect them in the enjoyment of their personal liberty upon its own soil.

On the morning Booth boarded the train at Milwaukee for Madison to appear before the Supreme Court, bells were rung and cannons fired. A storm was raging, the snow was deep and the hour at or before sunrise. Nevertheless a large crowd gathered at the jail with a band drawn by four gray horses, while Booth was placed in a sleigh drawn by four bays. Thus headed the procession moved to the depot.

While passing Judge Miller's house the crowd groaned and hissed, but cheered vociferously on reaching Booth's home; also at his printing-office. At the depot 3,000 people had already gathered, and Booth was placed on top of a car and commanded to address them. Similar scenes were witnessed at all the stations along the route.

Mass-meetings were held in hundreds, thousands of communities, at which resolutions were adopted pledging support to the State court, denouncing Judge Miller and offering money to pay the fines of the Glover rescuers and their expenses, as well as the expenses of similar trials that might come on in the future.

The Supreme Court of Wisconsin, when the opposition attorneys asked for a writ of error to the United States Supreme Court, where they proposed to review the proceedings and judgment releasing Booth from the sentence of imprisonment imposed by Judge Miller, directed its clerk not to certify or send up the record and papers in the case.

Here came a direct and sharp conflict between the highest court of the State and the highest court of the United States. The State justices having refused to grant a writ, the justices of the United States Supreme Court made a requisition for the record and papers, but failed to get them. They then threatened Lafayette Kellogg, clerk of the Wisconsin court, with imprisonment, sending word to him that unless he should send up the records in the Booth matter they would despatch a marshal of the District of Columbia to take his body forcibly to Washington, there to be dealt with as they might see fit.

Mr. Kellogg refused to obey. After fermenting for some time, the United States Supreme Court assumed jurisdiction of Booth's case, March 6, 1859, upon a certified copy of proceedings—which any private citizen can have by paying for it—and on reviewing the matter sent its *remittur* to the Wisconsin court to reverse their decision and remand Booth into federal custody. This command the State court refused to obey, or to allow to go on record, which refusal was applauded by the press and people.

In March, 1859, after the Wisconsin Supreme Court had refused to obey the United States Supreme Court ordering Booth remanded into federal custody, the legislature of that

State adopted joint resolutions denouncing the action of the United States Supreme Court, sustaining the State court and recommending resistance as the only available and therefore only rightful remedy against the aggressions of the slave power in the federal courts. All the legislatures of free States then in session adopted similar resolutions.

Attention must now be directed to another feature of this memorable cause. It has been observed that Glover, through the efforts of Booth and others, made effectual escape, and Garland sued Booth, March 25, 1854, for the value of the alleged slave and the loss of his labor. The suit was tried before the same Judge Miller.

The jury, after being out nearly three days, disagreed. The case was then transferred to Madison, where, at the July term of the United States District Court, Booth was sentenced to pay \$1,000 and \$242 costs. Again was the conduct of the judge toward Booth of such a character as to call protests and indignation from the public journals.

In February, 1859, the United States Marshal levied on Booth's printing presses and steam machinery to satisfy the judgment of Garland, and they were sold for \$175. Booth replevined his property in the circuit court for Milwaukee county, and recovered. Garland appealed to the State Supreme Court.

In the meantime, on March 1, 1860, Booth was arrested again by the United State Marshal on the old charge of having aided and abetted the escape of Glover, and was confined in the custom-house in Milwaukee. Application for a writ of *habeas corpus* was made to the State Supreme Court, but Justice Paine, having been Booth's counsel, refused to act, and the new justice, Dixon, holding the fugitive slave act constitutional and valid, the court was evenly divided and the application failed.

Whoever has observed carefully the tenor of the resolutions of the people, mass-meetings and legislatures—advo-

eating resistance when nothing else would avail—must be prepared for what followed. The newspapers kindled unquenchable fire, the pulpits thundered, and the people met and resolved. Booth was being followed by the federal officials, they declared, year after year for the purpose of wreaking the revenge of the slave-drivers of the South. The White House, the cabinet, the federal benches and the federal offices were in the hands of the flesh-brokers. Slaves may be hunted, captured and delivered, slave-drivers protected and avenged, but a free white man in a free State can find no justice, said the people, so we must act for self-protection and freedom.

Edward Daniels, who soon after raised the First Regiment of Cavalry in Wisconsin, consulted with O. H. LaGrange, afterwards a colonel and superintendent of the United States Mint at San Francisco, as to what should be done. They matured plans which Daniels submitted to Charles Sumner, the substance of which was, that if Booth should be denied any of the privileges usually granted to persons under arrest for any alleged offense, a body of men should rescue him from persecution.

Sumner indorsed them. Therefore, on the last day of July, Daniels and LaGrange proceeded to Milwaukee and to the custom-house. Procuring a card of admission to Booth's cell, they entered the building. Just as the jailer was opening the door of the jury room in which the prisoner was confined, he was seized, Booth released and the keeper locked in his place.

Booth and his friends proceeded north from Milwaukee and for several weeks succeeded in evading the deputy marshals, or in overpowering them. On October 8, 1860, the hunted man was betrayed and arrested at Berlin, Green Lake county, and again cast into prison in Milwaukee. A special train had been provided for the purpose, and on this Booth and his captors rode over a new, rough railroad at the rate of

sixty miles an hour, expecting every moment to be killed. The officers thus risked their lives for the benefit of Southern flesh-brokers.

After having been re-imprisoned for some time Booth, at the request of the United States marshal and others, addressed President Buchanan a letter in which all the facts were set forth, and asking release from imprisonment under a judgment from which he had been, five years before, discharged by the State court on a writ of *habeas corpus*. He also alleged the unconstitutionality of the fugitive slave act, the defective warrant on which he was arrested, the unfairness of the court, the action of the jury and other circumstances in his favor.

The petition was handed over to the late Jeremiah S. Black, member of President Buchanan's cabinet, to be answered in his capacity of attorney-general of the United States. After reciting a history of the record, not the facts, of the trial, Judge Black said that inasmuch as Booth nor the community in which he lived had repented, and he had been aided and abetted by a "lawless" State court, he could not be released, though generally it was wrong for the government to inflict punishment on a poor man which a person of wealth could not be made to feel, referring to the fact that Booth was held in jail because he was unable to pay the fines imposed by Judge Miller, thus making his incarceration practically for life.

Great indignation followed the promulgation of Attorney-General Black's reply, and it was again proposed to resort to force for the rescue of Booth. This was not done, however, and he continued to lie in jail.

But public clamor rose higher and higher, the dark cloud of rebellion had appeared clearly in the Southern horizon, cabinet officers were resigning and Democracy was in the throes of dissolution. On December 17, 1860, Judge Black resigned and Edwin M. Stanton succeeded him as attorney-

general. Stanton pointed out the disastrous effects of Black's opinion and Buchanan, trembling in the high place he had basely prostituted to slavocracy, granted the pardon he had denied only a few weeks before.

The document was signed on the morning of the last day of that rotten administration—March 4, 1861—and was said to have been Buchanan's last official act.

This spirited litigation, beginning with the birth of the Republican party and lasting until the close of the Presidential campaign of 1860, operated as a potent factor for the election of Lincoln.

That the Wisconsin State courts were right in all their acts will not be claimed; but they certainly made a righteous use of the old State sovereignty theory, turning it with fatal effect upon its Southern inventors. If the State-rights theory was right as applied by the South to its infamous business of hunting and catching slaves, how much more holy was it when used by Wisconsin in preventing her soil from being turned into a hunting-ground and her citizens into man-catchers?

CHAPTER XIII.

A GLIMPSE AT SLAVERY—THE MOBILE BOOKSELLERS.

What Mr. Patten saw in Missouri—A Blacksmith called in to Beat a Slave Woman—Frightful Chastisement—Her Husband Attempts to Rescue Her—A Mob Gathers to See What Shall be Done—Condemned to One Thousand Lashes—His Flesh Riddled in Presence of Three Physicians—Whipped Day after Day, According to His Endurance—Brutality Unparalleled—The Mobile Booksellers—Extract from the Mobile *Tribune*—Wm. Strickland and Edwin Upson—Driven from Mobile—Mr. Strickland Returns and is Again Expelled—He States His Offense—Sells two copies of Fred Douglass 'My Bondage and Freedom'—'Attention Lunenburgers'—Mr. Upson's Statement—Extraordinary Persecution and Injustice—Shall the Country Pass into the Control of Such People?

The various crimes and outrages thus far examined were committed in the name of slavery and for its benefit. It would therefore seem proper, though it is not necessary, to discover more exactly in what slavery consisted.

The unutterable barbarities to which the slaves were perpetually subjected in order to keep them in more perfect subjugation and fear, can barely be referred to here, though they were all-powerful elements in giving life and form to the Republican party.

The writer has seen scores of broken limbs and lacerated bodies, and heard from the lips of the victims themselves such stories, sealed and attested by indelible scars, as would chill any heart but that of a person educated and hardened amidst the cruelties of slave-holding. But only one or two instances will be mentioned. A resident of Cleveland, Ohio, described a scene witnessed by himself, as follows:

CLEVELAND, Saturday, Aug. 9, 1856.

During the past winter and summer I have been traveling through Western Missouri and Kansas, and on the 21st of February, 1856, I was in Lexington, Mo., which I think may be regarded as the great hot-bed of those who pride themselves in that appropriate and significant name, "Border Ruffians." On the morning of that day I was, for the first time in my life, a spectator of the sale of slaves.

Two young men and a girl about eighteen years of age, were placed upon the block, surrounded by forty or fifty slave-holders. The first put up was a "nigger" of great beauty and fine form. The auctioneer commenced by exhorting the farmers to remember that the hemp was all down—hands were scarce—"niggers" had taken a rise; and told them that there stood one of the best-looking "niggers" in the State; that he was a slave for life, and had no wife to trouble him—was sound—had good teeth and eyes. In short, was an "excellent nigger!" The bidding proceeded until \$1,250 was reached, and the hammer fell upon the "nigger," who was led away by the highest bidder. During the sale the auctioneer, and others, indulged in witticisms and puns upon the boy, which set the crowd to laughing; but the slave did not laugh. Not a smile did I notice during the whole time. His expression was that of deep despondency.

Being called away, I did not see the other two sold. Several others were sold in that place during the same week at sheriff's sale. One gentleman told me that he would almost as soon sell one of his own children as one of his "niggers," but he would be compelled to do it, for if he did not the sheriff would.

On the afternoon of that same day a large meeting was held in the court-house for the purpose of forming an "Emigrant Aid Society." A constitution was presented by a committee previously appointed. The necessity of the movement was enforced by an address from the Rev. Prof. Akers, who is now one of the Fillmore electors. He argued that if Kansas was made a free State, Missouri, being surrounded on three sides by free States, must sooner or later give up her cherished "institution." The North would have the majority in Congress, and would admit no more slave States into the Union. They would abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and then it would be hemmed in and confined within its own narrow limits, and would smother out and die.

But oh! with what holy horror that pious man of God raised his hands and his voice against such a terrible result! He urged his friends, in the most passionate strains, to do all they could to make Kansas a slave State, and if they failed they would at least have the satisfaction of having done their duty. His was a telling speech, for immediately after its delivery about \$9,000 was subscribed to send pro-slavery men to Kansas.

On the succeeding Friday a scene was presented in that same court-house which almost beggars description.

Sheriff Withers, having a "nigger woman," who on the previous day had been neglectful of her taskwork, sent for a blacksmith to come and chastise her. He came, bolted the door, tied the woman's hands together, and lashed them over her head to the ceiling, and commenced whipping. The screams of the woman brought her husband to the rescue. He broke open the door, and with a butcher-knife in his hand rushed forward to cut his wife loose. The slave and blacksmith encountered each other, and in the affray the latter got his arm cut. The slave finally surrendered and was led away to jail, while the woman received a double whipping. These are the facts in the case.

News of this "horrible outrage" was soon circulated, and the excitement became intense. One leading man was heard say: "*God d—n me if I don't sink my soul to hell if I don't put a stop to this slave rebellion, if I can only get three men to join with me.*" When asked how he would do it, he said, "I will take this slave and that other one that is in jail, and hang them both upon the same tree, and let them hang there a week." Three men came forward to assist him, and the hour of 4 o'clock that afternoon was agreed upon for the execution. The excitement grew, waxing wilder and fiercer every hour, until such a storm of passion raged as was fearful to behold. At 4 o'clock, the mob, numbering two or three hundred, moved toward the court-house. The "boy," a quadroon about forty years of age, was brought into the building and placed within the bar. Colonel Reed was called to preside, and Colonel Walton explained the object of the meeting.

He said: "A great crime has been committed—an outrage upon one of our citizens by a nigger. We have come together not to imbrue our hands in the blood of innocence, but rebellion of slaves is becoming common. Something must be done to put a stop to it, to protect our wives, our children, and our sacred homes."

A member of the legislature earnestly remonstrated against mob law, and recommended that a day be appointed to whip the boy, and have all the slaves of the county present. He was not heard through, for the speech did not suit the mob. A committee of twelve was appointed to decide immediately what punishment the boy should receive. That committee retired, but soon returned, with Colonel Reed at their head, who read the following announcement:

"Your committee have decided that the boy shall receive ONE THOUSAND lashes on his bare back, two hundred to be administered this evening (if he can bear it) and the remaining eight hundred from time to time, as in the judgment of the committee his physical nature can bear up under it. Also, we advise that a committee of three physicians be appointed to superintend the operation, and three citizens be chosen to whip him. Also, that the person whose arm was cut by the slave have the privilege of giving him the last two hundred lashes."

The report was almost unanimously adopted; those voting nay being in favor of hanging him. The slave was ordered to remove his clothing, and one article after another was taken off until he stood with nothing to cover his nakedness. He was then ordered to kneel down in front of Colonel Reed, while his hands, extending *over* the top of a bench, were tied to the floor.

Let the reader now imagine Colonel Reed upon the bench, cigar in mouth, three honored physicians on the right, and three burly slave-holders, (whips in hand) on the left, of a poor slave who was kneeling before them, with his whole person bared to the chilling atmosphere, the thermometer marking zero. Outside the bar are two or three hundred Border Ruffians, all eager for blood. Such was the scene presented in the court-house at Lexington, in the State of Missouri, on the last Friday of February, 1856.

The whipping commenced. Colonel Reed sprang to his feet with curiosity; more than a hundred heads were peering in to get a sight of their miserable victim. But before a dozen lashes had been administered, the slave fell to the floor bleeding and writhing in agony. The slave-holder struck the harder, and ordered him to get up. The physicians interfered and felt his pulse, and declared that he could never stand such lashes.

Some one cried out: "988 yet to come," and the whipping was resumed. Lash upon lash was inflicted, until *one hundred* had been given, when his whole back, from the top

of his shoulders down to his very feet, was a mass of blood and mangled flesh.

The whipping was continued without cessation amid the most piteous and beseeching wails and cries, such as: "O gen'lemen, O, gen'lemen, have mercy!" "O Lord!" "O Lord come down in mercy!" "O gen'lemen!" "O Lord!" "O Lord!" growing fainter and fainter and finally dying entirely away upon the ear.

When they commenced giving him the second hundred, I left the room in anguish of spirit, exclaiming to myself: "Oh that I were a dog, that I might not call man my brother!"

He was not permitted to rise until the 200 were given. He was taken out the next day, but it was decided he was too sore to whip. On the third day he was taken out and whipped again in the presence of a large crowd, but when they had given him twenty, his strength completely failed him.

Whether the whole of the thousand lashes were administered, or whether he gave out before receiving the complete penalty, I have no means of knowing; but I do know that some of the leading slave-holders pledged themselves to each other to carry it through, despite the indignation of a portion of the community and of the entreaties of his master, although at first the master had given him up to the mob heartily, and was even willing they should hang him. He also acquiesced in the judgment of the committee.

On the next evening (Saturday) after the 200 lashes had been inflicted upon the slave, Governor Shannon arrived *en route* for the Territory of Kansas. A grand reception supper, costing some \$300, was prepared for him. The Governor was largely toasted, and replied in a speech, boasting of the power he had received from the President, and how he would compel submission to the laws. He largely complimented the Missourians and urged them to come and settle in the territory, and said that with such citizens as they were, "Kansas, in two years' time, would be one of the *loyal* States of this Union."

Colonel Reed, who on the previous evening had presided over the naked "nigger" and the mob, presided over this table, with Governor Shannon on his right.

Look upon this picture, and then on that!

It must be clear that this revolting outrage, with thousands and thousands of others like it, was not committed as a mere matter of punishing a single individual. It was an

inhuman demonstration upon one poor mortal for the purpose of so thoroughly overawing the slaves generally that even the thought of liberty would frighten them into absolute submission, just as the butcheries of Yazoo, Hamburg, Danville and Copiah are perpetrated to-day for the purpose of intimidating the entire black race and preventing them from voting the Republican ticket.

Undoubtedly 1,000 volumes would not suffice to record the tortures, scourgings, agonies at the stake and unnatural crimes of slavery. But the single case related in the foregoing letter is enough for this volume, enough to indicate the controlling spirit of Southern Democracy, which, in the darkness of other days, was exercised to keep the blacks in physical bondage as it is now employed to hold them in political slavery not less humiliating and wicked.

But the lawlessness and fierceness of the slave-holders party were not visited upon the defenseless blacks alone. Read this extract from the Mobile, Alabama, *Tribune* of August 17, 1856:

For the past few days the citizens of Mobile have been greatly excited in consequence of the discovery that one of our largest bookselling firms, Messrs. Strickland & Co., have been vending incendiary books. How long they have been engaged in it, it is not now possible to tell, but there is great reason to believe that it has run through several years. For some weeks suspicion has attached to them; but evidences *justifying an investigation* were obtained only a few days ago. The matter was then taken in hand by a committee composed of some of the most respectable and discreet citizens, who met from day to day and advanced step by step to the conclusions on which they have acted. The guilty parties were examined, and every facility was given to them to justify themselves. Their defense, however, only further criminated them. Finally, after a thorough examination, the most complete proofs were found of their guilt.

After a fair but rigid investigation by the committee, its conclusion was that they were *unfit to remain within the city*; and thus, charitably, and, it seems to us, justly, it was determined that they should be requested to leave within five days. A delegation accordingly proceeded to their store, in

order to report to them personally this decision; but the *culprits* were not to be found, and it was afterward learned that both of them had fled. Strickland, on Friday evening, proceeded in the storm then prevailing to the light-house below the city, and there was put on board of a schooner, which immediately hoisted sail and disappeared. Of what has become of his partner, Upson, we have no certain information. He probably, by this time, has put a long distance between himself and this outraged community.

After the above was in type, we received a copy of the concluding part of the report of the committee appointed to investigate the affair. The whole report is long, *and contains a matter which can not, with propriety, be published.* It is sufficient to know that the evidence gathered within it fully sustains its conclusions, which are as follows:

"1st. That Messrs. Strickland & Upson have willfully and intentionally deceived the meeting in regard to the procurement and sale of the books in question, and that their statements on the subject, in view of the existing facts of the case, clearly ascertained, are little better than a tissue of falsehoods throughout.

"2d. That these two persons are either on principle Abolitionists, and anxious to propagate their faith on that subject among slaves and slave-owners, or

"3d. They are unscrupulous and unprincipled speculators, without any just sense of moral responsibility; and willing to make money by the indiscriminate sale of any and every kind of book, to any and everybody.

"In either case they are dangerous persons in a slave-holding community, and ought to be ejected from it.

"It is, however, desirable, *for the purpose of exact justice,* and in order to preserve *that exalted conservative character which has always distinguished Southern communities,* that this ejection should be peaceable and without the least personal violence; and the committee would deprecate as the last of evils, and as a stain upon Southern character, any resort to violence, or any excess in accomplishing the end proposed.

"The committee, therefore, recommend that three persons be appointed to wait on Messrs. Wm. Strickland and Edwin Upson and announce the conclusion at which the meeting has arrived, and *to inform them that unless they leave the city within five days, we can not guarantee their personal safety.*"

Our own judgment runs with this decision of the committee. But there are others who think that too much

leniency has been shown to the culprits; and as we can sympathize with a little excess of virtue, we are not disposed to censure these persons. It is no time to be over-calm when one finds a man applying the torch to his house; and it were a virtue to shoot the incendiary in the act, rather than permit him to escape in efforts to arrest him according to the ordinary process of law.

But in the defense of the action in this case, it may be truly said that there was no evidence of a disposition on the part of these culprits to fire our house; but that they were only, for their own profit, vending the materials which might lead to a conflagration.

Under these circumstances there was, with propriety, formality used in the investigation of this affair; and it has resulted in ridding the city of two pernicious men, and furnishing a lesson which may have a salutary influence on others as guilty as they, but as yet undiscovered. The lesson, we trust, will have its proper effect for *it is not possible that other men can escape so easily*. The best fate of any man *found guilty in this way* hereafter, will, doubtless, be *a summary hanging*; and we shall *applaud the executioners*, if the guilt be indisputable:

Other Southern newspapers contained similar utterances, all sanctioning mob violence and absolute disregard of law whenever any other person should be found "guilty of selling, distributing or having literature pernicious to slave-holding interests."

Read the foregoing article again. It is but a fair sample of the civilization, love of fairness, obedience to law and regard for the commonest rights of others that have always distinguished the dominating classes of the South, and which still render their elections bloody travesties.

William Strickland was born in England, came to this country at the age of thirteen, engaged in the book business at Albany, New York, and removed to Alabama in 1839, where he became a slave-holder, and accumulated a fortune. He is now a resident of California.

Edwin Upson was born at Southington, Connecticut, and went to Alabama in 1831, where he resided until driven from the State. He, too, was a slave-holder. His wife, a beautiful

and accomplished lady, the daughter of S. Maxwell, as preceptress of the Marion Female Seminary, of the Eutaw Female Academy and of the Female Academy of Camden, had educated the daughters of most of the leading men of Alabama. She and her husband were known and esteemed throughout the State, and at her death in 1855 the newspapers of the commonwealth, including those of Mobile, overflowed with expressions of sorrow and sympathy.

Mr. Strickland escaped to New York City. His clerk, Franklin C. Babcock, went before Fernando Wood and made oath that the only so-called "incendiary" books ever in Strickland & Co.'s store were two copies of Fred Douglass' "My Bondage and Freedom" and one copy of "Autographs for Freedom;" that these were not offered for sale and would never have been disposed of if they had not been surreptitiously obtained by the "vigilance committee." This statement, which was known to be true by the so-called vigilance committee, was published in Mobile.

Hoping the publication of the truth had quieted the desperation of the community, Mr. Strickland returned to settle his business affairs, the sum of \$25,000 being due his firm; but he was quickly driven from the place. Waiting then, until about January, 1858, he again returned to Mobile for the same purpose. How the people disposed of him at that time may be gathered from his own account, published in "Strickland & Co.'s Almanac" for 1859:

I had been in the city about two hours when Mr. John Hall, of the firm of Dargan & Hall, as I passed through Royal street, requested me to step up into his office, where, in presence of Judge Dargan and a gentleman unknown to me, he stated that he was instructed by Dr. Woodcock to inform me that I could not remain in the city; that I had better leave. My reply was such as I presume satisfied Mr. Hall that no species of intimidation in the power of Dr. Woodcock could prevent me from remaining and trying to settle up my late business, the sole motive of my journey of 1,500 miles.

The next open effort to intimidate was this: Mr. Marks (daguerrian) called at my room at the Battle House on the morning of the 1st of January, and directed my attention to the advertisement in the *Tribune* of that morning, which read:

Attention Lunenbergers!

Your presence is requested at the Den at 1:30 P. M., to take into consideration matters of importance. Punctual attendance is requested. By order of the CAPTAIN.

He stated their meeting was called for my especial benefit, and intimated that my absence from the city might prevent an outrage upon my person. Mr. Marks left, probably equally satisfied with friend Hall that there was no such ingredient as fear in my composition.

The next scheme was the dastardly one of driving me from my lodgings at the Battle House. Dr. Le Vert, Dr. Woodcock, Governor Bagby, J. D. Secor and A. Brooks held a meeting in the Battle House parlor, called in Mr. Darling, the proprietor, and frightened him by telling him that violence would certainly be enacted in his house that night if I remained in it, and convinced him that his duty to his other guests demanded my expulsion. Mr. Darling waited on me and stated the peculiar position in which he was placed, and requested me to seek accommodations elsewhere. I yielded to his entreaties and told him after dinner I would obtain another boarding house. He proposed to send up dinner to my room for myself and wife, which I declined, preferring to dine openly at the public table.

After dinner I applied for, and got a good room at the Garner House, to which I removed my baggage. I then made some New Year's calls and returned to the Garner House to tea. After tea, a friend informed me that the Lunenbergers were assembled in large force near the Battle House. In view of their contemplated attack, it was suggested that I exchange the room already given me for one more inaccessible, and susceptible of yielding better means of defense. My trunks were being removed to the new quarters when I was informed that Colonel Percy Walker had called and wished to see me.

My first impression was, that the Colonel had been selected and sent by the "crowd" to try and induce me to promise to leave the city, in order to save some of their lives, which by this time they seemed to realize would be taken if they persisted in the attack. But there was an honest earnestness about him which was irresistible, and soon satisfied me that he was a volunteer of humanity, as he himself stated, "by

the common dictates of humanity, to try and prevent the shedding of human blood." Had not the police at this critical moment interfered, it is probable their courage might have been put to the test even beyond aught they had dreamed. The police I could not, of course, resist. I, therefore, while the police were ascending the stairs, retreated, and quietly left the Garner House and ensconced myself elsewhere.

A few days after, I saw, in the very same columns, a call for a "public meeting at the amphitheatre, to take action on a matter of vital importance." In the same paper still later, I saw the following advertisement:

\$250 Reward.

This amount, now deposited in the *Mercury* office for that purpose, will be paid to any one who will point out the lurking place of William Strickland, formerly of this city, if within the limits of Mobile county.

MOBILE, January 8, 1858.

The result of the meeting at the Amphitheatre, which had been convened on matters of "vital importance," when they found they could not get rid of me in a "quiet and dignified manner," was to wage war on my wife. A committee was appointed to wait on her and inform her that unless she left the city she would be sent off by force.

Oh, most noble gentlemen of the committee! True and glorious representatives of Southern Chivalry!

But despite your watchings, I had regular interviews with my wife. Notwithstanding your threat of ruin to all who aided, friends did assist. As my presence in Mobile could no longer be of essential service to the settlement of claims due me, I joined her in New Orleans and accompanied her home.

It is the misfortune of Mobile that she has borne in her bosom a set of bad, reckless, unprincipled and lawless men—a "league" dreaded and feared by good people but against whom they are powerless. Under the name of patriotism, as applied to Southern institutions, this class of men have perpetrated many and grievous wrongs, amongst which my own case stands prominent.

Now let us examine the statement of Mr. Upson, who still survives to testify against the mob that for fifty years ruled the South in terror and blood:

MILWAUKEE, Feb. 7, 1884.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of January 30, 1884, enclosing a copy of the Mobile (Ala.) *Tribune* dated August 17, 1856,

purporting to give an account of the driving away of Strickland & Co. from that city for selling three books of an "incendiary" character, is in hand, and I have read the article carefully. I think I never read it before. You wish to know if the account given there is correct.

The statement there made falsifies itself by its glaring and palpable contradictions. One fact *is* stated: "Strickland & Co." *were* driven from the city, or rather, were compelled to flee to save their lives. Nearly everything else in the account is exaggerated misrepresentation and falsehood.

If the account *were* true, then William Strickland and Edwin Upson were the most consummate fools that ever drew breath; but it is well known that they were neither fools nor Abolitionists.

The idea of circulating "incendiary" books for any purpose was never thought of by them. Both of them had been slave-holders for many years when this event occurred, and had no interests elsewhere than in Alabama, and were known as good and loyal citizens; but this committee made the wonderful discovery that "Strickland & Co." had been selling Abolition books for years, and had grown rich at the business! Was anything ever more ridiculous and absurd? The facts were that they had sold just *three* books, two of which were surreptitiously obtained. They consisted of two copies of "Fred Douglass' Life" and one copy of "Autographs for Freedom;" and part of these were sold without profit. I think the entire amount received for them was \$3; and from this sale they were said by this remarkable committee to have grown rich.

The copy of "Autographs for Freedom" had been in the store for years, high up on a shelf with a lot of shop-worn and unsalable books. The other two books had been in the store about six months. They were ordered by a customer who had seen their announcement by the publishers, and wished to examine them.

"Strickland & Co." were certainly rather *slow* in pushing their Abolition documents. The fact was they had never read a line in these books. This was their great mistake; had they carefully examined them they would never have offered them for sale; but they felt even above suspicion of Abolitionism, being old citizens, Mr. Strickland having been there seventeen years, myself in the State from boy-hood, and both slave-holders. The covert attack and insinuations made that something dreadful had been done by these parties, too terrible to disclose, were intended to arouse a mob spirit. All this talk about a "rigid examination" is a myth.

I went voluntarily before this committee at the Battle House and made a full and truthful statement of the matter as far as I knew, and Mr. Strickland did the same. This was *all the examination* had.

As I left the committee room and was coming down stairs I met Mr. Maury, the chief of police, who *collared* me. At the same time Dr. Woodcock came out of the committee room and called out to Mr. Maury to let me alone and he desisted.

When our [the Union] army captured Mobile, Mr. Strickland then entered the city with it, and he says spent nine of the happiest days of his life among his old friends and enemies. He said they all looked pretty seedy, but most of them were glad to see him. Some had passed away. He then learned that Dr. Woodcock stated that when Maury collared me at the Battle House, he, with a number of others, had a carriage and horses and rope ready *to take me out and hang me*. So it appears that this vigilance committee had men outside ready to do their bidding. Dr. Woodcock coming out of the committee room and calling out to Maury as he did, shows that the committee ¹ and the mob were acting together. But thank God, I still live, and am able to state these facts calmly and dispassionately, although nearly twenty-eight years have passed since those barbarous and inhuman scenes transpired.

The pecuniary loss of Strickland & Co. was large—a good established business broken up, and the hard earnings of early years swept away. The firm had \$25,000 due them when they were driven away. Only about \$10 of it, was ever collected. Soon after we left attachments were levied on our stock for nearly everything the firm owed. The parties that had them served were a portion of this committee, and secretly advised us, *as friends*, to leave the city as soon as we possibly could, as we were not safe a moment there. So it

¹ The Mobile Register of August 17, 1856, contained the following:

The firm and prompt, yet moderate course, pursued by the committee, is worthy of all praise. It is calculated to produce a high moral effect, and will be cordially indorsed and sustained by the entire community.

The following, is a list of the gentlemen present at the meeting:

Dr. J. C. Nott, the Hon. John Bragg, the Rev. W. Hawthorn, Dr. J. H. Woodcock, Dr. H. S. Levert, Wm. F. Cleveland, A. Brooks, Joseph Sewall, the Hon. A. P. Bagby, A. G. Humphreys, H. W. Broadnax, J. S. Secor, H. B. Holcombe, Dr. Mastin, the Hon. J. W. Lesesne, Dr. G. A. Ketchum, W. Boyles, Esq., J. H. Daughdrill, John Scott, Jacob Magee, Dr. F. A. Ross, Joseph E. Murrill, R. C. Macy, the Hon. E. S. Dargan, Wm. Harris, John Hall, Godard Bailey, S. C. Stramler, John Mann.

The Examining Committee was composed of the following gentlemen: The Hon. J. W. Lesesne, Dr. J. C. Nott, the Hon. John Bragg, Dr. H. S. Levert, Dr. J. H. Woodcock, J. S. Secor, Esq.

The Committee who were appointed to wait on Messrs. Strickland & Co., were Dr. J. C. Nott, Dr. H. S. Levert, W. F. Cleveland, Esq.

appears they were advising us with one hand and preparing to rob us with the other.

We had to use great caution to get away from the city, as the police were watching us. None dared openly to assist us, for a terrible despotism reigned.

It was such men as those composing the committee that ruled and finally ruined the South. Their inhuman outrages, perpetrated on good and loyal citizens, were the forerunners of the terrible war that soon followed, drenching the land in blood.

EDWIN UPSON.

The author having circulated among the people of the South in the year of our Lord 1884, undertakes to declare that, except in a few communities, the same intolerance, the same spirit of lawlessness, and the same class of men rule the South to-day, to her sorrow. Should they be given control of the Nation?

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—ITS NAME.

Gradual Consolidation of Scattered Forces—The Kansas-Nebraska Bill Fires the North—A Modest Patriot Watches His Opportunity—Plans Previously Matured—Numerous Pretenders—Henry Wilson's Testimony—A. E. Bovay Writes to Greeley Suggesting the Name "Republican" Be Advocated in the New York *Tribune*—Tells How and When He Did It—Greeley was Moved—Why a New Party was Demanded—Meetings for its Formation—Whiggery Dead But Unburied—Begging to Have Its Carcass Spared—Not a Blind, Unconscious Movement—The First Republican Committee—The Name Should Not Be Adopted in Ripon, but Come Apparently from a More Noteworthy Source—Major Bovay tells the Whole Story—Greeley and Bovay Break Bread and Read Telegrams from the Whig Convention of 1852—Scott's Defeat Predicted—A New Party Demanded—Its Name Should Be Republican—Reasons for Choosing that Title—"Who Could Fight Under the Shadow of a Goose?"—Mrs. Bovay's Confirmatory Letter—David P. Mapes Makes a Statement—Corroboratory Letter from Judge E. L. Runals.

We have now passed over, swiftly and cursorily it must be admitted, a half-century of slavery domination, present-

ing single illustrations in each successive class of the numberless wickednesses that burden its dark and unhappy history. It brings us to a point where public opinion was sharply defined and intensely active, and where we find, for the first time in years, but two parties. One worshiped at the bloody shrine of slavery, willing to destroy constitutions, laws, treaties, personal rights, Christian precepts, even human life to perpetuate its reign for selfish purposes. The other, bearing aloft the eagles of freedom, asked nothing for itself, but was consecrated to any hardship or sacrifice necessary to achieve the amelioration of a degraded and down-trodden race.

For many years there had been several political parties, or several factions maneuvering in politics for the purpose of engrafting their peculiar views upon administrative policies, or of exterminating certain public evils. The Democracy, North and South, was wedded to slavery and nullification, and the Southern Whigs generally followed in the same path.

In the North the Liberty Party, Sons of Freemen, Abolitionists, Whigs, Emancipationists, Free-Soilers and their allies were contesting, some in a weak and childish manner, and others in a strong and troublesome way, every advance of the Democratic party. But these several factions, marshaled and organized upon different platforms, marching and counter-marching at different times and attacking and retreating without concert, served to strengthen rather than weaken the enemy.

Slowly but surely, however, had the scattered forces been drawing together. The Whig platform of 1852 virtually endorsed the slavery of the South and sanctified slave-catching at the North as a means of its perpetuation.

When, therefore, in the winter of 1853-4, the Kansas-Nebraska bill was reported in Congress, factional lines began to

melt away and the friends of freedom abandoned all other issues and camped together on common ground to fight for a common cause. They had been well prepared for such action by the enormities recited in preceding chapters.

If the Kansas-Nebraska bill should pass, slavery would be permitted to enter every foot of free soil embraced in the vast tract of territory not yet erected into States, although by the compromise of 1820 it had *all*, north of $36\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north latitude of the Louisiana purchase, been dedicated forever to freedom.

The blood of the North was hot. Meetings ¹ were held in almost every school-house in the free States to adopt resolutions of protest; lips that had always been dumb burst into earnest eloquence; pulpit-fires were kindled to arouse church congregations; women pleaded, newspapers argued, conjured and denounced and the aid of Divine Providence was invoked to save the rich valley of the Mississippi and Missouri to the freedom to which it had been consecrated.

For two years a modest but scholarly and patriotic individual in a young Western State had waited for an opportunity like this in which to promulgate his plan for consolidating under one banner, the various contending hosts, and with their aggregated might, strike a blow that should shake the slave power to its foundation.

He had matured his plans and repeatedly asked for assistance from the recognized leaders of the opposition, but in vain. Though defeated and weak, they still clung to old party hulks. Now he must act with promptness and decision, for the people would be with him if their leaders were not. When the masses take up arms, victory is sure to follow.

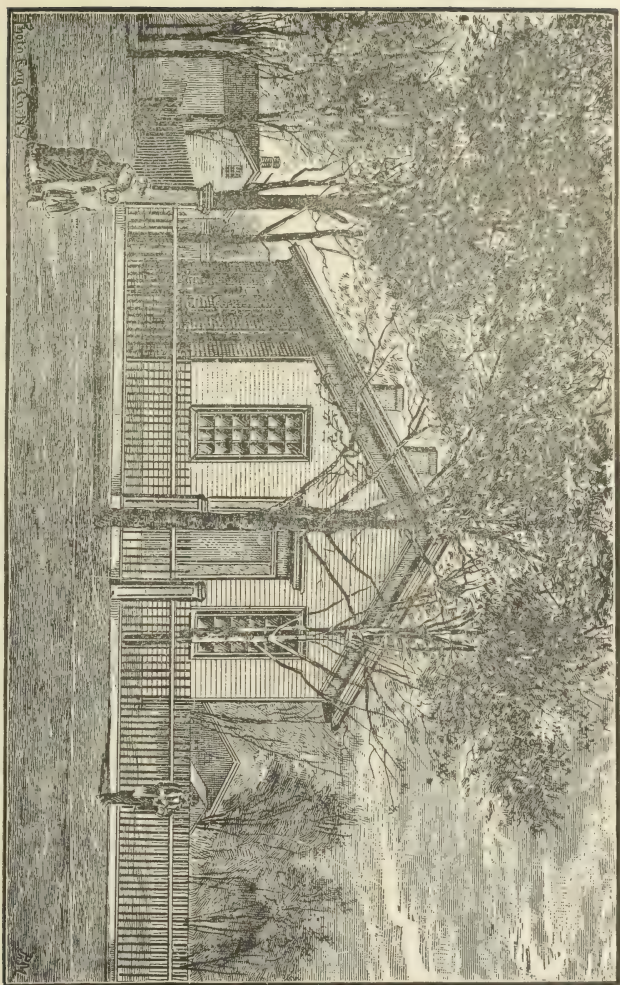
¹ An important though not very early meeting was that held in Washington on June 20, 1854, composed of the anti-Nebraska members of Congress. They adopted an address which wielded an effective influence throughout the North. It was signed by Solomon Foot, chairman; Daniel Mace and Reuben E. Fenton, secretaries.

It was in the early spring-time, half-way between two Presidential contests, so the people were moving without political incentive or restraint. That was fortunate, for under such circumstances old party lines are more easily destroyed and new ones formed in a general movement for public weal than is possible in a direct partisan contest at the polls. It was also fortunate for the historian, as it enables him to trace down to exact dates, places and individual plans what otherwise might have been recorded as the result of a blind movement of the masses, with no well-defined source that could be handed undisputed down to posterity.

Those who claim to have first conceived the idea of the party that took the revered and pregnant name, Republican, and to have taken steps in the direction of its formation, are indeed numerous; but no historian has yet made such an investigation as would effectually silence the clamorous impostors and establish the clear title of the rightful, but modest few.

In Henry Wilson's "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America," however, on pages 409 and 410, Vol. II, appears the first attempt to place where it belongs, in a permanent, public manner, the credit of taking methodical and premeditated action to organize Republicanism for the control of the affairs and to shape the destiny of this nation. The high testimony of Henry Wilson shall be appropriated for the purpose of this chapter before proceeding further:

One of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the movements that contemplated definite action and the formation of a new party, was made in Ripon, Fond du Lac county, Wisconsin, in the early months of 1854, in consequence of a very thorough canvass, conference and general comparison of views, inaugurated by A. E. Bovay, a prominent member of the Whig party, among the Whigs, Free-Soilers and Democrats of that town. A call was issued for a public meeting to consider the grave issues which were assuming an aspect of such alarming importance,



SCHOOL HOUSE IN WHICH BOVAY HELD HIS FIRST REPUBLICAN MEETING.

The meeting was held on the last day of February, in the Congregational Church. It was largely attended by persons of both sexes from the town and surrounding country. It was a meeting solely for the discussion of principles and comparison of views. The burden and drift of the speeches were the hopeless subserviency of the national parties to the behests of the slave-holders, the necessity of abandoning them, and the proposed policy of constructing a party from the materials thus set at liberty, with such as could be persuaded to leave the Democratic party for a similar purpose.

A resolution was adopted that, if the Nebraska bill, then pending, should pass, they would throw old party organizations to the winds, and organize a new party on the sole issue of the non-extension of slavery.

X A second meeting was held on the 20th of March for the purpose of organization and for the adoption of such preliminary measures as the inauguration of the new party required. By formal vote the town committees of the Whig and Free-Soil parties were dissolved, and a committee of five, consisting of three Whigs, one Free-Soiler and one Democrat was chosen. "The work done on that evening," says Mr. Bovay, "was fully accepted by the Whig and Free-Soil parties of all this section immediately, and very soon—that is to say, in a few months—by these parties throughout the State. A State convention was held in July, by which the organization of the party was perfected for the State, a majority of the delegation was secured for the next Congress; and a Free-Soiler, Charles Durkee, was elected to the Senate of the United States."

At the meeting of the 20th of March, Mr. Bovay, though stating his belief that the party should and probably would take the name of REPUBLICAN, advised against such a christening at that time, and by that small local body of men.

He, however, wrote to the editor of the New York *Tribune*, suggesting the name, giving his reasons therefor, and requesting him, if his views corresponded with his own, to call the attention of his readers to it in the columns of his paper.

Thus early did the men of that frontier town inaugurate a movement which was destined to sweep and control the nation, and which did sweep the country, and change entirely the policy of the government.

A file of the New York *Tribune* for 1854 being sent to Major Bovay with the request that he point out the article

Greeley wrote in response to the letter mentioned by Wilson, he answered :

RIPON, Wisconsin, Feb. 28, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have looked carefully through your volume of *Tribunes* from the beginning up to June 24, 1854, and there I find the article you ask for. It appeared some weeks later than I had of late years supposed, but on examination of the files I see it is just where it should be. I have always been under the impression that it followed close upon the heels of the Nebraska bill, and that is where it actually is; but as the bill hung longer in the House than I remembered, I was slightly mistaken as to date. These papers explain all that.

Here is the *Weekly Tribune* of June 3, dressed in mourning for the passage of that infamous bill. Now, simply for your own satisfaction, I will give you these little details: In those old days we had but two Eastern mails, on Tuesdays and Fridays. That paper of June 3 would arrive in Ripon on Friday, June 9.

I struck for the name of our new political party immediately. I had never struck with the same vehemence before, because until then Greeley had never *fully* committed himself to the dissolution of the Whig organization and the abandonment of the Whig name; indeed, he had even treated this matter of the name as rather a small thing, when in fact it is a *great* thing, as it is the visible banner under which the hosts rally.

My letter urging him to put forth, tentatively, the name Republican, undoubtedly went out the next Monday—the first returning mail—June 12; and it would be six days in going through. He would receive it on the 18th, therefore, and that of the 24th would be the first weekly in which it could appear; and in that it actually is.

The article is headed, "Party Names and Public Duty," and it will be found near the foot of the first column, third page, in the *Weekly Tribune* of Saturday, June 24. Appended to the article is a highly nervous communication—which I had forgotten—from a correspondent in Jacksonville, Illinois, urging an organization to be called the Party of Freemen, dated June 10, which confirms my reckoning of the slowness of the mails in those days.

I say the suggestion of the name made in that little article came from me, in the way and manner set forth above, and I say further that, to the best of my knowledge and be-

lief, it was the first appearance—in print—of that name as applied or to be applied¹ to the modern party.

Jefferson called *his* party "Republican"—never Democrat—but the name was dropped after his day, and the party claiming still to be the same, assumed the Democratic name.

I believe this answers your question as to the letter which brought out Greeley's article in favor of calling our new party Republican. I had spoken and written to him about it previously—in fact, two years before—but he was loth to abandon the organization and name of Whig.

I happened to be dining with Horace Greeley while the convention was in session which nominated Gen. Scott for the Presidency in 1852. It was in "Lovejoy's Hotel," in Park Row, New York City, and we had chosen that place because, as Greeley said, "they had better bread there than at any other hotel in the city."

Every five minutes telegrams were coming from the convention. Fillmore was the leading candidate on all the earlier ballots. Greeley asked me what would be the result of the convention. I said I had no doubt that Scott would be nominated, because he was supported by most of the Whig States and the convention would not dare to flaunt defiance in the face of their electoral votes; but that he would be overwhelmingly defeated at the polls, and that the Whig party would never rally again as a national party; that we were entering upon our last battle.

He said: "Not so; Scott will be nominated and he will be triumphantly elected; but I agree with you that if he is defeated, it will be the last of the Whig party."

I said: "Do you really believe, Mr. Greeley, that Scott will be elected?"

He answered: "I really do." I was bound to believe him, for he was the soul of candor; but it was very difficult, for to me a sense of defeat filled the horizon.

I then went on to say that, in my opinion, the Whig party had out-lived its usefulness; that its vitality was gone; that its issues no longer commanded the attention of the country; that the slavery question was absorbing all the active minds of the country; that after its defeat in the coming election the party, with its organization and its issues, would disappear and that a party would arise on its ruins whose ban-

¹ The article referred to by Mr. Bovay ended thus: "We should not much care whether those [Free-Soilers, Whigs, Abolitionists, etc.] thus united were designated Whigs, Free Democrats or something else; though we think some simple name like REPUBLICAN would more fitly designate those who have united to restore the Union to its true mission of champion and promulgator of liberty rather than propagandist of slavery."

ner would be "Exclusion of slavery from the territories," and that this party would embrace within its ample folds all those elements in the country which were then fighting the Democracy in scattered battalions.

"Well," he says, "what will you call this new party which you see looming up so clearly?" I answered without a moment's hesitation, for I had pondered upon this question of a name for months, "I would call it 'Republican.'"

"And why would you call it Republican?"

I replied: "For many reasons:

"1st. Because political parties should have significant names and this name is not only significant, but it is significant of the thing which we wish to symbolize—*Respublica*—the common weal. It is suggestive of equality; that *you* are as good as *I*, and not like the Democratic doctrine that *I* am as good as *you*; (and, as Mike Walsh said in one of his drunken speeches, 'a damned sight better.')

"2d. The name should be single, not double, like 'Free-Soil.' 'Free-Democrat.' 'Liberty-Party,' etc.

"3d. It should be flexible, that is, capable of being used as either noun or adjective, and of ready use in its application to a party or to an individual. This name fulfills these conditions as no other name does or can; but there are two other considerations for its adoption that outweigh them all.

"It was used by the party of Jefferson in its best and purest days, when it was really the friend, and not the enemy, of the human race, and it has left a hallowed memory behind it. But lastly—and in point of expediency—the highest consideration of all is, that it is a cherished name with our foreign population of every nationality. They call themselves Republicans, *Republicains*, *Republikaner*, *Republicanos*—or by some modification of it in all European countries, and this name meets them here like an old friend. We want a *good* name, a name with charm and prestige in it, and as I see it, this is *the* name we want and no other."

Greeley answered briefly—"Oh, we shall see." I came home to Wisconsin, worked hard for Scott, but felt defeat in the air every day. Defeat came—a perfect rout of horse, foot and artillery—and the Whig party had indeed fought its last battle. It never rallied again on a national field.

From the hour of that defeat, I thought of nothing and worked at nothing, politically, but the organization of the Republican party. I do not suppose there was one secular day, from the autumn of 1852 until the summer of 1854, that I did not press this matter in conversation upon somebody.

The Nebraska bill and the intense agitation which it produced, offered the opportunity and I took advantage of it in the best way that I could see.

I will simply add this: I think my friend Greeley valued *names* too lightly. The party name is the banner under which its hosts rally. The eagle is a noble emblem, but who could fight under the shadow of the goose? *Names are things*, and a good party name is a tower of strength.

The truth is that after a certain period I felt more solicitous about the name than about the organization of the new party; for the latter I was sure of while as to the former I constantly had in mind the old adage: "There's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip."

Yours Truly, A. E. BOVAY.

The foregoing having been read by Mr. Bovay to his wife, she at once sent the following letter:

RIPON, March 2, 1884.

DEAR SIR:—My husband has just read to me (at my request) his letter to you, and after listening to it I remarked: "Yes, I remember very well the night you brought home that paper (the *Tribune* of June 24, 1854,) and how eager we both were to read it, to see if your *last* letter had not induced Greeley to put forth the name, after this latest provocation. [We had both been a little vexed because he would not do it before.] As soon as your eyes fell upon the article, you exclaimed vehemently: 'Yes, here it is!' and read it aloud."

I was not at all satisfied with the gingerly way in which it was done, and thought it not worthy of Greeley.

Moreover, though I never told my husband so (and never knew if he felt so, for he never mentioned it) I felt aggrieved that Greeley, after the name was accepted and grew famous and strong, never so much as alluded to whence the suggestion came. He had the magnanimity never to claim it for himself. Had he done so, I should have made a fuss.

I wanted Mr. Bovay to tell you this, but he said, "No, tell him yourself if you like," and I have proceeded to do so, for I think you will appreciate the graphic scene of that night, thirty years ago, when, after reading that paragraph, he swung the paper over his head and hurrahed for the Republican party.

MRS. E. C. BOVAY.

As cumulative proof, the following letter from Captain David P. Mapes, born at Coxsackie, New York, January 10, 1798, and one of the extraordinary characters of the West, is added:

RIPON, March 1, 1884.

DEAR SIR:—You ask me to state what I know about the organization of the Republican party in Ripon. Well, I have read the brief history of that event as related in "Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America;" also the fuller and more circumstantial account contained in the "History of Fond du Lac county," and I find them both to be true.

You are doubtless aware that I am "the oldest inhabitant" of Ripon, in age as well as residence, having been the original proprietor of the town; and I may say that I have been always an exceedingly interested witness of whatever has occurred here; and I will say further, as I said before the editorial convention in 1879, that from the beginning Ripon has been a place interesting and picturesque in events, as well as in location and scenery.

I have for a period of thirty-three years been well acquainted with Alvan E. Bovay, whom I shall call the founder of the Republican party. In those old days—during the Presidency of Pierce—within which time the transformation of parties took place, Mr. Bovay and his family were boarders in my family, and I was perfectly familiar with the details of this whole matter. I attended none of the meetings—he being a Whig of the Seward school and I a conservative Democrat—though I knew of them all and was admitted to an inside view of all his plans and doings.

After the election of Pierce, in November, 1852, Mr. Bovay at once declared that the Whig party had suffered its final defeat; that it would never rally for another national contest; that, in short, it was dead, and that all the old issues had died with it; that a new party would soon spring up, embracing all the elements of the country opposed to the Democracy, based on the single issue of the exclusion of slavery from the territories; and that the name of that party would probably be—at least ought to be—REPUBLICAN.

Not once only, but hundreds of times, did I hear him declare this; indeed, it seemed to be his one predominant thought from the day of Pierce's election in November, 1852, until the organization of his party became a fixed fact, in the spring of 1854. The Nebraska bill set the elements in mo-

tion and gave him the opportunity for which he had been waiting for more than a year.

He said, "The time is at hand; this is the mighty shock that is to knock all the old organizations—except the Democratic—to pieces, and is to rally their elements around the flag of Republicanism;" and from that time on until the thing was done, he devoted his days and his nights to the work.

I remember well that the "tallow candle" kept up its light in the little white school house, on the prairie, long after midnight, and that when he came home and was asked what he had been doing, he replied, "I have been making a bit of history."

There is not the least doubt that the Republican party had its formal birth here, in Ripon; *and here the Republican name was familiar to all ears months before it was heard elsewhere*; so that when the great party finally came to the country at large, it came not as a stranger needing an introduction to the people of the West Assembly District of Fond du Lac county, but as an old and familiar acquaintance.

Circumstances were favorable. Free-Soilism had pervaded the community for years, and just at the right time there happened to be a man here who was able and willing and ardent; who had the ear of Horace Greeley; was a skillful organizer, in short, who seized the opportunity and achieved the result. Without him it could never have been done—as it *was* done—and without the conditions he could not have accomplished it.

These, my dear sir, are the facts as I saw them, very briefly stated, and they are subject to your good pleasure.

Very truly yours,

DAVID P. MAPES.

An earlier letter from Judge E. L. Runals, a wealthy and influential resident of Wisconsin, written for another purpose, will be inserted:

RIPON, December 19, 1879.

DEAR SIR:—I remember well a conversation I had with you in the fall of 1852, not more than two or three weeks, I should think, after the election of Franklin Pierce to the Presidency, in relation to the political affairs of the country.

You, in substance, said that the Whig party, to which you belonged, could not survive such an overwhelming defeat as it had just suffered; that it could never rally again; that it would have to abandon its organization and its name; that the country had ceased to care for the old Whig issues; that

slavery had become the all-absorbing question; that on some phase of this question a new party would probably soon be formed at the North, which would combine Whigs, Free-Soilers, and all outside elements against Democracy, which was the great pillar and support of slavery; that the selection of a name would be an object of the first importance to this new party; and that, in your opinion, it should be called the REPUBLICAN party. You also gave your reasons at considerable length for so thinking. Yours very truly,

E. L. RUNALS.

To Major A. E. Bovay, Ripon, Wisconsin.

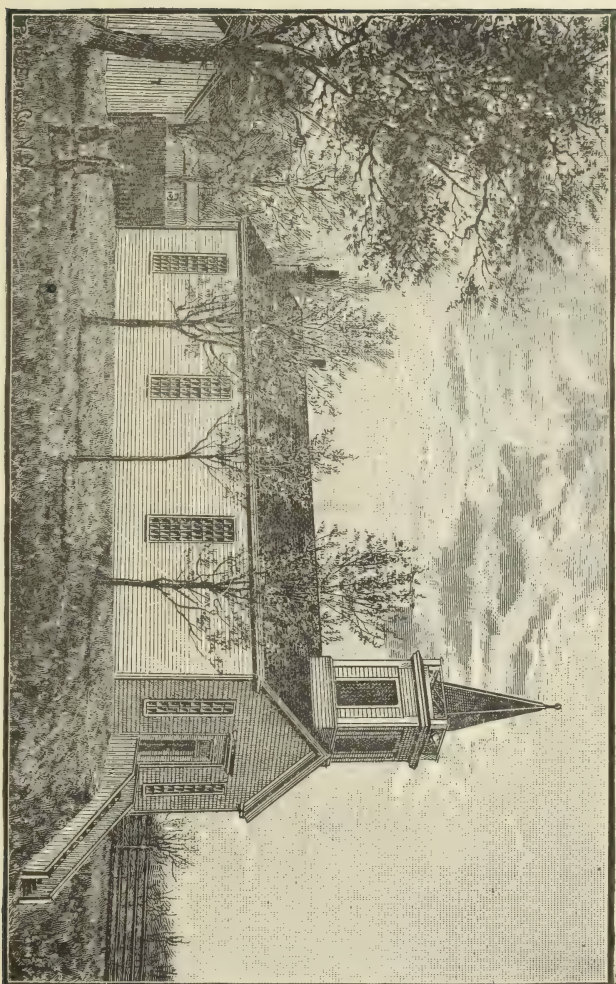
CHAPTER XV

THE REPUBLICAN GENESIS.

Greeley's Timidity—A Deaf Ear to Bovay's Early Pleadings—The Mountain Must Come to Mahomet—Aroused at Last—Sends Fire Brands Among the Philistines—The New York *Tribune* Declares All the Old Parties Have Outlived Their Usefulness—The Whigs Astounded—The Plan of 1852 Again Urged Upon Greeley in 1854—Letter from Mr. Bovay Containing an Outline of His Plan—Greeley Still Hesitated—*Fac Simile* of His Reply—He Enters Upon the Task of Solidifying all the Opponents of Slavery and Slavery Extension—He Indorses the Name—The Great Contest Fairly Begun.

Mr. Bovay was an early friend, co-laborer and adviser of Greeley, and immediately after the disastrous defeat of the Whigs in 1852, began, as we have seen, to urge the great editor and agitator to abandon the carcass of Whiggery, from which the foul stench of pro-slaveryism had begun to rise, and form a new party with a broad platform of equality and human rights, upon which could be united all the friends of universal freedom in the Republic.

Greeley answered all these advances in a spirit of willingness to do whatever might seem for the best, as occasion should arise, but would not for some time advocate in the



CHURCH IN WHICH BOVAY NAMED THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Tribune a complete abandonment of the Whig organization. He argued that the Whigs might perhaps be induced to discard their bad principles, recently adopted for the purpose of winning the smiles and favor of the slave power, which course would undoubtedly be preferable to a general exodus of the rugged liberty-lovers and honest yeomen from Whiggery.

As long as nothing was pending to effectively demonstrate that such indeed might not be the case, it was impossible to argue Greeley out of his position. Finally, however, when Congress met in 1853, and a number of the Whig members of the free States, of whom he had hoped better things, outraged their constituents by the utmost servility to the slave-owners of the South, obeying their every behest and supporting their every measure, be it never so repugnant to the spirit of freedom and the principles of a Republic, he was aroused.

Having staked his faith on the representatives of the free people of the free States and lost, his powerful pen became a sword of flame and his 100,000 *Tribunes* spread among the people every week like Samson's brands through the dry sheaves and prolific olive yards of the Philistines.

He was now more favorably inclined toward Mr. Bovay's plan, which had been submitted to and examined by him, and wrote a powerful editorial occupying more than the entire length of one of the wide columns of the old *Tribune*, declaring that *all* the parties of the day had out-lived their usefulness. Yet he refused to comply with Mr. Bovay's request to advocate the formation of a new party to be called Republican, although the Wisconsin patriot had been persistent, and held a deal of correspondence with Greeley, urging many reasons, many hopes and many facts in support of his view of the great political problem.

The article referred to was a bomb in the Whig camp, because it classed pro-slavery Whiggery as no better than pro-

slavery Democracy, and both equally deserving of destruction. He thus became the target for the sharp-shooters of both sides, and the *Tribune* lost some ground by it. Other articles, nevertheless, of a similar tenor and of greater radicalism and emphasis continued to follow until, as Mr. Bovay thought, the good time had come. Therefore in February, 1854, when the North was blazing with excitement over Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska bill, with its provisions to open all the territories, west and north to slavery, he again sent Greeley his plan and platform for a new party, and asked the influence and indorsement of the *Tribune* in christening it Republican. Here is his letter:¹

RIPON, Wisconsin, February 26, 1854.

HORACE GREELEY, *Dear Sir*:—It seems to me you can no longer doubt, or remain passive. Every phase of the prophecy I made to you in New York two years ago has come to pass. The Nebraska bill is sure to become a law. Slavery has been growing stronger instead of weaker, and as long as its opponents gather in little bands here and there, it will continue to increase in power and aggression.

Now is the time to organize a great party to oppose it. If we wait until the dawn of a Presidential campaign, that organization can not be successfully effected. Campaign excitement always solidifies parties, and the scattered elements out of which we must form our organization will then be chained to the old political chariots, out of our reach.

Your paper is now a power in the land. Advocate calling together in every church and school-house in the free States all the opponents of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, no matter what their party affiliation. Urge them to forget previous political names and organizations, and to band together under the name I suggested to you at Lovejoy's Hotel in 1852, while Scott was being nominated.

I mean the name *Republican*. It is the only one that will serve all purposes, present and future, the only one that will live and last. The people of the South stand shoulder to shoulder; the North must align itself or be engulfed by slavery.

Having banded together under a common title to oppose slavery in this Nebraska matter, and having discovered how few and insignificant after all, are the differences that have

¹ Not the letter referred to in the previous chapter and which brought out the name Republican.

New York
Nov. 7 '77.

My dear Sir.

I faintly hope

the time has come predict-
ed by Dr. Webster, when
we shall - "I think there
will be a North." But

I am a beaten, broken-
down, used-up politi-
cian, and have the sense
less of many defects in
my bones. However I
am ready to follow any

lead that promise to
hasten the day of
their Emancipation.
Your plan is all right
if the People are
ripe for it. I fear they
too generally wish (with
John Mitchell) that
"they had a good floun-
ten and reggins in it
come - even Kansas.
However, we will try
and do what we can. But
remember that Editors
can only follow where
the people's heart ^{is} already

preferred to go with them.
They can desert and dis-
mote a healthy public
indignation, but not
"create a soul beneath
the ribs of Death."

Yours,

Horace Evelly.

Alphon E. Boudry, Esq.

Repor,

Fennell, Lae Co.

Wisconsin.

divided them, the masses will be ready to go on together as one steady, solid army when, two years hence, we shall marshal our forces to elect a President opposed to the domination of slavery.

I conceive it to be your duty, if you can see as I do, to urge the people to thus organize and to do it at once. It is now or never; strike your strongest blows without delay.

We have already held meetings in Ripon composed of members of all parties, so I know they will mix and work together harmoniously. We shall hold another meeting this week to complete the work of organization.

We have planted a good seed; it is your privilege and duty to spread its fruit throughout the free North.

Earnestly and Truly Yours,

A. E. BOVAY.

Greeley hesitated. The sentiment of the East, where his paper had its largest circulation, was not as far advanced as that of the West, and he knew it. There was not a single Eastern State prepared for the action contemplated by Mr. Bovay at that moment, though several of the Western commonwealths were, as we shall presently see, wholly ripe for it. He replied: [See *fac simile* letter.]

Some may find a translation of the letter desirable. For their convenience one is appended:

NEW YORK, March 7, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR:—I faintly *hope* the time has come predicted by Dan. Webster when he said, "I think there *will be* a North." But I am a beaten, broken-down, used-up politician, and have the soreness of many defeats in my bones. However, I am ready to follow any lead that promises to hasten the day of Northern emancipation. Your plan is all right if *the people* are ripe for it. I fear they too generally wish (with John Mitchell¹) that they had a good plantation and Negroes in Alabama—or even Kansas. However, we will try and do what we can. But remember that editors can only follow where the people's heart is already prepared to go with them. They can direct and animate a healthy public indignation, but not "create a soul beneath the ribs of Death."

Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

Alvan E. Bovay, Esq.,

Ripon, Fond du Lac Co., Wisconsin.

¹ John Mitchell was the editor of the *New York Citizen*, who, in one of his issues declared: "We deny it is a crime, or a wrong or even a peccadillo to

Day after day for some weeks after writing the foregoing letter, the *Tribune* teemed with leaders advising the destruction of party lines and calling on the people of every State, county, school district and neighborhood who opposed the extension and aggression of slavery to organize for the impending battle, according to the plan sent down from the little far-away Wisconsin village. In April, 1854, under the head of "The Politics of the Future," Greeley declared there "was good reason why the Whig party should have broken up after the disaster of 1852, and that its dissolution at that time would have been a national blessing."

He also held that "the dissolution of the Whig party would be the surest and speediest road to the predominance of the principles that organization once espoused;" that all the members of the Democratic, Free-Soil, Whig, American (or Know-Nothing) Liberty and Abolition parties who were agreed that the iniquity of slavery should not be extended into all the vast area of the Republic not then organized into States, and that the rule of the flesh-brokers over the entire affairs of government ought to come to an end, should unite under some common name, he "cared not a button what," for the purpose of accomplishing those ends.

Under his powerful conjurations party barriers began to waver, crumble and disappear, and on the 24th day of June, Greeley, wrote as we have already seen, that the name REPUBLICAN had been suggested as eminently appropriate for the new party, and as the meaning of the word was in consonance with the principles to be contended for under it, he himself thought it would prove generally acceptable.

This suggestion brought letters from all portions of the free States approving the strength, beauty and propriety of

hold slaves, to buy slaves, to sell slaves, to keep slaves down to their work by flogging or any other needful coercion. For our part we wish we had a good plantation in Alabama, well stocked with healthy Negroes."

the name, and a few days later Greeley announced that it seemed to be satisfactory and would probably be assumed by all the States, in due time. And it was, though some of them waited until 1855 and 1856 before formally adopting it.

Mr. Bovay has told, in a very entertaining manner, the story of his labors :

I had been a Whig, but the Whig party was then dead. Its defunct condition was not generally realized, but it was dead nevertheless. It had been routed, horse, foot and artillery in the fall of 1852. That battle was its Waterloo. No party could out-live such a terrible slaughter of its innocents as that was; true, up to the spring of 1854, it still held on to its organization, but it was a mere shell, a skeleton army, nothing more.

The leaders could not marshal their troops, could not anywhere bring their forces into line. In short, the party was dead, though not dissolved.

Moreover, the country no longer took any interest in the old Whig issues. The slavery question dominated everything else. Nobody talked or thought any longer about protection to American industry; it was slavery in the States, slavery in the Territories, the Fugitive Slave law, and the refrain was ever slavery, slavery and nothing else.

There was one great overshadowing pro-slavery organization, the Democratic party; there must also be one great anti-slavery party to antagonize it; the logic of history demanded it. Such a party had become inevitable. The Whig party was not this party, and could not be. It had out-stayed its time and its usefulness. It was an anachronism. It had become an obstruction, an impediment, a nuisance; but how to get the organization out of the way—that was a rather formidable question. It stood there a great, useless, lifeless thing, awaiting some possible political earthquake, which would be violent enough to shake it to pieces, and the earthquake came.

The triumph of slavery had been so complete in the slaughter of 1852, that its cohorts thought themselves strong enough to do anything. So they laid their hands on the oldest and most sacred of the compromises.

The shock was tremendous. Instantly the whole North was in a flame of indignation and rage. The hour had struck.

This was the tempest that was to sweep from our sight not only the Whig organization, but also all those little fragments of parties—Free-Soil and the like—that had grown out of the slavery agitation in years that were past. The time had come for all liberty-lovers to dismantle their houses.

As for me, I did not propose to wait for the passage of the Nebraska bill. It was foreordained to pass; then why wait? I felt in my bones, as old Candace said, that the righteous rage of the time ought to be turned to some permanent account, and not permitted to effervesce in useless foam.

I set to work in the most systematic way that I could contrive, to dissolve the Whig party and all other parties opposed to the slave power, and to organize the Republican party right here, in Ripon, because I was fully convinced that sooner or later others would take similar steps elsewhere, and that in a few months we should have a great irresistible, Northern party, organized on the single issue of the non-extension of slavery.

This is the point at which the late Vice-President takes notice of our movement. His history is very brief, but substantially correct. Jehdiah Bowen was my chief helper; a merchant of high standing, a man of intelligence, position and influence. His assistance was of the utmost importance. One part of the work was specially difficult. All the people, except the most hardened Democrats, responded to my appeals with the utmost avidity, up to a certain limit.

They said: "Oh, yes, oh yes; we are with you in denouncing this thing. It is a great outrage; it is a swindle; we will protest, we will resolve, we will sign all the remonstrances you can think of." But—and just here came the pinch—a good many of the old Whigs begged hard for the Whig party. "Spare the party, spare the party. Let all the outside elements come to us; our party is good enough. We will fight Democracy on this ground; we will triumph."

The good souls, they had to be told squarely that the Whig party must go; that the very heart and core of our movement was that to which they could not agree. To let the Whig party stay was to insure permanent power to the Democratic party; to retreat from the formation of the new party was to surrender to the slave power.

They came to the meetings, and were respectfully heard, but the large majority had made up their minds. The hour was late, the candles burned low. It was a cold, windy night at the vernal equinox. In the end, all but two or three gave in, and we formed our organization.

I remember every word and act, as if the time were but yesterday. The election of that first Republican committee—A. E. Bovay, Jehdiah Bowen, Amos Loper, Jacob Woodruff and Abraham Thomas—was a solemn act. Every man present fully believed that he was helping to make a permanent piece of history, and he was. Yes; that point ought to be clearly understood. This was no blind, unconscious movement, of which the human family make so many.

We did not build better than we knew, as some have supposed. We built precisely as we knew, and there stands the edifice. Look at it, it will bear examination. It was no fragmentary movement. It contemplated the consolidation of all shades of anti-slavery opinion under the name Republican.

The adoption of this name was as much inevitable to success as was the nomination of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. In both of these cases, a wise choice meant success, and an unwise one meant defeat, no more, no less. That I was advocating this name for the great party which I saw looming in the near future above the horizon, as far back as the autumn of 1852, there is abundant evidence.

Were Horace Greeley living, I could readily convince any one that I was contemplating this identical state of things in the political world—name, organization and all—as early even as May, 1852; but as Mr. Greeley's testimony is not now obtainable, and as I have but one living witness to this latter fact, I must rest upon the autumn of 1852. And perhaps the autumn will do as well as the spring. That gives Ripon a precedence of nearly two years (or, to be exact, nineteen months) in the matter of the name.

There never was a time when some of the various communities of the Union did not contain persons who thought a new party should be formed at once to carry out their peculiar ideas and thus save the country. No doubt many such existed at the moment Mr. Bovay, in November, 1852, after the Sedan of Whiggery, began, in a small village of a new, sparsely settled and remote section, to organize the dominant party of to-day, and to urge for it the splendid name of Republican.

But Mr. Bovay was systematic and persistent. He had a great public object in view and had conceived a plan equally broad upon which to operate. He secured the co-operation

and sympathy of Horace Greeley, the most influential and powerful journalist in America, and for his trumpet had the mighty voice of the *New York Tribune*, of which, in 1854, there were circulated more than 150,000 copies per week. So he succeeded.

It can not be claimed that Mr. Bovay is the father of Republicanism in America; for that is a principle as old as the Declaration of Independence, a document which, while declaring that all men are born free and equal, yet stood as the banner of a nation thriving and glorying in human slavery. But he is beyond doubt the author of the first premeditated and persistent movement ¹ to organize the Republican party, and the giver of its name, though he addressed the masses through Horace Greeley and the columns of the *New York Tribune*.

¹ John Wentworth, of Chicago, furnishes the following letter, though who made the suggestion referred to in it has not been ascertained, and Mr. Wentworth says he has no knowledge of when the name Republican was adopted:

EUREKA SPRINGS, CARROLL CO., ARK., March 20, 1882.

HON. JOHN WENTWORTH—*Dear Sir:*

I came here a few weeks since with my brother, Gov. Cadwalader C. Washburn, of LaCrosse, Wisconsin, who is an invalid, but who, I hope, is receiving some advantage from the waters. But I write this to tell you how thoroughly I enjoyed the time this morning in reading to my brother your late lecture upon your life in Congress and the great men you knew there. * * *

Do you remember that impromptu meeting of anti-Missouri Compromise Repeal Democrats and Whigs at the rooms of Congressman Eliot and Dickin son, of Massachusetts, at Crutchett's on Sixth street, on the morning after the compromise bill passed the House, at which, in view of the attempted outrage upon Colonel Benton, we discussed the necessity of forming a new party from anti-slavery extension Whigs and Democrats, and the name of Republican was suggested? I remember distinctly that you were present and did not hesitate to favor the idea. I leave for Portland, Maine, in a few days.

Yours truly,

ISRAEL WASHBURN, JR.

CHAPTER XVI.

ORGANIZING FOR BATTLE—MICHIGAN LEADS.

Michigan Acts—Meeting of the Free-Democracy—Patriotic Resolutions—Historical Letter by Isaac P. Christiancy—First Meeting in the Office of the *Peninsular Freeman*—A Plan agreed Upon—A Call for a Mass-Convention of all Parties Drafted and Circulated—It Receives Thousands of Signatures—Copy of the One Published in Detroit—The People Meet “Under the Oaks” at Jackson—A Typical Gathering—The Organization—The Platform—A Ticket Nominated—Speeches—Victory—Record of Michigan.

Having examined the origin of the name and banner under which the masses were to rally, it is proper to next consider the steps taken to organize the campaign—now battalions and brigades were formed in the various States, skirmish lines thrown out and picket posts established.

The young and vigorous State of Michigan had held several large gatherings to protest against the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and also to discuss what programme would be most appropriate for the future.

The Free-Democracy met at Jackson on the anniversary of Washington’s birthday, February 22, 1854, nominated a State ticket, and put forth a patriotic address against slavery and the passage of the Nebraska bill, and asked a general concentration of earnest thought upon the growing dangers to the Republic.

On the 22d of May the Nebraska bill became a law and the Free-Democratic Committee at once called another mass-convention to meet at Kalamazoo on June 21. Stirring appeals were made for all patriots to cast their party prejudices and alliances to the winds and consolidate with them into one

great army to battle for freedom. Another address was put forth, the following portions of which illustrate the metal of the men:

Resolved, That the Free-Democracy of Michigan rejoice to behold the indication of popular sentiment furnished by this convention: they are conscious that the deeply aroused feeling of the masses in this State will seek a suitable expression in a convention springing from thousands, irrespective of any existing political organization; and that if such a movement shall be animated and guided by the principles expressed in the resolutions of this convention, and shall contemplate an efficient organization to give effect to our principles in this State, we shall willingly surrender our distinctive organization, and with it the ticket for State officers nominated at Jackson on the 22d of February last; and that we commit the execution of this purpose to a committee of sixteen—two persons from each judicial district—to be appointed by this convention.

The chairman of this committee of sixteen was Isaac P. Christiancy, though he was not present. A recent letter from him will show how the Republican sentiment sprang into life and advanced quickly to victory in Michigan :

LANSING, Michigan, April 11, 1884.

DEAR SIR :—Having refreshed my memory by reference to correspondence and documents of 1854, and by reading your manuscript, I will add a few things further.

Immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill the State committee of the Free-Democrat party, as such, issued a call for a mass-convention at Kalamazoo, for the 21st of June. I fully sympathized with the committee in the object but could not resist the conviction that they had adopted the wrong means to accomplish that object, viz., the thorough union of all men of all parties opposed to the extension of slavery and its influence.

I felt that cordial union of this kind could never be effected under a call issued by any party organization *as such*;—that, though we might thus obtain larger accessions to our party, we should not obtain enough to carry the State, the prejudice of party and attachments to party organizations being too strong.

But I also felt sure that if a movement for a mass-convention should be initiated by individuals of all parties agreeing

in the object, the pride of party associations would be overcome and all could unite with us without laying themselves open to the charge of having gone over to the Free-Soilers, or "Woolly-Heads"; and that all who might take part in such a movement would feel that they entered the new organization upon exactly equal terms. As early, therefore, as the 27th of May, I opened a correspondence submitting these views to the candidates of our party, nominated the winter before, and to the committee, as well as with other leading men of our own and of the Whig and Democratic parties whom I knew to be anti-slavery in sentiment. A small minority, at first, both of our committee and of our nominees, saw at once the justice of my reasoning; but, to my surprise, the majority, both of the nominees and the committee, were opposed to them, and seemed to cling to the idea that we could bring to *our* organization all the anti-slavery sentiment in both the Whig and Democratic parties, and thus carry the State under *our organization*.

But, finally, I succeeded in getting the consent of the majority of the candidates and the committee to meet at Detroit at the office of the *Peninsular Freeman* (then, I think, changed to the name of *Free Democrat*) to consider my proposition, with K. S. Bingham and some other leading men present. A part of the committee and a part of our candidates met me there, and Bingham and a few other leading men were present. I submitted my proposition to them anew and at first the majority of the candidates, and all the committee, except W. M. Murphy, who was with me from the first, were opposed to it. But one after another came over. Bingham fully approved it; and finally all came over, with this single proviso: That the Free-Soil party should not disband, nor their candidates be withdrawn until the mass-convention had met and adopted a platform embodying the principles of our party.

I readily assented to this because I felt sure such a platform would be adopted. Many of our party had little confidence in the Whigs, while I felt sure the great mass of them would place themselves on such a platform, and I knew that many Democrats (the best in the party) were ready to do the same. This understanding having been arrived at late in the afternoon, some of the leading Whigs of Detroit (who had been notified of what was going on and were known to be in sympathy with the movement) were invited in and fully concurred in our views, and assured us that the great

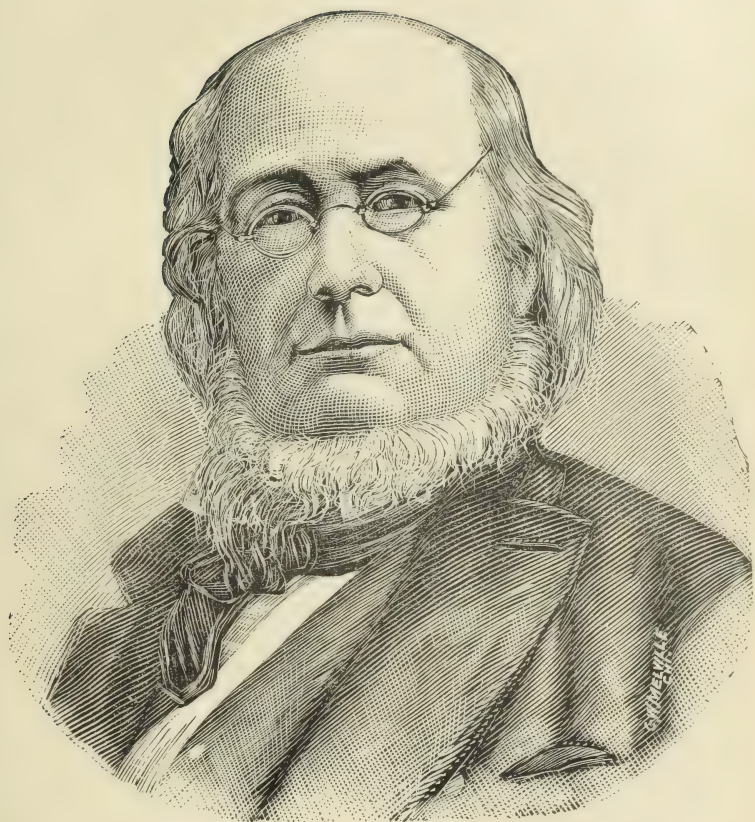
mass of that party would cordially unite in the movement. I then suggested that the better mode of calling such a mass-convention, was to draw up a call to be subscribed to by those who approved the principles set forth in it, and of the convention, numerous copies of which should be distributed as far as practicable through the State to the right men, who would procure signatures, and that the call should not be published in the papers until numerously signed. This was to prevent the force of party discipline in the Democratic party and among those of the Whig party who still clung with tenacity to their organization, from being brought to bear to prevent their members from signing the call and joining in our movement, until after the call had been so numerously signed, and so many had already committed themselves to it, that the force of discipline would be exercised in vain.

I had already prepared a draft of such a call, which I read, and the principles of which were approved. Some additions and amendments were made to it by Jacob M. Howard and Samuel Barstow, and it was left with Messrs. Howard & Barstow to be struck off in hand-bill form, and sent to trusty men in all parts of the State for signatures. This was done with a promptness and efficiency worthy of all praise.

In a few days one of the calls circulated in Detroit and numerously signed, was printed in the *Detroit Tribune*, and was followed by the publication in different parts of the State of the calls there circulated. That in Detroit was published about the time of the Kalamazoo convention of June 21, or perhaps a day or two after the proceedings of that convention were published.

Several of the Free-Soil committee who had attended the Detroit meeting, and others of the same party who had learned and approved its action, attended the Kalamazoo convention, taking with them copies of the call for the Jackson convention for July 6, and explaining the result of the Detroit meeting.

This Kalamazoo convention was not largely attended, though many men of prominence and ability were there. The call for the Jackson convention, got up at the Detroit meeting, had led the great body of the Free-Soil party to look upon this Kalamazoo convention as of comparatively small consequence, its purpose having been superseded by the broader and more general movement initiated at Detroit. This was appreciated by that convention, as their resolutions sufficiently show, and so well satisfied were they of the propriety of my course, though I had opposed their plan of acting



Yours,
Horace Evelyn

as a party, they elected a new State Committee, placing me at its head as chairman.

In the meantime the *Detroit Tribune* had, about the time of the Detroit meetings, come out fairly and squarely in favor of the plan of that meeting, and many of the Whig papers in the interior had done the same. The *Detroit Advertiser* (Whig) had held aloof and denounced the movement for some weeks after the Jackson convention; but finding the masses of its party had gone zealously into the new movement, also followed suit.

Prior to the meeting of the mass-convention at Jackson on July 6, these calls had been so numerous signed by the leading Whigs and Free-Soilers, and by so many of the leading and most influential Democrats, (about 10,000 names being attached to the calls returned to the convention besides nearly as many not returned) that the whole convention saw and felt that victory had been organized and that we already had the State.

Horace Greeley had been watching this movement and fully approving the manner in which it had been initiated, had great confidence in its success, and in a letter to a prominent member¹ of the Jackson convention suggested that the new party take the name of "Republican," which was unanimously approved by the convention.

At the meeting of the mass-convention at Jackson, an understanding was had among the leading members of the Free-Soil party that they should remain in the background and not be pressed for prominent positions either as officers of the convention, or as candidates for nomination; but that these should be taken mainly from those who had left the Democratic and Whig parties to join in our movement.

It became my duty, as chairman of the Free-Soil (or Free-Democratic) Committee to announce, before adjournment, as I did from the stand, the dissolution of the Free-Soil party and its absorption into the Republican party, composed of men from all the old parties, but now no longer Democrats, Whigs or Free-Soilers, but Republicans *all*, animated by a common and patriotic purpose to check the further advance of the slave power, and to make freedom instead of slavery national, by every means permitted by the federal Constitution.

¹ Greeley wrote to Jacob M. Howard that he had been advised that Wisconsin would adopt the name Republican on July 13, and urged Michigan to anticipate her sister State on the 6th, which was done. This letter was shown to Mr. Christiancy, Zach. Chandler and others on the day of the convention and is abundant proof of the correctness of the assumption that A. E. Bovay suggested the name to Greeley.

The State ticket nominated by that convention was triumphantly elected. I need not follow the history of the Republican party. It has made its own history, which can never be obliterated. And though, like all other parties composed of men, and therefore subject to the infirmities of human nature, it has yet accomplished more for the enfranchisement of the enslaved and oppressed, and more to make of discordant elements a homogeneous nation, than any other party known to the history of the world. I still cling to it as the ark of our national safety. I await the result with patience and an unswerving reliance upon that Providence which shapes all our ends well. I am very truly yours,

I. P. CHRISTIANCY.

The call drafted by Mr. Christiancy, is as follows, with a few of the names attached to it before publication in Detroit:

To the People of Michigan:

A great wrong has been perpetrated. The slave power of this country has triumphed. Liberty is trampled under foot. The Missouri Compromise, a solemn compact entered into by our fathers, has been violated, and a vast territory dedicated to freedom has been opened to slavery. This act, so unjust to the North, has been perpetrated under circumstances which deepen its perfidy. An administration placed in power by Northern votes has brought to bear all the resources of executive corruption in its support.

Northern Senators and Representatives, in the face of the overwhelming public sentiment of the North, expressed in the proceedings of public meetings and solemn remonstrances, without a single petition in its favor on their table, and not daring to submit this great question to the people, have yielded to the seductions of executive patronage, and, Judas-like, betrayed the cause of liberty; while the South, inspired by a dominant and grasping ambition, has, without distinction of party, and with a unanimity almost entire, deliberately trampled under foot the solemn compact entered into in the midst of a crisis threatening to the peace of the Union, sanctioned by the greatest names of our history, and the binding force of which has, for a period of more than thirty years, been recognized and declared by numerous acts of legislation.

Such an outrage upon liberty, such a violation of plighted faith, can not be submitted to. This great wrong must be righted, or there will be no longer a North in the councils of the nation. The extension of slavery, under the folds of the

American flag, is a stigma upon liberty. The indefinite increase of slave representation in Congress is destructive to that equality among freemen which is essential to the permanency of the Union.

The safety of the Union—the rights of the North—the interests of free labor—the destiny of a vast territory and its untold millions for all coming time—and finally, the high aspirations of humanity for universal freedom, ALL are involved in the issue forced upon the country by the slave power and its plastic Northern tools.

In view, therefore, of the recent action of Congress upon the subject, and the evident designs of the slave power to attempt still further aggressions upon freedom—we invite all our fellow-citizens, without reference to former political associations, who think that the time has arrived for a UNION at the North to protect LIBERTY from being overthrown and down-trodden, to assemble in Mass-Convention on Thursday, the 6th of July next, at 1 P. M., at Jackson, there to take such measures as shall be thought best to concentrate the popular sentiment of this State against the aggression of the slave power.

Jno. J. Bagley,
J. M. Howard,
D. Bethune Duffield,
S. S. Barnard,
T. H. Hinchman,
J. Logan Chipman,
G. P. Sanford,
W. Shakespeare,
Austin Blair,
I. P. Christiancy,
J. H. Burroughs,
J. Bentley, Jr.,

Z. Chandler,
C. A. Trowbridge,
H. P. Baldwin,
Sylv. Larned,
H. K. Clarke,
Luther Beecher,
Chas. M. Crosswell,
Eugene Pringle,
S. B. McCracken,
G. Custer,
N. Maniates,
and a great number of others.

In response to these calls the largest convention ever known in Michigan, assembled “under the oaks” at Jackson.

After music and prayer the following officers were chosen:

President—D. S. Walbridge, Kalamazoo.

Vice-Presidents—F. C. Beaman, Lenawee; Oliver Johnson, Monroe; Rudolph Diepenbeck, Wayne; Thomas Curtis, Oakland; C. T. Gorham, Calhoun; Pliny Power, Wayne; Emanuel Mann, Washtenaw; Chas. Draper, Oakland; Geo. Winslow, Kalamazoo; Norman Little, Saginaw; John McKinney, Van Buren; W. W. Murphy, Hillsdale.

Secretaries—J. Van Rensselaer, Detroit; J. F. Conover, Wayne; A. B. Turner, Kent; G. A. Fitch, Kalamazoo; C. M. Crosswell, Lenawee; J. W. Sanborn, St. Clair; J. B. Wharton, Hillsdale.

A committee of four from each congressional district was selected to report a series of resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the convention upon the great questions of the day consisting of the following gentlemen:

1st. Jacob M. Howard, Wayne; Austin Blair, Jackson; Donald McIntyre, Washtenaw; John Helsenwegen, Wayne. 2d. Charles Noble, Monroe; Alfred R. Metcalf, St. Joseph; John W. Turner, Branch; Levi Baxter, Hillsdale. 3d. Marsh Giddings, Kalamazoo; E. Hussey, Calhoun; A. Williams, Ionia; John McKinney, Van Buren. 4th. Charles Draper, Oakland; M. L. Higgins, Flint; J. E. Simmons, Oakland; Z. B. Knight, Oakland.

In order to show the difference between the God-fearing, heart-felt utterances of that day and the more guarded and politic platforms of the present time, the report of the committee, written by Jacob M. Howard, which was adopted amidst shouts and hurrahs, will be inserted.

Resolved, That the institution of slavery, except in punishment of crimes, is a great moral, social and political evil; that it was so regarded by the fathers of the Republic, the founders and best friends of the Union, by the heroes and sages of the Revolution, who contemplated and intended its gradual and peaceful extinction as an element hostile to the liberties for which they toiled; that its history in the United States, the experience of men best acquainted with its workings, the dispassionate confession of those who are interested in it; its tendency to relax the vigor of industry and enterprise inherent in the white man; the very surface of the earth where it subsists; the vices and immoralities which are its natural outgrowth; the stringent police, often wanting in humanity and speaking to the sentiments of every generous heart, which it demands; the danger it has already wrought and the future danger which it portends to the security of the Union and our constitutional liberties, all incontestably prove it to be such evil. Surely, that institution is not to be strengthened nor encouraged against which Washington, the calmest and wisest of our nation, bore unequivocal testimony; as to which Jefferson, filled with the love of liberty,

exclaimed—"Can the liberties of a nation be ever thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that their liberties are the gift of God? that they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that His justice can not sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature and national means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attributes which can take sides with us in such a contest!" And as to which another eminent patriot in Virginia, at the close of the Revolution, also exclaimed: "Had we turned our eyes inwardly when we supplicated the Father of Mercies to aid the injured and oppressed, when we invoke the Author of Righteousness to attest the purity of our motives and the justice of our cause, and implored the God of battles to aid our exertions in its defense, should he not have stood more self-convicted than the contrite publican?" We believe these sentiments to be as true now as they were then.

Resolved, That slavery is a violation of the rights of man as man; that the law of nature, which is the law of liberty, gives to no man rights superior to those of another; that God and nature have secured to each individual this inalienable right of equality, any violation of which must be the result of superior force; and that slavery therefore is a perpetual war upon its victims; that whether we regard the institution as first originating in captures made in war, in the subjection of the debtor as the slave of his creditor or the forcible seizure and sale of children by their parents, or subjects by their king; and whether it be viewed in this country as a "*necessary evil*" or otherwise, we find it to be, like imprisonment for debt, but a relic of barbarism as well as an element of weakness in the midst of the State, inviting the attack of external enemies, and a ceaseless cause of internal apprehension and alarm. Such are the lessons taught us not only by the histories of other commonwealths but by that of our own beloved country.

Resolved, That the history of the formation of the Constitution and particularly the enactment of the Ordinance of July 13, 1787, prohibiting slavery north of the Ohio, abundantly shows it to have been the purpose of our fathers not to promote but prevent the spread of slavery. And we, reverencing their memories and cherishing free republican faith as our richest inheritance, which we vow at whatever expense to defend, now publicly proclaim our determination

to oppose by all the lawful and honorable means in our power, now and henceforth, all attempts direct or indirect, to extend slavery in this country, or permit it to extend into any region or locality in which it does not now exist by positive law, or to admit new slave States into the Union.

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States gives to Congress full and complete power for the municipal government of the territories thereof, a power which from its nature can not be either alienated or abdicated without yielding up to the territory an absolute political independence, which involves an absurdity. That the exercise of this power necessarily looks to the formation of States to be admitted into the Union; and on the question whether they shall be admitted as *free* States or *slave* States, Congress has a right to adopt such prudential and preventive measures as the principles of liberty and the interests of the whole country require. That this question is one of the gravest importance to the free States, inasmuch as the Constitution itself creates an inequality in the apportionment of representatives, greatly to the detriment of the free and to the advantage of the slave States. This question, so vital to the interests of the free States (but which we are told by certain political doctors of modern times is to be treated with utter indifference) is one which we hold it to be our right to *discuss*; which we hold it the duty of Congress in every instance to determine in unequivocal language, and in a manner to *prevent* the spread of slavery and the increase of such unequal representation. In short, we claim that the North is a *party to the new bargain, and is entitled to have a voice and influence in settling its terms*. And, in view of the ambitious designs of the slave power, we regard the man or the party that would forego this right as untrue to the honor and interest of the North and unworthy of its support.

Resolved, That the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, contained in the recent act of Congress for the creation of the territories Nebraska and Kansas, thus admitting slavery into a region till then sealed against it by law, equal in extent to the thirteen old States, is an act unprecedented in the history of the country, and one which must engage the earnest and serious attention of every Northern man. And as Northern freemen, independent of all former party ties, we here hold this measure up to the public execration for the following reasons: That it is a plain departure from the policy of the fathers of the Republic in regard to slavery, and a wanton and dangerous frustration of their purposes and their hopes; that it actually admits and was intended to admit slavery

into said territories, and thus (to use the words applied by Judge Tucker, of Virginia, to the fathers of that commonwealth) "sows the seeds of an evil which like a leprosy hath descended upon their posterity with accumulated rancor, visiting the sins of the fathers upon succeeding generations;" that it was sprung upon the country stealthily and by surprise, without necessity, without petition and without previous discussion, thus violating the cardinal principle of republican government, which requires all legislation to accord with the opinions and sentiments of the people. That on the part of the South it is an open and undisguised breach of faith as contracted between the North and the South, in the settlement of the Missouri question in 1820, by which the tranquility of the two sections was restored; a compromise binding upon all honorable men. That it is also an open violation of the compromise of 1850, by which, for the sake of peace and to calm the distempered impulses of certain enemies of the Union at the South, the North accepted and acquiesced in the odious "Fugitive Slave Law" of that year. That it is also an undisguised and unmanly contempt of the pledge given to the country by the present dominant party at their national convention in 1852, not to "*agitate the subject of slavery in or out of Congress*," being the same convention which nominated Franklin Pierce to the Presidency. That it is greatly injurious to the free States, and to the territories themselves, tending to retard their settlement and to prevent the improvement of the country by free labor, and to discourage foreign immigrants resorting thither for homes. That one of its principal aims is to give to the slave States such a decided and practical preponderance in all the measures of government as shall reduce the North, with all her industry, wealth and enterprise, to be the mere province of a few slave-holding oligarchs of the South—to a position too shameful to be contemplated; because, as is openly avowed by its Southern friends, it is intended as an entering-wedge to the still further augmentation of the slave power by the acquisition of other territories cursed with the same "leprosy."

Resolved, That the obnoxious measure to which we have alluded ought to be *repealed*, and a provision substituted for it prohibiting slavery in said territories and each of them.

Resolved, That after this gross breach of faith and wanton affront to us as Northern men, we hold ourselves absolved from all "*compromises*" except those expressed in the Constitution for the protection of slavery and slave-owners; that we now demand measures of protection and immunity for ourselves, and among them we demand the REPEAL OF

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW, and an act to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That we notice without dismay certain popular indications of slave-holders on the frontier of said territories of a purpose on their part to prevent by violence the settlement of the country by non-slave-holding men. To the latter we say: Be of good cheer; persevere in the right; remember the Republican motto, "THE NORTH WILL DEFEND YOU."

Resolved, That, postponing and suspending all differences with regard to political economy or administrative policy, in view of the imminent danger that Kansas and Nebraska will be grasped by slavery, and a thousand miles of slave soil be thus interposed between the free States of the Atlantic and those of the Pacific, we will act cordially and faithfully in unison to avert and repeal this gigantic wrong and shame.

Resolved, That, in view of the necessity of battling for the first principles of Republican Government and against the schemes of aristocracy the most revolting and oppressive with which the earth was ever cursed or man debased, *we will co-operate and be known as* REPUBLICANS, until the contest be terminated.

The convention was addressed by Zachariah Chandler, Isaac P. Christiancy and others, among whom was a fugitive slave named Lewis Clarke, said to have been the original of Harriet Beecher Stowe's "George Harris" in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Although unlettered, his plain and earnest statements contained more eloquence, and made a deeper impression upon the multitude than all the other orations of the day.

The convention closed its labors by choosing a State Central Committee, and nominating, as follows, the first Republican ticket, under that name as such, ever put before the people of any part of the United States :

Governor—Kinsley S. Bingham, of Livingston.

Lieutenant-Governor—George A. Coe, of Branch.

Secretary of State—John McKinney, of Van Buren.

State Treasurer—Silas M. Holmes, of Wayne.

Attorney-General—Jacob M. Howard, of Wayne.

Auditor-General—Whitney Jones, of Ingham.

Commissioner of Land Office—Seymour B. Treadwell, of Jackson.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—Ira Mayhew, of Monroe county.

Members of Board of Education (full term)—John R. Kellogg, of Allegan; and to fill vacancy, Hiram L. Miller, of Saginaw.

Although ridiculed by the pro-slavery Democratic organs as fanatics, “black” Republicans, “feather-legs,” “woolly-heads,” “long-heels,” “thick-lips,” etc., the patriotic yeomanry of Michigan rallied at the polls on election day, and triumphantly bore the Jackson nominees into office.

Since that time the State has never failed to return Republican Presidential electors and Republican governors, except in 1882, when the fiat-moneyites, Democrats, sore-heads, and rag-tag-and-bob-tails jumped into the same pot and succeeded in electing the chief executive.

CHAPTER XVII.

WISCONSIN, INDIANA, AND OTHER STATES IN LINE.

Wisconsin Makes an Early Move—Great Meeting in the Park at Madison—Organization, Speeches and Platform—Formal Adoption of the Name Republican—An Evening Meeting—Corn for the “Shanghais”—Victory and a Republican United States Senator—Indiana—Schuyler Colfax’s Paper Leads Off—Chapman’s *Chanticleer* Prints the Call for a Mass-Convention—10,000 Persons Respond—An Ungracious Custodian of Public Property—A Delegation of 500 Democrats—The Speakers—The Platform—A Ticket Nominated—Confirmed at the Polls—Schuyler Colfax Goes to Congress—Vermont Whigs and Free-Democrats Meet—Mass-Convention at Montpelier on July 13—Republicanism Formally Espoused—The Platform—The “Nebraskals” Whipped—Massachusetts Freemen Convene at Worcester—A Republican Platform—A Second Convention Meets and Selects a Ticket Which is Defeated—A Good Start—Claims of New York Examined—Extract from the *Tribune*—Convention at Saratoga—Preston King’s Letter—Gist of the Platform—Snow’s Resolution—John P. Hale’s Speech—Whig Ticket Endorsed—A Mongrel Victory—Ohio—Iowa—Maine—Pennsylvania—Other States.

Thus we see that, although Wisconsin claims the honor of taking the first steps toward conceiving and naming the Republican party, Michigan was first to perfect an organization, nominate a State ticket and formally enlist under the new banner.

But Wisconsin was not far enough behind to detract perceptibly from the honor that would have been due her for earlier action. She held a meeting for the purpose of calling a State convention and proposed to be in the field even earlier than Michigan; but finally, on the 9th of June, determined that the gathering could be given a double significance by an-

nouncing it for July 13, the anniversary of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, which forever dedicated the North-west Territory to freedom.

No State officers were to be elected that year, but a legislature was to be chosen which would elect a United States Senator, and Representatives in Congress must also be selected. As the Nebraska iniquity had come from Congress, the people of Wisconsin were wide awake to the importance of the pending campaign, and firmly resolved to change the political complexion of their solid Democratic delegation in that body.

Between 3,000 and 4,000 people, therefore, from all parts of the commonwealth, gathered in the large and beautiful park of oaks, elms and maples in front of the capitol building at Madison, on the morning of July 13.

How typical of freedom was that throng of earnest, sturdy freemen! They had just thrown off party gyves and met under God's green trees, in the free, open air, without restraint or secret motive, to organize for the benefit of others, not themselves; to strike for the right, for mankind, for the glory of their country, without pay or hope of reward.

John Walworth called the meeting to order, and after reading the call,¹ directed the proceedings to open with prayer and a patriotic song.

The permanent organization embraced a State Central Committee and the following officers:

President—John Walworth, of Green.

Vice-Presidents—S. Wakely, of Walworth; Albert Smith, of Milwaukee; William Blake, of Dodge; Charles Røeser, of Manitowoc; J. T. Mills, of Grant; Charles Halesz, of Sauk;

¹ All men opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the extension of slavery, and the rule of the slave power, are invited to meet at Madison, Thursday, July 13, to take such measures as may be deemed necessary to prevent the future encroachments of the slave power, to repeal all compromises in favor of slavery, and to establish the principle of freedom as the rule of the State and National governments. The time has come for the union of all free men for the sake of freedom. There is but one alternative. We must UNITE and be FREE, or DIVIDE and be ENSLAVED by the prætorian bands of the slave-holders and their Nebraska allies.

W. W. Noyes, of Columbia; J. O. Bartlett, of Racine; N. W. Dean, of Dane.

Secretaries—Horace Rublee, of Dane; L. F. Frisby, of Washington.

Joseph A. Sleeper, from the committee on resolutions, reported the following platform, which was read twice and adopted with hearty cheering and enthusiasm:

Resolved, That the repeated and long continued encroachments of the *Slave Power*, culminating at last in the repeal of the law of freedom in all the hitherto unorganized territory of the Union, forces upon us the conviction that there is no escape from the alternative of *Freedom or Slavery*, as a political issue which is to determine whether the future administration of the government shall be devoted to the one or the other.

Resolved, That we accept this issue, forced upon us by the slave power, and in the defense of freedom will co-operate and be known as REPUBLICANS, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes:

To bring the administration of the government back to the control of first principles.

To restore Nebraska and Kansas to the position of free territories.

To the repeal and entire abrogation of the fugitive slave Act.

To restrict slavery to the States in which it exists.

To prohibit the admission of any more slave States into the Union.

To exclude slavery from all the territories over which the general government has exclusive jurisdiction. And to resist the acquisition of any more territory unless the prohibition of slavery therein forever shall have been first provided for.

Resolved, That in furtherance of these purposes, we will use such constitutional and lawful means as shall seem best adapted to their accomplishment; and that we will support no man for office under the general or State government, who is not positively and fully committed to the support of these principles, and whose personal character and conduct is not a guaranty that he is reliable.

Resolved, That we cordially invite all persons, whether of native or foreign birth, who are in favor of the objects expressed in the above resolutions, to unite with us in carrying them into effect.

The meeting lasted with addresses, songs and pledges, until far into the night, and beneath the star-spangled heavens and the folds of the American flag floating from the oak trees, adjourned with nine tremendous cheers for the Republican party.

"The very darkness shook as with a blast
Of subterranean thunder at the cry.
The hollow shore its thousand echoes cast
Into the night, as if the lake and sky
And earth rejoiced with new-born Liberty."

A sharp effort was made by Governor Wm. A. Barstow and other administration Democrats to break the force of the meeting, but in vain. A prominent State officer and several pro-slavery Democrats who were in the crowd, after the platform had been announced, began crowing lustily. A voice cried out: "The Shanghais have hatched full-grown." On the following morning as the Republicans walked over to the capitol, they found corn and egg-shells plentifully scattered along the entire distance. A crowd of disgruntled Democrats standing conveniently near shouted, "That is for the Shanghais' breakfast."

The succeeding campaign was earnest and aggressive, striking dismay into the hearts of the flesh-brokers' party at the very outset. It resulted in electing two of the three Congressmen to which the State was entitled, and a legislature so strongly Republican that Charles Durkee, a pronounced Republican and Abolitionist, was elevated to the United States Senate in January, 1855, the first ever chosen distinctively as such, upon that issue, in the United States.

Wisconsin is one of the States that never waver or weaken in their Republicanism. It is proceeding now for the eighth time to choose Republican Presidential electors.

INDIANA.

One of the leading Whig papers in Indiana was the St. Joseph Valley *Register*, edited by Schuyler Colfax. As soon as it became apparent that the Kansas-Nebraska bill would pass, he began a series of articles advocating abandonment.

of party lines and "a union of freemen for the sake of freedom." These attracted wide attention.

Finally *Chapman's Chanticleer*, edited by the veteran Democrat, J. P. Chapman, after commenting favorably on one of Mr. Colfax's articles, demanded a mass-convention of all opponents of the Nebraska iniquity. He named July 13, because it was the anniversary of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, as the most auspicious day for such a meeting, and called on the masses to rally on that date at Indianapolis.

Although the matter had moved along without particular formality, a crowd of 10,000 people responded to the appeals of the newspapers—the largest nominating convention ever held in Indiana.

A committee appointed for that purpose waited on State Librarian Turner and asked permission for the convention to meet in the State Capitol grounds. Being a faithful Democrat he promptly refused. An appeal was taken to the governor, who decided that the grounds belonged to the people and could not be refused when demanded by such an immense assemblage. Thus overruled, the librarian, who had charge of the State property, sent a letter addressed "to the committee appointed by the Abolition, Free-Soil, Maine-Law, Native-American, Anti-Catholic, Anti-Nebraska party of Indiana," in which he very ungraciously consented to open the capitol park.

A preliminary meeting was held on the evening of the 12th which was addressed by Jacob P. Chapman, Schuyler Colfax, Henry S. Lane, S. S. Harding, John W. Wright and R. A. Riley. It was a remarkably harmonious and enthusiastic gathering—leaven for the multitudes that assembled on the following day.

Thomas Smith, up to that time one of the most prominent Democrats in the State, presided over the mass-convention, and Bishop Ames, who had always before been absolutely unyielding in his Democracy, opened the proceedings with

prayer for Divine favor and guidance. The regular speakers of the day were Henry S. Lane, H. L. Ellsworth, (Polk's minister to Sweden) J. A. Hendricks (a Democratic elector in 1848 and 1852, in Jesse D. Bright's district) David Kilgore, ex-Gov. Bell, of Ohio and G. B. Jocelyn.

The name Republican was not formally adopted, but a radical platform, reported by J. A. Hendricks was put forth on which all men of kindred views could organize for freedom:

WHEREAS, We, the freemen of Indiana, without respect of party, and actuated by a common devotion to our Republic, and a common reverence for its founders, have assembled ourselves together in commemoration of the passage of the Ordinance of July 13, 1787, making the North-west Territory free forever; and,

WHEREAS, The unanimous adoption of said Ordinance by the representatives of all the States in the Union at that date, already indicated that opposition to the extension of slavery was then the fixed policy of the country and of the founders of our government.

WHEREAS, We regard the recent repeal and abrogation of the Missouri Compromise as a gross and wanton violation of the plighted faith of the Union, in reference to the existence of slavery; therefore,

Resolved, That we are opposed to the extension of slavery, and that we deprecate and repudiate the principles and platform adopted by the self-styled Democratic Convention of last May, held in this city, to sustain the Nebraska swindle.

Resolved, That we will waive all party predilections, and in concert, by all lawful means, seek to place every branch of the federal government in the hands of men who will assert the rights of freedom, and restore the Missouri Compromise, and refuse, under all circumstances to tolerate the extension of slavery.

Resolved, That we regard intemperance as a great political evil, moral and social, and a legitimate subject for legislation, and that we favor the passage of a judicious, constitutional, and efficient prohibitory law, with such penalties attached as will effectually suppress the traffic in intoxicating drinks.

H. L. Ellsworth, in addressing the meeting, said he headed a solid delegation of 500 Democrats from Tippecanoe county alone. A ticket was nominated thus :

Secretary of State—E. B. Collins, of Dearborn county.

Auditor—Hiram E. Talbot, of Putnam county.

Treasurer—William R. Nofsinger, of Parke county.

Judge of the Supreme Court—Samuel B. Gookins, of Vigo county.

Superintendent of Common Schools—Prof. Caleb Hills.

Although the anti-Nebraska platform did not announce the name Republican, there were but two parties when election day came—Republican and Democrat. The former elected their entire State ticket by an average of 12,000 majority; secured an anti-Nebraska legislature, and sent Schuyler Colfax and eight other straight Republicans to Congress. It was a splendid victory for free-soil and free men—entirely worthy of Indiana, which, except in 1856 and 1876, has ever since chosen Republican Presidential electors.

VERMONT.

The Whig State Convention met at Rutland, Vermont, June 7, 1854, and nominated Stephen Royce for governor, O. L. Shafter for lieutenant-governor, and Henry M. Bates for treasurer. A proposition to adjourn without making nominations, and meet in mass-convention with anti-Nebraskaites of all parties for the nomination of a union ticket, was voted down. A semi-anti-Nebraska platform, however, was adopted on a divided vote.

The Free-Democrats had also arranged for a State convention, but the masses of the Whig party did not join heartily in the Whig campaign, and a general desire for a consolidation of forces was manifest throughout the State. Therefore the following postponement was published in the *Green Mountain Freeman* immediately after the Whig convention:

In consequence of the general desire manifested by the now aroused and alarmed masses of all parties, in different

parts of the State for a mass-convention of its people, without distinction of party, to unite for the formation of a more efficient Party of Freedom against the pro-slavery policy adopted by the Southern members of Congress and the present administration, the Free-Democratic State Committee, upon the advice of many of the leading Free-Democrats in various sections of the State, have thought best to postpone the State convention previously set for the 29th day of June, to the 13th day of July ensuing.

JOHN McLEAN,
Chairman of the State Committee.

A curious co-incidence was the publication on the same day in the Vermont *Tribune*, of a call for a mass-convention at Montpelier on the 13th of July, signed by fifty leading Free-Democrats, Whigs, Abolitionists, Free-Soilers and Democrats. The people thought there had been connivance between the two parties responsible for the call and the postponement; but they were mistaken.

The convention met in the Free Church at Montpelier, as advertised, and was largely attended. The regular Whig journals had thrown cold water on the project from the start, and the old-liners had their agents present for the purpose of manipulating the delegates in the interest of the Rutland convention. Their success was only partial.

Lawrence Brainard presided. After considerable debate the convention nominated C. P. Walton, of Montpelier, for governor; Ryland Fletcher, of Cavendish, for lieutenant-governor, and Henry M. Bates, of Northfield, for treasurer. The resolves, much like those of the Michigan Republicans, were lengthy but eloquent, and embraced, in addition to the Michigan planks, the following:

Resolved, 1. That we pledge ourselves, to the extent of our power, to the repeal of the Fugitive Slave bill.

2. To resist the admission of Utah and New Mexico as States without constitutions excluding slavery.

3. To the restriction of slavery to the States in which it exists.

4. To the exclusion of slavery, at the earliest practicable moment, by all constitutional means, from federal territory, Nebraska, Kansas and the District of Columbia inclusive.

5. To oppose the admission into the Union of any new State tolerating slavery, whether it be formed from territory belonging to Texas or elsewhere.

6. To resist the acquisition of any new territory where in slavery exists, unless the prohibition of slavery shall first have been provided for.

7. To encourage immigration into the territories of free-men pledged irrevocably to the cause of freedom.

8. That the Nebraska bill is only one of a series of aggressive pro-slavery measures, each depending on preceding measures of the same kind and manifesting the natural tendency of slavery. Had the annexation of Texas or the Fugitive Slave bill been resisted, the Nebraska bill would never have been proposed. The issue should have been many years ago, between extension and non-extension of slavery. Let us make it now.

9. We hereby avow our determined purpose not to support for the office of President or Vice-President, or Senator or Representative in Congress, or Governor, or Treasurer of the State or member of the State Legislature, any man of whatever party, not known to be in favor of the purposes above avowed.

Resolved, That inasmuch as there are now no great measures of legislation or administrative policy dividing political parties, except that of slavery, and as harmony is absolutely essential to successful resistance to the alarming aggressions of the slave power, we do, as Whigs, Free-Soilers, and Democrats, freely relinquish our former party association and ties, to form a new party organization, having for its object to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity, and also a wise, just and economical administration of the government; and as the principles for which we are contending lie at the foundation of Republicanism, as proclaimed by our fathers, we propose, and respectfully recommend to the friends of freedom in other States to co-operate, and be known as REPUBLICANS.

Resolved, That we hold the following general principles as essential to the just and proper administration of the government:

1. A rigid accountability and economy in the administration of the government.

2. Retrenchment of the patronage of the President by the election of postmasters and all other civil officers by the people, as far as the same may be practicable.

3. Cheap postage for the people, and the abolition of the franking privilege by members of Congress.

4. A judicious system of river and harbor improvements by the government, demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States.

5. A tariff for revenue with proper discrimination in favor of American industry.

6. The free grant of homesteads to actual settlers, in consideration of labor and privation incurred in making settlements in the wilderness, with just reservations of the public lands, regarded as the common property of all the States.

In this platform occurs the first tariff plank ever inserted in a declaration of principles by the Republicans.

The ticket was not entirely acceptable to the various anti-Democratic elements. The free newspapers did not nail it to the mast because it did not thoroughly harmonize the opposition. Several meetings were held for consultation. Mr. Walton resigned; Judge Royce, the Whig nominee for governor, openly indorsed the Republican platform and then the Republican journals hoisted a ticket composed as follows: Governor—Stephen Royce; lieutenant-governor—Ryland Fletcher; treasurer—Henry M. Bates.

All of these except Fletcher had been on the Whig ticket, but as they approved the Republican platform and as the Whigs would support them solidly on that platform, the compromise was made and the campaign opened with great vigor and enthusiasm.

The Republican ticket was chosen by a majority of 12,000, the new legislature was largely Whig and Republican and all the Democratic candidates for Congress were defeated by Republican-Whigs. The defeat of the Vermont "Nebraskals" was complete, but the victory was a mixture of Republicanism and Whiggery, largely claimed, and very naturally, by those tenacious old Whigs who could not abandon their party as long as they could see any hope of its perpetuation.

The canvass was made on a straight Republican platform; but that did not impair the flavor of the result to such an extent that the Whig organs could not claim it as a Whig victory. That was of no moment, however. Whiggery never again raised its head in the Green Mountain State, which, since 1856, has never failed to return Republican Presidential electors by round majorities.

MASSACHUSETTS.

On the 7th day of July, 1854, pursuant to the notice posted by the citizens of Concord, "to consider the best means of obtaining united political action at the North, on the subject of the aggressions of the slave-power," a large number of the leading public men and residents of Massachusetts met at the American House in Boston. After earnest discussion they adopted a resolution calling a mass-convention to meet at Worcester on the 20th day of July. Among those present who voted for the resolution were: Samuel Hoar, Stephen C. Phillips, Charles Francis Adams, William Aspinwall, John A. Andrew, Henry Wilson, Abraham K. Thompson, George Morey, G. F. Hoar, Simon Brown, Wm. S. Morton, Marcus Morton, Jr., Ralph Waldo Emerson, F. W. Bird, Wm. Jackson, Gersham B. Weston, Orison Underwood, Charles M. Ellis and John Z. Goodrich.

Over 2,500 persons, in response to the call, gathered at Worcester. They were presided over by Judge Morris, of Springfield, who called the meeting to order in the open air on the common. After effecting the permanent organization, a committee to call a formal nominating convention was appointed and the following resolutions were adopted enthusiastically and unanimously:

Resolved, That the unquestionable existence of a settled purpose on the part of the slave power to convert the Republic, which our fathers founded on principles of justice and liberty, into a slave-holding despotism whose vital and animating spirit shall be the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery calls for the immediate union of all true

men into a party which shall make the question of freedom paramount to all other political questions.

Resolved, That in co-operation with the friends of freedom in other States, we hereby form ourselves into the **REPUBLICAN PARTY** of MASSACHUSETTS, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes: To bring the administration of the general government back to its original principles of liberty. To repeal the Fugitive Slave Law. To restore the prohibition of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska. To prohibit slavery in all the territories. To resist the acquisition of more slave States. To abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. To protect the constitutional rights of all citizens going to other States. That Massachusetts has the constitutional right, and it is her imperative duty, to enact laws which shall protect the personal freedom of all her citizens.

Stirring addresses were made by Henry Wilson, Edward Beecher and others, and the meeting adjourned to meet as a formal nominating convention, in the same city on the 7th of September. The gathering went back to Worcester with unabated enthusiasm, and nominated Henry Wilson, of Natic, for governor, and Increase Sumner, of Great Barrington, for lieutenant-governor, upon this platform:

1. *Resolved*, That the **REPUBLICAN** party is pre-eminently the party of the Union and the Constitution, of law and of order, and may justly claim to be the true national and democratic party, because it is opposed in its principles, sentiments and aims to sectionalism, secession and disunion, is equally desirous of the welfare of every part of the country, and disregarding the aristocratic, hereditary distinction of birth and color, maintains the right of all men to freedom and equality before the law.

2. *Resolved*, That the **REPUBLICANS** of Massachusetts, in co-operation with the friends of freedom in other States, are pledged to make the question of freedom paramount to all other political questions, and to labor for the accomplishment of the following purposes:

To bring the administration of the general government back to the national principle of liberty.

To repeal the fugitive slave law bill.

To re-instate the prohibition of slavery in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

To prohibit slavery in all territories.

To resist the acquisition of Cuba, or any other territory, unless slavery therein shall be prohibited.

To refuse the admission into the Union of any more slave States.

To abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

To protect the constitutional rights of citizens going to other States, and sustain all other constitutional measures of opposition to slavery.

3. *Resolved*, That Massachusetts has the constitutional right, and it is her imperative duty, to enact laws which shall protect the liberty of her citizens, by securing to them the right of *habeas corpus* and the trial by jury in all cases involving the question of personal freedom, and which shall effectually restrain and punish the atrocious crime of kidnapping free men into slavery.

4. *Resolved*, The recent prostitution of the government of Boston to the service of slavery and the temporary establishment of military rule in the streets of that city, in violation of laws and private right, under the immediate eye of the governor and commander-in-chief of the militia of the commonwealth, deserves the sternest rebuke of the people, and calls for prompt action on the part of the legislature.

5. *Resolved*, That the effort to preserve freedom in Kansas and Nebraska, by settling these territories with free men, claims and receives our warmest sympathy and most hearty co-operation.

6. *Resolved*, That the prohibition, by law, of the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, is the right and duty of the people.

Before the convention adjourned Charles Sumner made an address for the new party which was never forgotten by those who heard it, so remarkable were its passages for eloquence, earnestness and logic; but when the day of election arrived the Republican ticket cut no figure worth mentioning. Gardiner, the Know-Nothing candidate for governor, polled 81,503 votes; Washburn, Whig, 27,279; Bishop, Democrat, 13,742; and Wilson, Republican, only 6,483. Wilson himself favored the Know-Nothings.

The Congressional elections resulted in a solid Know-Nothing delegation, and the legislature was also overwhelmingly Know-Nothing. Nevertheless, Henry Wilson was

chosen by the legislature then elected to succeed Edward Everett in the United States Senate, which proved the Republican proclivities of the Know-Nothings of Massachusetts.

In 1856 the Old Bay State elected Fremont electors and has chosen Republican Presidential electors regularly every four years since that time. She has also elected, since then, Republican United States Senators and Republican Governors, except in 1874, when Gaston was chosen, and in 1882, when a mongrel party elevated B. F. Butler to the gubernatorial chair.

NEW YORK.

In coming to New York it is proper to refer to the widely-recorded claim that the Empire State was the birthplace of the Republican name and organization, for the reason that this volume gives the honor to another and younger commonwealth.

This claim has been founded on a letter written by Preston King, and the publication, in 1854, of the *Genesee Valley Free Press* by A. N. Cole, in support of Republican principles.

After the publication of the call for a mass-convention on the 15th of August, at Saratoga, Greeley wrote in the *Tribune* of July 29th:

We believe the lead given by Michigan in nominating an Independent State ticket composed of Whigs, Free-Soilers and Democrats united in hostility to slavery extension, under the common appellation of Republican, might have been easily and beneficently followed in all the States. But we have seen no indications that the great body of anti-Nebraska voters of *this State* are prepared for this step, and we are very sure that it *has not been contemplated* by a majority of the signers to the call for the Saratoga convention. We infer, moreover, from the tone of the journals which have published and indorsed the State call, that they do not anticipate the formation of a State ticket nor the adoption of a common name.

This was several weeks after Michigan, Wisconsin and Vermont had formally adopted the name of Republican, the

eminent propriety of which had been widely affirmed and was certainly well known in New York, where 70,000 *Tribunes* were taken and read.

The letter of Preston King, which has been so much relied on and repeatedly referred to but not given to the public to prove the claim of New York, was not dated until September 16, more than two months after the States mentioned had completely abandoned all former party names and organizations and actively enlisted under the Republican banner; and even then it declared that "*the present party organizations must and will work out their own end and destiny in the election this fall.*"¹

A large and stormy mass-convention met at Saratoga, on August 15, pursuant to the anti-Nebraska call. The presiding officer was Wm. T. McCoun, of Queens; vice-presidents—R. N. Havens, Edward Perry, F. P. Bellinger, Luke Hitchcock, Lewis Kingsley, Freeman Clarke, Geo. B. Benedict; secretaries—J. J. Chambers, Wm. Stewart, J. H. Kimberly, J. H. Howell, L. P. Noble; chairman of business committee—Horace Greeley.

¹

OGDENSBURGH, Saturday, Sept. 16, 1854.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 9th inst. is received. The condition of political affairs, so far as party organizations and their conventions are concerned, look, and really are, about as bad as they can be. Indeed, I doubt whether any effectual rally can be made in this State upon any organized action this fall. I can not say, and I suppose it is uncertain, what the adjourned Auburn convention will do. My opinion has been against a separate nomination by that Convention, from the apprehension that the public were not prepared to receive a nomination therefrom, and that a nomination was not expected from it when the delegates were elected to go to Saratoga. It seems to me that the *present party organizations and divisions must and will work out their own end and destiny in the election this fall*; and that in the future we may hope for a sounder and better condition of political affairs.

I have great confidence that, in the next Presidential election men who agree in principle, will be able to act together, and thus by natural affinities form a permanent party, thoroughly devoted to the cause of freedom and to Republican principles. There are thousands in this State who will vote this fall entirely independent of party organizations, or the advice of conventions; and even this condition of things will aid perhaps to make the county and district elections more sure against Nebraskaism. We must have patience, and courage, and resolution, and persevere ourselves in doing what is right under any circumstances. The elections show a correct condition of public sentiment on the great question between freedom and slavery. I trust New York will, in the best and most practicable way, demonstrate her favor to the cause of freedom. And if we do not get any organized movement, each man will do it in his own way. We shall then be ready for future and effectual action.

Yours, respectfully,

PRESTON KING.

After wrangling over what would be the most appropriate programme of action, in which Preston King declared "let us make this thing sure; the great mass of the people are not prepared to receive nominations from this convention," a resolution to adjourn to meet at Auburn on the 26th of September, was carried.

Greeley's committee reported a set of resolutions, said to have been composed entirely by the great journalist, which were unanimously adopted. If they were wholly Greeley's, it is noticeable that they made no mention of the tariff, of which he was an ardent advocate, nor of the Republican party, which he had shortly before indorsed.

The practical points in the platform were:

1. The restoration of the anti-slavery provision in Kansas and Nebraska.
2. All the territories of the United States shall be free.
3. No more slave States shall be admitted into the Union.
4. This policy shall be held superior to all party considerations and every party shall be abandoned which does not make it the leading aim and object.

Before the anti-Nebraska convention re-assembled to see whether it would work independently or in conjunction with one of the old parties in the pending campaign, the Whigs met and nominated Myron H. Clark, of Ontario, for governor; Henry J. Raymond, of New York, for lieutenant-governor; Henry Fitzhugh, of Oswego, for canal commissioner and Norwood Bowne, of Delaware, for prison inspector. This ticket satisfied Greeley and a large number of the leading antis, who therefore put forth strong efforts to secure its adoption in the adjourned meeting on September 26, at Auburn.

John P. Hale made an eloquent speech at Auburn in favor of an independent party organization instead of following in the wake of Whiggery, for none of the thousands of dissatisfied Democrats would ever enlist, he declared, under the Whig banners. Robert Snow offered this resolution:

"Resolved, That we are in favor of organizing a REPUBLICAN PARTY in this State to co-operate with our Republican

brethren of other States, which shall be independent of existing political organizations; a party which shall represent the friends of freedom in opposition to slavery extension, and in favor of employing all constitutional means in crippling and overthrowing slavery where it now exists.

John P. Hale favored it, saying :

We have seen the principles of our fathers repudiated, the landmarks of Liberty pulled down, and her banner trailing in the dust. We have seen the doctrine scorned that there was a higher law than caucus resolutions. I had hoped that Democracy would consent to stand back before a common manhood, but that time has not yet dawned. In frosty Maine the fetters of Democracy and Whiggery have fallen down and regenerated manhood has rallied to the polls. You reckon on the profligacy of your opponents and their disunion, but they are not far apart when they support the same measure though for different motives. The "Hards" support the Nebraska measure because it is infamous, and the "Softs" support it because it is the road to the postoffices. It might be treason, but I hope the Hards and the Softs will unite. In claiming the whole reward of this struggle, are you not ungenerous? Who opposed the Nebraska bill more earnestly than R. E. Fenton, of Chautauqua? Tens of thousands of Democrats feel their inmost natures outraged by this bill. Is it manly, is it fair to repel them from your association? Let us to-day build anew the Temple of Freedom. If you do not need aid here, at least have magnanimity. I had fondly hoped that the time had come for New York to respond to the call of freedom's champions. But no—we must wait till some period of the misty future when millennial glory shall dawn on the Church, for New York to come forward. Must Maine be captain and Iowa¹ lieutenant? Let us do our duty to-day and the future will be auspicious.

The speech was greeted with vociferous cheers, but those in whose mouths the taste of Whiggery was still strong, prevailed against its influence, and the entire Whig ticket was indorsed. Thereupon a large number, headed by General Bullard, left the hall and organized an independent convention. This somewhat alarmed the regulars, who attempted to counteract the effects of rebellion by proposing and adopt-

¹ Maine and Iowa had already held their elections and scored anti Nebraska victories.

ing a resolution that their convention be called the "Republican organization."

The seceders indorsed the Free-Democrat ticket, nominated at Auburn on the day before by that party, as follows: Governor—Myron H. Clark; lieutenant-governor, Bradford R. Wood; canal commissioner—C. A. Wheaton; prison inspector—P. H. Macomber. They also indorsed the Free-Democrat State central committee, and called it the Republican committee.

Thus, instead of having the honor of the first Republican organization, New York was so thoroughly divided that at least eight conventions were held during the year 1854. The name Republican appeared in none of their platforms, though the regular anti-Nebraskaites agreed in their second convention, by a resolution offered by Dr. Snodgrass, that they would be Republicans. When the day of election came and it was found that Clark had been elected governor over Horatio Seymour, Democrat, by 309 votes, the result was announced as a "glorious Whig victory" and although John Kelly and Wm. W. Volk were the only Democrats elected to Congress, the remaining thirty-one were put down as Whigs or Know-Nothings—mostly the former.

However, New York, factional as she was, must have the full honor of routing the pro-slavery Democracy throughout the State, where before it had been strong. She has since chosen several Democratic governors, and in 1868 and 1876 returned Democratic Presidential electors; but on the whole she has been a powerful Republican State, furnishing great leaders, vast resources to carry on the war of the Rebellion and influential delegations in Congress. Her majority for Fremont in 1856 was over 80,000, and, except in 1868 and 1876, she never gave less than 21,000 majority during Presidential years.

OHIO.

The sentiment of freedom developed early in Ohio. On the 22d of March, 1854, a very large mass-meeting was held at Columbus, in the Lawn Street M. E. Church, for the purpose of consultation and advice as to the future. Joseph R. Swan presided, and B. R. Cowen was secretary. The leading men of the State were present, and the meeting had marked influence in solidifying and harmonizing public sentiment.

In June, the following call for a mass-convention appeared in the *Ohio State Journal*:

The people of all political parties who were opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—who are opposed to the extension of slavery and the slave power into Kansas and Nebraska, and the other Territories—all who do not desire by their silence to encourage the further aggressions of the slave power, are requested to meet in their several counties and appoint not less than three delegates, and one at least to every 4,000 citizens, to attend the convention to be held at the city of Columbus, on the 13th day of July next.

It is hoped that delegates will be appointed in each county from all political parties; for whatever "line" issues there may be between the two great parties which divide the State, there is ONE QUESTION made by Southern slave-holders at this momentous crisis, as common to all as the free air of heaven. It is whether this Republic and its free institutions shall be ruled by, and its great mission of freedom be sunk into an oligarchy of slave-holders and the extension of slavery and the slave power.

Can any Northern man of any party hesitate upon such a question, or refuse to aid in reclaiming our free institutions from the domination of slave-holders in purifying Northern representatives in Congress from all pliant tools of Southern ambition, in breaking the chain of Southern measures now forging to bind this Republic to the car of slavery?

By order of the committee,

JOSEPH R. SWAN,
J. H. COULTON,
J. W. ANDREWS.

This committee was designated to receive the signed calls for the convention from the different counties, which came

to them in such numbers that no effort could be made to publish the names, which numbered many thousands of all parties. The meeting was held in Neil's Hall, Columbus, which was packed with 1,000 delegates and a large concourse of people. It was officered largely by men who had formerly been leading Democrats, Ben. F. Leiter presiding, with James H. Baker, secretary. Joseph R. Swan was nominated for justice of the Supreme Court and Jacob Blickensderfer for member of the board of public works, and the following platform, without assuming the name Republican, was adopted:

WHEREAS, The "positive prohibition of slavery in the territory to the north and west of Missouri," imposed by Congress in the year 1820, at the instance of Southern statesmen and as an equivalent for the admission of said State of Missouri without such restriction, has been removed by the passage of the bill to establish territorial governments in Nebraska and Kansas.

AND WHEREAS, It becomes important to ascertain if the popular mind in regard to slavery has retrograded in Ohio during the last thirty-four years, notwithstanding the benign principles of the Ordinance of 1787, which made our State perpetually free, and which has been the principal means of our unexampled prosperity and happiness; therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That we hail with gladness and gratitude the anniversary of that glorious day when the Congress of the Confederation impressed upon the North-western Territory that "Ordinance of Freedom" which has given character and consequence to five great States, now containing five millions of freemen, but *not one slave*.

2. *Resolved*, That in humble imitation of the virtue and patriotism which inspired our fathers in the enactment of that Ordinance, we solemnly renew this day our covenant vows to resist the spread of slavery "under whatever shape or color it may be attempted."

3. *Resolved*, That to this end we will labor assiduously to render "*inoperative and void*" that portion of the Kansas and Nebraska bill which abolishes freedom in the territory withdrawn from the influence of slavery by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and that we will oppose by every lawful and constitutional means any further increase of slave territory or slave States in this Republican Confederacy.

4. *Resolved*, That in order that public sentiment on this great subject may be concentrated and developed in the State of Ohio, at the earliest possible period, we will proceed to place in nomination suitable candidates for the Supreme Bench and board of public works, and invoke in their support, at the approaching election, the votes of all good citizens, without reference to political parties.

5. *Resolved*, That we concur in the recommendation of the convention of the people of the State of Michigan, that there be called a general convention of the free States, and such of the slave-holding States, or portions thereof, as may desire to be there represented, with the view to the adoption of other and more effective measures in resistance of the encroachments of slavery; and that a committee of five persons be appointed to correspond and co-operate with our friends in other States on the subject.

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7. *Resolved*, That the soil of Nebraska and Kansas shall be appropriated for free homes for free men.

Immediately after, Republican conventions to make Congressional nominations were held in every one of the twenty-one districts of the State, and then began one of the ablest and most earnest campaigns known to the Buckeye people before or since. The previous delegation of Congressmen from Ohio had contained a Democratic majority; but the irresistible rally made by the friends of freedom resulted in electing a solid Republican representation in Congress, both the State officers by decided majorities, and a safe legislature.

Among the twenty-one Congressmen sent to Washington in 1854 by the splendid State of Ohio, was John Sherman, yet a stalwart and active Republican and the ablest public financier in America.

IOWA

The friends of freedom in Iowa did not nominate a Republican ticket in 1854, but practically elected one, and elected it early. A convention of Whigs met at Iowa City, on February 22, and nominated a State ticket, as Whigs, on

a platform that subsequently was found to be in accord with the new party of Republicanism. They resolved:

We recognize the binding force and obligation of the act of Congress of 1820, known as the Missouri Compromise, and we view the same as a compact between the North and the South, mutually binding and obligatory, and as a *final settlement* of the great question of slavery within the geographic limits to which it applies.

We emphatically disapprove the efforts now being made in Congress to legislate slavery into the free territory of Nebraska, and heartily recommend our Senators and Representatives to oppose, by all honorable means, the passage of the Nebraska bill as reported by Senator Douglas, of Illinois.

After denouncing the usurpations and aggressions of the slave power of the South, the convention nominated James W. Grimes for governor, and a full State ticket. Subsequently, as the Nebraska bill became a law and the Republican party made its appearance, some of the leaders of the more radical people of Iowa united in a letter, asking Mr. Grimes whether he was in full accord with the principles and declarations of the Republican platforms of Michigan, Wisconsin, and other States, and he replied promptly that he was.

Therefore, although nominated as a Whig, he was elected in August as a practical Republican, by a majority of 1,823, though his associates on the ticket were defeated. Iowa also elected a Republican legislature in 1854, which sent James Harlan to succeed Augustus C. Dodge in the United States Senate; and has since, every four years, continued to roll up heavy Republican majorities. Iowa is one of the noble States of the Union.

MAINE.

It can hardly be claimed that the Republicans of Maine made any formal organization in 1854. Anson P. Morrill the gubernatorial nominee of the temperance convention held at Portland, was elected, but not as a Whig or Democrat, nor particularly as a Republican. The name Republi-

can was not mentioned by the Maine conventions during that year. However, the campaign for Congressmen turned solely on Republican principles, and five anti-Nebraska members were returned. While it can not be said that Maine technically espoused the Republican cause in 1854, being absorbed in a local matter, she yet had the honor of routing the "Ne-braskals."

In 1855 Mr. Morrill was the regular Republican candidate for governor. He was defeated, but the next year Maine entered the Republican column, where she has stood firmly ever since, except that in 1879 the hybrids secured control of the State for a single year.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Pennsylvania entered feebly into the Republican movement in 1854. The Whigs adopted a strong platform, among other planks, the following:

Resolved, That the passage of the Nebraska bill by Congress at the instance of the administration and through its undisguised influence, and the repeal in express terms of an ancient statute plighting the nation's word of honor that the Western territory was to be forever exempt from slavery and the domestic slave-trade, compel the Whig party of the North, and especially the Whig party of Pennsylvania, to break the silence they might otherwise have kept, and to speak out again, in language not to be misunderstood, their ancient and fixed opinions.

Resolved, That for the future the South must take care of itself—take care of its peculiar property, supply its own blood-hounds and doughfaces—the freemen of the North design to, and will, crush out and exterminate the breed.

Resolved, That in view of the dangers of the crisis—a crisis over-riding all party distinctions—we hereby pledge ourselves as soldiers in the cause of freedom—we inscribe Free Men, Free Labor and Free Lands upon our banner, and enlist for the war.

The Free-Democrats promulgated the following:

Resolved, That the prohibition of slavery north of 36 degrees 30 minutes, was part of a compromise which never should have been made—but that compromise having been made, and the part of it favorable to slavery having been

substantially executed, it is as disgraceful to the slave interest to demand the repeal of the part favorable to freedom, as it is to Northern doughfaces to yield to that demand, and as it will be to all Northern freemen if they acquiesce in its repeal.

Resolved, That the eleven Pennsylvania allies of slavery in Congress, who have misrepresented the State and sought to dishonor their constituents by the repeal of the Missouri prohibition of slavery, ought to receive the hearty contempt of all true Americans who believe the Declaration of Independence was adopted in good faith, and not as a rhetorical flourish; and we hereby pledge ourselves to use our utmost exertion to bring about union and harmony *among true men of all parties* for the defeat of all such men.

The general election resulted in the elevation of a Know-Nothing-Whig governor, a Democratic Supreme Court judge, a Know-Nothing-Democratic canal commissioner, a Whig legislature and three Republican Congressmen—Galusha A. Grow, John J. Pearce and Lemuel Todd.

Although Pennsylvania was a little slow in espousing unqualified Republicanism, not even giving Fremont her electors in 1856, she has done nobly since in every respect. In 1872 Grant's majority was 137,548, the largest majority ever returned by any State for a Republican candidate.

OTHER STATES.

The foregoing details do not cover all the State political conflicts of 1854; they are only intended to refer to those which were pioneers in Republicanism, or which wholly or in part, scored Republican victories in that year.

Of course the Republicans made a rally in the territory of Kansas, but armed desperadoes, outlaws and slave-drivers from the slave States—mostly Missouri and Arkansas—swarmed across the border and elected Whitley, a pro-slaveryite, as delegate in Congress. It was alleged that a ballot-box was filled at or near St. Joseph, Missouri, with Democratic ballots, and carried over into Kansas the night before election and its fraudulent contents forcibly counted for the slave-drivers' party.

In the territory of Nebraska an anti-Nebraska delegate in Congress was elected by a meager majority.

In Illinois the anti-Nebraska candidate for State treasurer, the only State officer to be chosen, was defeated, but an anti-Nebraska and Whig legislature was elected, as well as four Republican Congressmen. Douglas and his friends put forth their utmost efforts in behalf of the Democratic Nebraska candidates. In opposition to them were the ministers, churches, Abolitionists and most of the Germans. The pro-slavery Democrats of the other States were disheartened when they saw the inability of Douglas to control his own State.

Douglas and Lincoln held a joint debate at Springfield, the result of which was heralded as a victory for the latter. Lincoln was a candidate for Congress, but was defeated, owing to the unwillingness of the different factions to unite.

The *Illinois State Journal* advised against abandoning the Whig organization; hence Illinois did not join the Republican column in 1854, although a local convention at Princeton declared in favor of such a course.

In 1856, however, the State took her place firmly in the Republican line, and from that time has always chosen Republican Presidential electors and United States Senators.¹ She is a safe and powerful Republican commonwealth.

In California, New Jersey, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Delaware and the Solid South, Republicanism had little or no standing—certainly no formal existence; hence an account of their campaigns for 1854 do not belong in this volume. Soon after, however, some of those States became and have since continued to be the most sturdy Republican portions of the Union.

There were no Republican organizations of any power in the South until after the emancipation and enfranchisement

¹ David Davis was, by the aid of Republican opposition to Logan, elected as an Independent, in 1877.

of the Negroes. Even then the successes of the Republican party in that section were of brief duration; and if the federal government shall continue to be too weak or too pusillanimous to protect the right of ballot and the ballot itself after it has been cast, those successes have closed forever in the late slave States.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ORGANIZING FOR THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE.

Attempt to Regalvanize Whiggery--Aggressions of the Slavocracy--Plans to Capture Cuba and other Hot Countries--Riot in Boston--Federal Troops in the State Court-rooms--Virginia Speaks Her Mind--The Georgia Plan of Destroying Republicans--A Slave Woman Kills Her Child to Save it From Bondage--Sentiments of the South--Call for a National Consultation Meeting--The Pittsburg Convention--Lovejoy's Petition to Almighty God--Committees--Eloquent Speeches--The Address.

There was some attempt made to regalvanize the Whig party after the successes of the Republican party in 1854, but without avail. The old-liners declared that the Republican and Whig platforms were alike in all essential particulars, and that Republicanism, being a temporary offshoot, would undoubtedly be short-lived unless safely piloted into the harbor of Whiggery.

But the political jugglers had no audience, and the year 1855 saw Republicanism stronger than ever in the West and extending into the hard-shell districts of the East. Wm. T. Miner was elected governor in Connecticut, Ralph Metcalf in New Hampshire, Salmon P. Chase in Ohio, Wm. W. Hoppin in Rhode Island and Coles Bashford in Wisconsin and the entire Republican ticket in Iowa.

In the Eastern States the Know-Nothings were so thoroughly mixed in with the two other parties that it would be

difficult to define results. In Massachusetts, California, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New York the Republicans and Know-Nothings were in the preponderance. In Wisconsin, Ohio, Iowa, New Hampshire and Vermont clean Republican legislatures, under that name and distinctively as such, were elected. In the other Northern States, Whigs, Democrats, Know-Nothings and Republicans were in thorough confusion, while the South was divided between the Democrats and Know-Nothings.

Numerous causes were operating to solidify and strengthen Republican notions among the people of the free States. John Slidell, of Louisiana, had proposed in Congress, since both the scheme to purchase and that to seize Cuba had failed, to invest the President with power to *forbid* the abrogation of slavery in the Spanish West Indies. Pierre Soule, of the same State, was advocating a plan by which the entire West Indies, Mexico, Central America and the hot districts of South America should be acquired by the United States by diplomacy or force, for the nourishment and extension of slavery.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" had been dramatized and was being played throughout the North, arousing the liveliest interest in the cruelties of bondage. Escaping slaves, with their scars and stories of wrong and suffering, swarmed more thickly than ever through the free States, bringing out the Democratic man-hunters, the bribed commissioners and the Southern blood-hounds.

The air was full of Southern threats of disunion, extermination of the Abolitionists and rebellion. The shocking frauds and bloody conflicts in Kansas, by which the flesh-brokers were attempting to force slavery into free territory, were in progress. Another expedition for the seizure of Cuba had been organized in the Gulf States, forcing out another proclamation of peace from President Pierce.

In Boston the United States troops, the State militia and the Democratic police force were quartered about the courthouse to enable the Southern man-hunters to carry Anthony Burns back to slavery. A riot occurred in which a citizen of Boston was killed, and Richard H. Dana was viciously assaulted by the man-stealers as he passed along the streets. The members of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts were met at the door of the court-room by the bayonets of the regular army, which was mostly in the employ of the masters hunting escaped slaves. The court then ordered the army out of its apartments.

The sentiment of Massachusetts, maintaining that no man could be sentenced without trial and that the writ of *habeas corpus* could not be suspended, was attributed to Charles Sumner, and the Democratic journals advised mobbing or lynching him. The *Washington Star* was explicit in its advice and an article in the *Union*, of the same city, inciting violence against the Massachusetts Senator, was, on investigation, said to have been incited by Stephen A. Douglas.

The Virginia newspapers advocated violence as the only method of destroying or checking Republicanism. Upon these lawless utterances the Northern press pronounced some sharp strictures, whereupon the *Richmond Enquirer* retorted:

Virginia, in this Confederacy, is the impersonation of the well-born, well educated, well-bred aristocrat. She looks down from her elevated pedestal upon her parvenu, ignorant, mendacious Yankee vilifiers, as coldly and calmly as a marble statue. Occasionally, in Congress, or in the nominating conventions of the Democratic party, she condescends, when her interests demand it, to recognize the existence of her adversaries at the very moment when she crushes them; but she does it without anger, and with no more hatred of them than a gardener feels toward the insects which he finds it necessary occasionally to destroy.

Although California had been admitted with a constitution forever prohibiting slavery within her borders, the South-

erners were making a secret but desperate attempt to break down the barrier. When the constitution went into effect, one year was allowed in which to remove slaves from the State. At the end of that time, the masters having failed to secure a slavery amendment to the constitution, the time was extended one year. Under its operation slaves came *into* instead of going *out of* California. Encouraged by their success, a law "extending the time for removing slaves beyond the limits of the State" still another year, was enacted through the influence of the Democrats, and made to apply to blacks "carried into California *since* the adoption of her constitution." Where these encroachments would have ended had not the tidal-wave of 1856 swept the country, no one can say.

Observing the rapid strides of Republicanism, the Georgia *Times* proposed to "crush it out" by the following extraordinary methods:

If the people of the Southern slave-holding States will be true to themselves, they need not fear anything the agitators and Abolitionists can do at the North. The moneyed and business men can control the politicians and masses, and will do so whenever you make it their interest to do so, and this can be easily done. Let the Southern States pass a law depriving the citizens and residents of Northern States of the use of our courts and officers for the collection of their debts, or the redress of any injuries to person or property they may sustain.

To be more plain, allow the defendant to *plead in bar* to any action that may be brought in our courts, that the plaintiff is a citizen of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and such like States—and also allow it to be a good defense to any indictment, *even for murder*, that the party injured was a citizen or resident of those States * * *. It is an old adage that 'you must fight the devil with fire,' and you may rely upon it, this will be an effectual way to fight these devils.

This is a proposition not requiring much comment. It came from a section that enacted the fugitive slave law, which compelled Northern courts to obey Southern statutes and deny the writ of *habeas corpus*; from a section that,

imprisoning and selling into slavery colored citizens of Massachusetts for the simple act of sailing into their ports as seamen, at the same moment demanded protection for their hunters and hounds as they chased black men through the free States of the North.

A slave woman who had previously escaped to Cincinnati with her husband and children, was traced by the man-hunters and captured. Being informed that the federal government was engaged in slave-catching and that she would be turned over again to bondage by the officers, the poor woman, rather than see her child doomed to the hopeless servitude from which she had just escaped, deliberately took its life.

Mary A. Livermore composed a poem setting forth the horrors of a system which drove even an ambitionless and unlettered black mother to put her child to death rather than see it fall again into the clutch of slavery.

When Appius Claudius called upon Virginius to yield up his daughter to become a slave, the Roman father came to the rescue by plunging a dagger into her bosom. As the sympathy of the entire civilized world has been moved by the stern heroism of Rome, so the great North was stirred by the desperate rescue of her daughter by the degraded slave woman of the South.

The "Booth Rescue Cases" were on trial, Abolitionists were being mobbed and "egged," and secret associations for the forcible acquisition of slave territory were being formed in the South. These things and a thousand others equally grave or startling, brought the people upon the Presidential year 1856 in a state of extreme excitement and alarm. The sentiments of the South, like the following from the *Carolina Times*, were trumpeted through the North by the Democrats for the purpose of frightening the Republicans into passiveness:

The passions of our people are fast becoming aroused, and should they once overleap the bounds of prudence, and an appeal be made to arms on the plains of Kansas, there is no foreseeing the direful result. *We trust the question of a separation may come up before Congress*, should they ever organize, and ere they adjourn *some plan be submitted to the people of dividing the Union* and giving to each section so much of the common property as would be equitable, for we verily believe the two sections can not long exist together harmoniously.

The New York *Day-Book*, the leading organ of the Northern Democracy, declared: "Negro slavery is the foundation of liberty and the essence of Democracy," and Mason, Soule, Davis, Wigfall and the other great masters—men of education, nerve, adroitness and persistence—were boldly announcing that slavery must go into the territories and new possessions in Mexico and the West Indies must be acquired, or the South would go out of the Union.

James Buchanan, Franklin Pierce's minister to England; John Y. Mason, minister to France, and Pierre Soule, minister to Spain, met at Ostend to see what should be done to succor Democracy and extend slavery. The disgraceful result of their deliberations is summed up in the following words:

After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value, and this shall have been refused, it will then be time to consider the question, "Does Cuba, in the possession of Spain, seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our *cherished Union*?" Should this question be answered in the affirmative, then, by every law, human and divine, *we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power.*

The promulgation of this infamous conclusion caused great excitement abroad as well as at home. The Old World was shocked. The doctrine enunciated by the Ostend manifesto was so thoroughly impregnated with the spirit of lawlessness, and it came from such a high source, that the people of Europe naturally assumed that America had become

wholly depraved by her long contact with slavery, and pronounced severe strictures upon the barbarity of our ways.

They announced that "the Republic of the United States was relapsing into a condition that would be discreditable to the wild tribes of Africa, whence they stole their slaves, and that the government, unless rescued by the progressive elements of the North, would sooner or later fall to pieces from its own rottenness."

The time had come, therefore, for a concentration of all the patriotism of the free States. The forces of freedom in the North, destined to shake the Western Hemisphere to its center and melt the gyves of bondage from 4,000,000 human beings, if they would strike before it was too late, must lose no time in gathering for the conflict. In January, 1856, therefore, the following call was put forth:

To the Republicans of the United States :

In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican party, and at the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned, chairmen of the Republican State committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin, hereby invite the Republicans of the Union to meet in formal convention at Pittsburg, on the 22d of February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting the National organization, and providing for a National delegate convention of the Republican party, at some subsequent day, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, to be supported at the election in November, 1856.

A. P. STONE, of Ohio.

J. Z. GOODRICH, of Massachusetts.

DAVID WILMOT, of Pennsylvania.

LAWRENCE BRAINARD, of Vermont.

WM. A. WHITE, of Wisconsin.

It will be noticed that while the body of the call mentions nine States, the signatures represent but five. The proposed time for holding the convention had drawn so near that it was deemed advisable to give out the call without waiting a fortnight or more for the committeemen of distant States to

see and sign it. They all approved its promulgation by letter, however.

The convention met and was called to order by Lawrence Brainard, of Vermont. Twenty-four States—sixteen free and eight slave—were represented, and their delegates voted for John A. King, of New York, for temporary chairman, and W. Penn Clark and J. W. Stone, of Massachusetts, for temporary secretaries.

A notable prayer was then offered by Owen Lovejoy, brother of the martyr. With peculiar power and earnestness that made a deep impression on his hearers, he presented "a petition to Almighty God, signed by all the true-hearted lovers of equality and liberty in the Republic," asking that the "present wicked administration might be removed from power and its unholy designs on the liberties of the people thwarted."

A committee of one from each State reported officers for the permanent organization as follows:

President—Francis P. Blair, Maryland.

Vice Presidents—Horatio G. Russ, N. H.; Geo. Bliss, Mass.; R. G. Hazzard, R. I.; W. P. Sherman, N. J.; Joseph Markle, Pa.; W. Penn Clark, Ia.; Geo. W. Julian, Ind.; K. S. Bingham, Mich.; F. M. Newson, Minn.; Lawrence Brainard, Vt.; James M. Bunce, Conn.; Edwin D. Morgan, N. Y.; Joseph Farley, Va.; Wm. S. Bailey, Ky.; R. P. Spalding, Ohio; John H. McMillan, Ill.; David Jones, Wis.; Lewis Clephane, D. C.

Secretaries—Russell Everett, Pa.; Isaac Dayton, N. Y.; D. R. Tilden, O.; J. C. Vaughan, Ill., and J. W. Stone, Mass.

A committee of one from each State to draft resolutions and an address was then appointed as follows:

Abijah Mann, Jr., N. Y.; Geo. M. Weston, Maine; Francis C. Johnson, N. H.; L. Brainard, Vt.; E. R. Hoar, Mass.; C. F. Cleveland, Conn.; R. G. Hazzard, R. I.; F. Devereaux, N. J.; John Allison, Pa.; W. H. Dennison, Del.; F. P. Blair-Md.; James S. Farley, Va.; J. N. Hewson, Minn.; L. Clephane, D. C.; B. G. Rankin, Neb.; James Redpath, Mo.; W. S. Bailey, Ky.; D. M. Spratt, Cal.; C. G. Hawthorne, Ia.; James Denniston, Jr., Ohio; Oliver P. Morton, Ind.; John

C. Vaughan, Ill.; Jacob M. Howard, Mich.; Israel S. Lovett, Wis.; S. N. Wood, Kan.

An elaborate historical paper, composed by Francis P. Blair and entitled "The Republicans of Maryland to the Republicans of the Union," was then read, eliciting hearty applause. It was followed by addresses from Horace Greeley, Preston King, Owen Lovejoy, Zachariah Chandler, A. Oakly Hall, David Wilmot, Geo. W. Julian, Charles Reemelin and Joshua R. Giddings.

No such speeches as were made by those men are heard at the present day. Said Mr. Giddings:

For the last twenty years it has been so often declared upon good authority that I am a fanatic, that I had almost begun to believe it myself; but had I been told that I should live to witness a scene like this, I should have called my informant a fanatic. Years are condensed into hours when I see the progress the cause has made; but there is yet the consummation to be won by this generation. The pleasantest reflection of my life is that *the contest with the slave power is drawing to a close*. I now look forward to the time when, having fought the good fight, I can retire in peace to the bosom of my family, and, with a clear conscience of duty to my fellowmen performed as best I knew, to my God.

Two long and enthusiastic sessions were held on the 22d and one on the 23d. During the session an unanswerable letter, written by Cassius M. Clay on the barbarism, darkness and slow progress of the South under slavery, as compared with the mighty strides of the North, with her common schools and free labor, was read. It was such a document as will stand the test of all time, unless civilization itself shall prove to be a myth and a fraud.

A national committee was chosen, with Edwin D. Morgan at the head, and an address to all lovers of country, freedom and mankind was adopted. Although lengthy, every sentence was precious. It embraced, in a brief way, the history of the aggressions and crimes of slavery as set forth in preceding chapters.

An address of this length would be too long for the rush and selfishness of the present time, but it was not too long for the stirring days of 1856. The most obscure cross-roads weekly sacrificed all other news in order to give it a place, and in pamphlet form it went by the thousand into every free State in the Union, bearing the gospel of freedom.

CHAPTER XIX.

FIRST NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The First Call—Delegates Meet in Philadelphia on June 17, 1856—Committees Appointed—Permanent Organization—Nominations for President—Letters from S. P. Chase and John McLean—Fremont Chosen—The vote—W. L. Dayton Nominated for Vice-President—Exciting Scenes—The Nominations Well Received—Buchanan and his Record—Sentiments of Preston S. Brooks, Lawrence M. Keitt and Other Slave-Holding Democrats—Disunion Threatened—An Army to Resist the Inauguration of Fremont—An Exciting Campaign—Buchanan Elected.

On the 29th of March, the Republican National Committee gave out the call for a National Republican Convention to meet in Philadelphia on the 17th of June for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President. It met with general approval throughout the free States, and brought together in the sacred precincts of the city in which was signed the Declaration of Independence, 2,000 of the brightest, strongest and noblest men in the nation.

Every delegation was full, and if the cracked lips of the old Liberty Bell could have spoken again, they would have sent such a peal of freedom thrilling across the Republic as would have startled the hordes of slavery like the first blast of the judgment trumpet.

Edwin D. Morgan called the delegates to order and nominated Robert Emmett, of New York, for chairman. The

nomination was confirmed by one tremendous aye. On taking the chair Mr. Emmett delivered a spirited speech, which aroused the greatest enthusiasm. G. G. Fogg, of New Hampshire, and Thomas G. Mitchell, of Ohio, were made temporary secretaries. After Rev. Albert Barnes had addressed the Throne of Grace, a committee on credentials was appointed as follows:

Maine—Mark H. Dunnell; New Hampshire—Wm. M. Weed; Massachusetts—Simeon Brown; Connecticut—Charles L. English; Rhode Island—Edward Harris; Vermont—J. E. Nicholson; New York—Eldridge G. Spaulding; New Jersey—Dudley S. Gregory; Delaware—Lewis Constant; Maryland—Francis P. Blair; Virginia—George Wright; Pennsylvania—S. Steele Blair; Ohio—Austin A. Guthrie; Michigan—George A. Coles; Wisconsin—Louis P. Harvey; Indiana—Charles H. Test; Illinois—J. D. Arnold; Iowa—John W. Sherman; Minnesota—J. B. Phillips; Kentucky—James R. Whittemore; California—Charles A. Washburn; Kansas—S. N. Wood; Nebraska—H. B. Bennett; District of Columbia—H. B. French.

Several slave States, it will be seen, were not represented. On the motion of David Wilmot, a committee on resolutions was appointed as follows:

Maine—Henry Carter; New Hampshire—Daniel Clark; Massachusetts—E. R. Hoar; Connecticut—Gideon Welles; Rhode Island—Thomas Davis; Vermont—Edward Kirkland; New York—Preston King; New Jersey—Edward W. Welton; Delaware—Edward G. Bradford; Maryland—Francis P. Blair; Virginia—John C. Underwood; Pennsylvania—David Wilmot; Ohio—Joshua R. Giddings; Michigan—Isaac P. Christiancy; Wisconsin—John F. Potter; Indiana—John D. De Frees; Illinois—George T. Brown; Iowa—James B. Howell; California—John A. Wills; Kansas—J. L. Winchell; District of Columbia—Jacob Bigelow; Kentucky—Geo. D. Blakesly; Minnesota—Alexander Ramsey.

At this point a large delegation of the New York council of radical Democrats appeared and Gen. Viele moved to admit them to seats. The hall was then crowded to suffocation, but members from New Hampshire and Ohio said they would hold the radical Democrats in their laps rather than have

them excluded, whereupon, amidst universal applause, the members of the New York delegation were admitted as "honorary delegates." A committee on permanent organization was appointed as follows:

Maine—Geo. M. Weston; New Hampshire—Levi Chamberlain; Massachusetts—Geo. R. Russell; Connecticut—Charles Adams; Rhode Island—Wm. W. Hoppin; Vermont—Ryland Fletcher; New York—Geo. W. Patterson; New Jersey—Wm. D. Waterman; Delaware—Thomas Waters; Maryland—Elias Hawley; Virginia—Geo. Wright; Pennsylvania—Samuel A. Purviance; Ohio—George Hoadley, Jr.; Michigan—Thomas Drake; Wisconsin—M. M. Davis; Indiana—E. G. Rose; Illinois—Cyrus Aldrich; Iowa—R. L. G. Clark; Kansas—Charles H. Branscomb; Kentucky—John Reiff; California—G. W. Treat; District of Columbia—Lewis Clephane; Minnesota—J. B. Phillips; Nebraska—H. B. Bennett.

At the afternoon session the committee on permanent organization made the following report which was unanimously adopted:

President—Henry S. Lane, Indiana.

Vice-Presidents—A. P. Morrill, Maine; H. Carpenter, Vermont; J. Babcock, Rhode Island; John A. King, New York; J. Ritner, Pennsylvania; F. T. Cobb, Maryland; G. D. Blackett, Kentucky; J. Beard, Indiana; K. S. Bingham, Michigan; Jacob Bigelow, District of Columbia; S. C. Pomeroy, Kansas; H. B. Bennett, Nebraska; A. Tubb, New Hampshire; C. F. Adams, Massachusetts; C. F. Cleveland, Connecticut; J. C. Hornblower, New Jersey; S. Barr, Delaware; George Rye, Virginia; R. P. Spalding, Ohio; W. B. Archer, Illinois; W. D. McKnight, Wisconsin; F. Springer, Iowa; Alexander Ramsey, Minnesota, and F. P. Folger, California.

The platform¹ was now reported by David Wilmot. Its reading heightened the previous enthusiasm, if possible, and brought forth thunders of applause. The last clause of the last resolution, as originally written, was intended to deprecate Know-Nothingism; but as the Pennsylvania delegates thought it might be offensive to portions of their State, it was changed to the form in which it now stands.

¹ For all national Republican platforms, calls delegates, etc., see Appendix.

Before proceeding to ballot for a candidate for President, two notable letters were read, written respectively by John McLean, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, both of whom had been widely favored for the Presidency. Both were unselfish and both predicted early and permanent Republican victory. No formal nominations by eloquent orators were made, but E. D. Morgan and G. S. Orth were appointed tellers and an informal ballot was taken without ado, resulting as follows:

STATES.	FREMONT.	MCLEAN.
Maine.....	13.....	11
New Hampshire.....	15.....	—
Vermont.....	15.....	—
Massachusetts.....	39.....	—
Rhode Island.....	12.....	—
Connecticut.....	18.....	—
New York*.....	93.....	3
New Jersey.....	7.....	14
Pennsylvania.....	10.....	71
Delaware.....	—.....	9
Maryland.....	4.....	3
Ohio.....	30.....	39
Indiana.....	18.....	21
Illinois.....	14.....	19
Michigan.....	18.....	—
Wisconsin.....	15.....	—
Iowa.....	12.....	—
Minnesota.....	—.....	3
Kansas.....	9.....	—
Nebraska.....	—.....	3
Kentucky.....	5.....	—
California.....	12.....	—
Total.....	359.....	196

A motion for a formal ballot was instantly made and carried, resulting in the entire vote of the convention being cast for Fremont except twenty-three from Pennsylvania and fourteen from Ohio for McLean, one from Pennsylvania for Seward, and forty-five from Virginia not cast for any candidate because her representation was not at that moment full and could not be cast as a unit.

*Also two for Sumner and one for Seward.

The nomination was made unanimous amidst a scene of intense excitement and enthusiasm. At the instant the result was announced a beautiful American flag was unfurled from the speaker's desk, and the bright, silken folds, inscribed with "John Charles Fremont for President," were drawn across the platform, extending entirely across the hall. Hats and handkerchiefs filled the air, banners were flaunted from the windows to announce the result, and the vociferous shouts in the building were caught up by the multitude without and borne away through the crowded streets and over the wires to the uttermost parts of the Republic.

Apparently everybody was for Fremont inside and outside of the hall, and it would have been difficult to determine whence came the previous opposition to his nomination.

It is said that the honor of first formally putting forth the name of the "Path-finder," as Fremont has for thirty-five years been known, belongs to the Republicans of Mishawaka, Indiana, who, in less than a week after the publication of the national call, adopted a resolution indorsing him for the Presidency and asking the delegates from that Congressional district to use all honorable means to secure his nomination.¹

On the day following Fremont's nomination, an informal ballot for Vice-President resulted in 250 votes for Wm. L. Dayton, of New York; 110 for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois; 43 for David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania; 35 for Charles Sumner, 46 for N. P. Banks and 7 for Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts; 15 for Jacob of Collamer, Vermont; and scattering votes for Joshua R. Giddings, Cassius M. Clay, John A. King and Henry C. Carey. On the formal ballot the votes for Sumner, Banks, Wilson, Lincoln and Wilmot were transferred to Dayton, and he was nominated.

¹ A. N. Cole, of Wellsville, New York, who was a close friend of the leading spirits of that time, says Horace Greeley first suggested the propriety of nominating Fremont, though he did not advocate him in his paper until a few weeks before the convention met.



J. C. Fremont

A committee was appointed to notify the candidates of their nomination, consisting of J. M. Ashley, Ohio; A. J. Bleecker, New York; J. C. Hornblower, New Jersey; E. R. Hoar, Massachusetts; Thad. Stevens, Pennsylvania; K. S. Bingham, Michigan; C. F. Cleveland and Mr. Aldrich, of Connecticut, with Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, as chairman. The convention then adjourned.

The nomination of Fremont was well received throughout the free States. The announcement of it was greeted with bonfires, processions, public meetings and the booming of cannons. The campaign did not "open" as it does now after every Presidential nomination; it simply continued—for it had been actively in progress for more than two years—under the battle-cry of "Free speech, free press, free soil, freedom and *Fremont*."

The ordinary political excitement, however, increased in intensity as the day of election drew near, owing to the continued murders and encounters in Kansas, and the bitter attacks of the pro-slavery Democracy upon Colonel Fremont. He was accused of being a Romanist, in order to alienate the anti-Catholic Know-Nothings, and of being an unqualified Abolitionist, in order to intensify the opposition of the South, the pro-slaveryites of the North, those interested in Southern property and those who thought slavery should not be disturbed where it then existed.

Both charges were false. In a letter to E. D. Morgan relative to appearing at the "great Republican Tabernacle Meeting" in New York, he said: "I am opposed to slavery in the abstract and upon principle, sustained and made habitual by long-settled convictions. While I am inflexible in the belief that *it ought not to be interfered with where it now exists under the shield of State sovereignty*, I am as inflexibly opposed to its extension on this continent beyond its present limits."

But the truth was not permitted to go before the people of the South, where Fremont was steadily held up as one who had avowed, if elected, to destroy slavery by force if law or diplomacy should not suffice to do it.

His opponent was James Buchanan, the idol of the slave-drivers, whose proudest record was that he had never refused, in a long period of public service, a single demand or behest of the slave-power, no matter how barbarous or bloody it promised to be.¹ He was a weak man in every respect, a child in the terrific storm that, kindled before his nomination, subsequently swept over his administration; a pigmy before the great problems then shaking the country.

The Democracy of the North supported him because they wanted postoffices. The South stood solid at his back because he was and had been the tool of slavery. The Charleston *Courier* said: "If it be desirable to triumph over our adversaries, and preserve the Union UNTIL WE OURSELVES MAY BE READY to ABANDON IT, it is certainly important to give the candidate of our party the frank and hearty support of all the Southern States."

Said Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina: "The people of fifteen Southern States WILL NEVER PASSIVELY

¹ The Richmond *Enquirer* summed Buchanan's virtues thus:

1. In 1836 Mr. Buchanan supported a bill to prohibit the circulation of abolition documents through the mail.

2. In the same year he proposed and voted for the admission of Arkansas.

3. In 1836-7 he denounced and voted to reject petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

4. In 1837 he voted for Mr. Calhoun's famous resolutions, defining the rights of the States and the limits of the federal authority, and affirming it to be the duty of the government to protect and uphold the institutions of the South.

5. In 1838-9 and '40 he invariably voted with the Southern senators against the consideration of abolition petitions.

6. In 1844-5 he advocated and voted for the annexation of Texas.

7. In 1847 he sustained the Clayton Compromise.

8. In 1850 he proposed and urged the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean.

9. But he promptly acquiesced in the Compromise of 1850, and employed all his influence in favor of the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law.

10. In 1854 he remonstrated against an enactment of the Pennsylvania legislature for obstructing the arrest and return of fugitive slaves.

11. In 1854 he negotiated for the acquisition of Cuba.

12. In 1856 HE APPROVES THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI RESTRICTION, AND SUPPORTS THE PRINCIPLES OF THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT.

13. HE NEVER GAVE A VOTE AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF SLAVERY, AND NEVER UTTERED A WORD WHICH COULD PAIN THE MOST SENSITIVE SOUTHERN HEART.

SUBMIT, if the strength of the fusionists in the lower House of Congress becomes augmented by Presidential power."

Said Senator Mason, of Virginia: "It is time the yoke was thrown off and the question settled."

Millard Fillmore wrote: "The SOUTH WILL NOT SUBMIT FOR A MOMENT to the election of Fremont and Dayton."

Shouted Robt. Toombs: "OUR DANGER IS NOT FROM ABROAD, IT IS AT HOME. THE ELECTION OF FREMONT WOULD BE THE END OF THE UNION, AND OUGHT TO BE."

The following toasts were drunk at a Democratic Fourth of July celebration at Atchison City, Kansas, and greeted with cheers:

Disunion—By secession or otherwise—a beacon of hope to an oppressed people, and the surest remedy for Southern wrongs.

The City of Atchison—May she before the close of the year 1857 be the CAPITAL OF A SOUTHERN REPUBLIC.

Senator Butler, of South Carolina, said: "When Fremont is elected, we must rely upon what we have—good State governments. Every governor of the South should call the legislature of his State together and have measures of the South decided upon. If they do not, and *submit to the degradation*, they will deserve the fate of slaves. *I shall advise my legislature to go at the tap of the drum.*"

At a public meeting in Knoxville, Tennessee, Judge Dailey declared that "Governor Wise had addressed letters to all the Southern governors, and that *the one to the governor of Florida had been shown him, in which Governor Wise said he had an army in readiness to prevent Fremont from taking his seat*, if elected, and asking the co-operation of those to whom he wrote."

At Lynchburg, Virginia, Lawrence M. Keitt, of South Carolina, in a public speech, said: "I tell you now, that

if Fremont is elected, *adherence to the Union is treason to liberty*. I tell you now that *the Southern man who will submit to his election is a traitor and a coward.*"

Henry A. Wise, governor of Virginia, in an address to the people of his State, declared: "The South can not, without degradation, *submit to the election of a Black Republican President*. To tell me that we should submit to a Black Republican, under circumstances like these, is to tell me that Virginia and the fifteen slave States are already subjugated and degraded. *We will not submit.*"

The *Charleston Mercury*, the recognized organ of the South Carolina Democracy, announced :

Upon the policy of dissolving the Union, of separating the South from her Northern enemies, and establishing a Southern Confederacy, parties, presses, politicians and people are a unit. There is not a single public man in her limits, not one of her present representatives or senators in Congress who is not pledged to the lips in favor of disunion. Indeed, we well remember that one of the most prominent leaders of the co-operation party, when taunted with submission, rebuked the thought by saying, "*that in opposing secession he only took a step backward to strike a blow more deadly against the Union.*"

The Washington correspondent of the *New Orleans Delta*, a journal high in the confidence of the Pierce administration, wrote :

It is already arranged, in the event of Fremont's election, or a failure to elect *by the people*, [meaning slave-holders] to call the legislatures of Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia to concert measures to withdraw from the Union before Fremont can get possession of the army and navy and the purse-strings of government. *Governor Wise is actively at work already in the matter. The South can rely on the President in the emergency contemplated.*

Said the *Richmond Enquirer* :

If Fremont is elected the Union will not last an hour after Mr. Pierce's term expires.

If Fremont is elected it will be the duty of the South to *dissolve the Union* and form a Southern Confederacy.

Let the South present a compact and undivided front. Let her, if possible, detach Pennsylvania and Southern Ohio,

Southern Indiana and Southern Illinois from the North, and make the highlands between the Ohio and the lakes the dividing line. Let the South treat with California; and, if necessary, ally herself with Russia, with Cuba and Brazil.

What a campaign it was! How the prodigious energy of Greeley, through the broad columns of the *Tribune*, woke every patriotic impulse and roused every energy! How Garrison, Sumner, Coddington, Beecher, King, Smith, Phillips, Stowe, Giddings, Lane, Wilson, Hale, Stevens, Fred Douglass, Colfax and scores of others passed up and down among the people, shouting liberty in every community and proclaiming freedom from every house-top!

Nevertheless the threats of the South had their effect. Thousands of voters in the North feared that the election of a Republican President would indeed be the signal for disunion, and Fremont was defeated. He had against him the influence of the federal officials North and South, the United States Supreme and the various federal courts, the vast enginery of the slave-power, the administration and the pro-slaveryites of the North. He received, however, the eight votes of Maine, five votes of New Hampshire, thirteen votes of Massachusetts, four votes of Rhode Island, six votes of Connecticut, five votes of Vermont, thirty-five votes of New York, twenty-three votes of Ohio, six votes of Michigan, four votes of Iowa and five votes of Wisconsin--114 in all, against 173 for Buchanan and eight (Maryland) for Jno. C. Breckinridge.

The Northern States that voted for Buchanan were New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois and California. The remainder of his support came from the slave States.

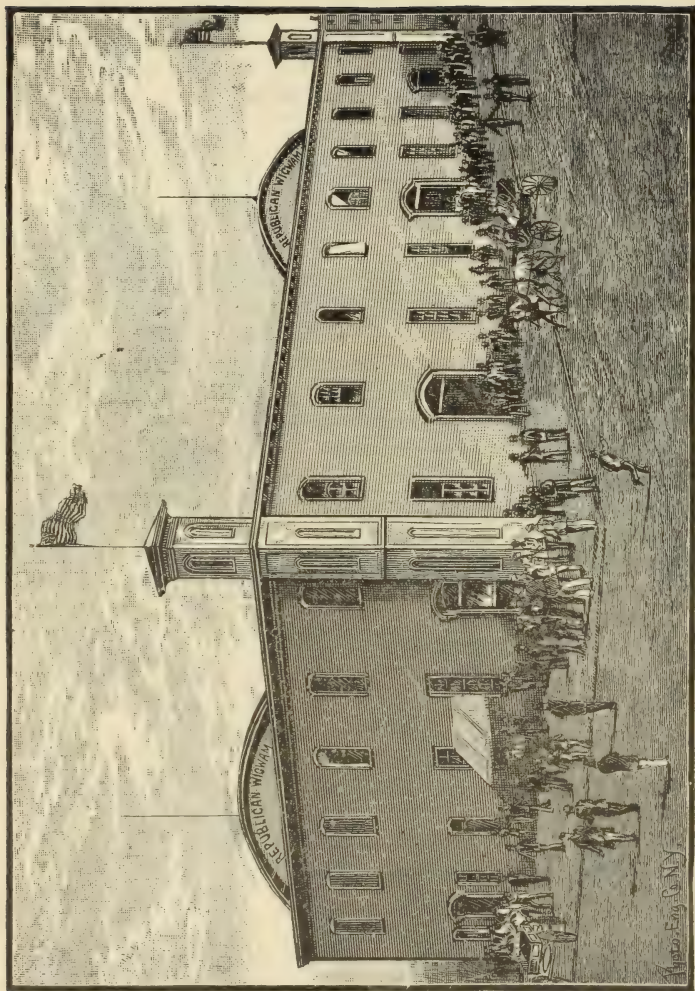
CHAPTER XX.

CONVENTION OF 1860.

The Nation Intensely Excited—Several Candidates for the Presidency—Convention meets in Chicago on May 16—Curiosities of the Day—The Monster Bowie-knife—Potter Describes his Difficulty with Pryor—Lists of Committees—Permanent Officers—Greeley's Slavery Resolution—Giddings offers an Amendment—Leaves the Convention—Geo. Wm. Curtis Triumphs—Seward's Supporters—A Noisy Night—Presentation of Candidates—Terrific Demonstrations—Taking the Ballot—A Moment of Suspense—Lincoln Nominated—A Scene of Excitement—Candidates for the Vice-Presidency—Hannibal Hamlin Nominated—Chicago after the Convention—Rails from the Sangamon Bottoms—An Extraordinary Campaign—Sentiments and Utterances of the South—Lincoln Elected—Equal Rejoicing North and South.

If possible, the people of the North were more thoroughly aroused and fearful over the threats and aggressions of the slave power, as the time for another Presidential campaign drew near, than they had been in 1856. The thongs that bound the Union together were stretched to their utmost tension. That the South had resolved upon dismemberment, was the clearest thing before the public. They were only waiting for the North to take some step, adopt some line of policy, that, not being satisfactory, could be seized upon as an excuse for sundering those bonds without ruth or hesitation, and setting up an independent slave empire after their own heart.

Therefore was the South a slumbering volcano, a powder magazine which would be exploded by any misstep or deviation on the part of the North from the straight and narrow



WIGWAM IN WHICH WAS HELD THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, 1860.

paths prescribed by the slave-holders. The atmosphere was heavy with apprehension. No one knew what would happen, but every one felt that fearful dangers lurked near and everywhere, and that some terrible calamity was about to befall the country.

The battle in Kansas had been won for freedom, it is true, but defeat, instead of cooling down the slave power, had only served to exasperate it and render it more demonstrative. Therefore, a large portion of the people were unable to determine whether it would be better to let the government run along in the hands of the Democrats and thus save the Union as a general Utopia for slavery and barbarism, or rally at once and wrest it from them, let come what might.

Under such circumstances, surrounded by apprehensions and misgivings about equally mixed with a patriotic and determined desire to win, was the call for the Republican National Convention to be held at Chicago on the 16th of May, 1860, hung on the outer walls.

There were several candidates in the field—W. H. Seward, Simon Cameron, Benjamin F. Wade, Abraham Lincoln, Edward Bates, John McLean and Salmon P. Chase—men of fame and power. The partisans of each claimed that their candidate was the only man who could solidify the North and save the South. Public interest had become thoroughly aroused before the day fixed for the convention arrived, and thousands upon thousands prepared for a journey to Chicago to see that their own ideas were carried out.

The morning of the 16th of May found the city swarming with 25,000 strangers. Admirable as Chicago has always been in her skill and capacity to stow away visitors, she found herself in this instance hardly more than equal to the emergency. Nevertheless, the 40,000 people who choked her streets on the second day of the convention were as comfortably cared for as they could have been in any other city of the Union.

The principal curiosities of the occasion were Horace Greeley, who had "shuffled up from New York to beat Seward;" the great Wigwam, built expressly for the convention by the Republicans of Chicago, capable of seating 7,000 persons, and a dreadful-looking bowie-knife, seven feet in length, which the Republicans of Missouri proposed to present to John F. Potter, of Wisconsin.¹ A gaping crowd followed Greeley everywhere, regarding him as a supernatural being.

The Seward men had a fine band, richly and brilliantly uniformed, behind which, 1,000 strong, they marched to and from the Wigwam and up and down the streets at night. They also wore badges, as did the adherents of Lincoln, Bates and others.

¹ The following letter gives the first authentic account ever published of the trouble between Potter and Pryor, resulting in giving the former the title of "Bowie-knife" Potter, which the Missourians confirmed by their present: EAST TROY, January 10, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR:—In reply to your request for my account of my difficulty with Roger A. Pryor, I have to say that its origin was political, but as to who should be held blamable you shall judge for yourself.

You must understand that we had been engaged for several weeks in an attempt to organize the House. During that time we had been subjected to all sorts of insults and abuse from the "Fire-Eaters," and Roger A. Pryor was foremost among them. He aired his vocabulary of epithets—such as "Black Republicans," "fanatics," "nigger-stealers," etc., etc., upon every occasion.

Soon after the election of a speaker, I think in March, 1860, Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, was addressing the House. He was standing in front of his desk, on the left of the speaker, and near my seat. While speaking on the slavery question he was constantly interrupted by members on the other side with all sorts of low slang and vile epithets, such as "nigger-thief," "slave-stealer," but he paid little attention to them.

Pretty soon I saw Pryor, of Virginia—a man about six feet high and say 160 pounds avoirdupois, with long black hair parted in the middle, leave his seat on the extreme right of the hall and march down the aisle with arms folded, across the area in front of the speaker, and place himself directly in front of Mr. Lovejoy.

I then stepped down from my seat and went near them. Pryor was then shaking his fists in Mr. Lovejoy's face and saying, "God d—n you! you shan't make that speech on this floor," repeating it several times. I replied, "He shall make any speech on this floor that he chooses to make, within the rules of the House, and you have no right or business to come over to interrupt him."

The result was a great deal of loud talking, vociferation, confusion, noise, and, if I remember, some blasphemy. But Mr. Lovejoy made his speech. That was all right. The *Globe*, the official organ of the House, was some few days behind with the reports of the House debates, and a day or two after Mr. Lovejoy came to me and told me that when he went down to the *Globe* office to look over the report of his speech, he found the report of my remarks, made during the row, inked over and obliterated, and the foreman of the office told him that Mr. Pryor and Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, came to the office and tore up a part of the notes of the speech and Pryor "did the inking."

The foreman said he protested, but it was of no use—"they swore they would do what they had a mind to." As soon as the House adjourned I went to the *Globe* office, saw the foreman, who confirmed what Mr. Lovejoy had told me. I then wrote out, as near as I could recollect, the substance of what I had said, as Mr. Lovejoy also did what he had said.

Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, as at Philadelphia four years before, called the assemblage to order, and at once nominated David Wilmot for temporary chairman. The several committees were appointed thus:

STATES.	ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.	ON CREDENTIALS.	ON BUSINESS.
Maine...	Leonard Andrews.	Rensselaer Cram.	John L. Stevens.
Vermont...	Hugh L. Henry.	E. C. Reddington.	Edwin D. Mason.
N. Hamp.	Aaron H. Cragin.	Jacob Benton.	B. F. Martin.
Mass.....	Linus B. Comins.	Timothy Davis.	Samuel Hooper.
Conn.....	Arthur B. Calef.	E. K. Foster.	Geo. H. Noble.
R. Island...	Simeon H. Green.	Benedict Lapham.	Nathaniel B. Durfee.
New York.	Henry H. VanDyck.	Palmer V. Kellogg.	A. B. James.
N. Jersey...	Ephraim Marsh.	Moses M. Webb.	H. N. Congar.
Penn.....	T. J. Coffee.	J. N. Purviance.	Wm. D. Kelly.
Delaware.	Josiah T. Heil.	Lewis Thompson.	John C. Clark.
Maryland.	James Jeffries.	William E. Cole.	Wm. P. Ewing.
Virginia...	Edward M. Norton.	Jacob Hornbrook.	John G. Jenks.
Ohio.....	V. B. Horton.	Samuel Stokeley.	R. M. Corwine.
Indiana...	P. A. Hackleman.	John E. Cravens.	Walter Marks.
Illinois...	William Ross.	Stephen T. Logan.	Thomas A. Marshall.
Michigan..	Walter W. Murphy.	Francis Quinn.	Austin Blair.
Wisconsin.	John P. McGregor.	H. L. Rann.	Elisha Morrow.
Iowa.....	James F. Wilson.	C. F. Clarkson.	Reuben Noble.
Minnesota.	Simeon Smith.	John McGinsick.	S. P. Jones.
Missouri...	Allen Hammer.	J. B. Gardenhire.	S. G. Letcher.
Kansas....	A. C. Wilder.	William A. Phillips.	A. G. Proctor.
California.	Samuel Bell.	Charles Watrous.	J. C. Hinckley.
Oregon....	Grant Johnson.	Joel Burlingame.	Eli Thayer.
Kentucky.	Allen J. Bristow.	Charles Hendley.	Lewis M. Dembitz.
Texas.....	M. S. C. Chandler.	D. C. Henderson.	G. Moyers.
Nebraska...	O. H. Irish.	John R. Meredith.	Samuel W. Elbert.
D. Col'bia.	George A. Hall.	James A. White.	Joseph Gerhardt.

In order to keep as near right as possible (knowing that Pryor was a fighting man,) I went to several of the members who were near me during the time, and showed them my report of my remarks, which they confirmed. When the *Globe*, with the report of the proceedings of that day, made its appearance, I suppose Pryor was, perhaps, somewhat surprised, for he thought he and Singleton had "fixed things."

At all events he was evidently mad. He got up. "He arose to a question of privilege." He called the attention of the House to a copy of the *Congressional Globe* "which I hold in my hand." etc., etc. Well, the result was that he *accused me of interpolating remarks in the speech!* I heard him through, and then told the *whole story* to the House. Pryor said in reply "that he never heard me make the remarks."

The whole house laughed. Several members arose and said they heard them, though standing further away than Pryor, and also that the New York reporters heard and reported them.

Pryor then asked me if I "persisted in the remarks." I said I did. He said, "Mr. Speaker, the sequel shall demonstrate whether he stands by them or not." Then he invited me to fight.

He could shoot a bird on the wing with a dueling pistol. I had the choice of weapons. I chose bowie-knives. He said bowie-knives were "barbarous." He forgot that he was Ritchie's second in his duel with Pleasants, and the terms were, "one shot each with pistols, then bowie-knives." But poor Pleasants was killed at the first fire.

It is sufficient to say he did not fight. These are the reasons why the Missourians presented the giant bowie-knife.

JOHN F. POTTER.

The convention re-assembled at 5 P. M., when the committee on permanent organization reported, making George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, a shrewd, plump, full-voiced gentleman, chairman, and appointing the following vice-presidents and secretaries:

STATES.	VICE-PRESIDENTS.	SECRETARIES.
California.....	A. A. Sargent.	D. J. Staples.
Connecticut	C. F. Cleveland.	H. H. Starkweather.
Delaware.....	John C. Clark.	B. J. Hopkins.
Iowa	H. P. Scholte.	Wm. Ballison.
Illinois.....	David Davis.	O. L. Davis.
Indiana.....	John Beard.	Daniel D. Pratt.
Kentucky.....	W. D. Gallagher.	Stephen J. Howes.
Maine.....	Samuel F. Hersey.	C. A. Wing.
Maryland.....	Wm. L. Marshall.	Wm. E. Coale.
Massachusetts....	Ensign H. Kellogg.	Charles O. Rogers.
Michigan.....	Thomas White Ferry.	W. S. Stoughton.
Minnesota.....	Aaron Goodrich.	D. A. Secombe.
Missouri.....	Henry T. Blow.	J. K. Kidd.
New York	Wm. Curtis Noyes.	Geo. W. Curtis.
New Jersey.....	E. Y. Rogers.	Edward Brettle.
New Hampshire..	Wm. Haile.	Nathan Hubbard.
Ohio	George D. Burgess.	N. J. Beebe.
Oregon.....	Joel Burlingame.	Eli Thayer.
Pennsylvania.....	Thad. Stevens.	J. B. Serrill.
Rhode Island	Rowland G. Hazzard.	R. G. Hazzard, Jr.
Texas.....	Wm. T. Chandler.	Dunbar C. Henderson.
Vermont.....	Wm. Hebard.	John W. Stewart.
Virginia.....	R. Crawford.	
Wisconsin.....	Hans Crocker.	L. F. Frisby.
Nebraska.....	A. S. Paddock.	H. P. Hitchcock.
Kansas	W. W. Ross.	John A. Martin.
Dist. of Columbia.	Geo. Harrington.	

Mr. Ashmun was escorted to the chair by Preston King, of New York, and Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin. He made a clear, cool-headed speech, at the conclusion of which N. B. Judd, of Illinois, stepped forward and presented to him, in behalf of the mechanics of Chicago, a gavel made of oak from the flag-ship of Com. Perry. On it was inscribed: "Don't give up the ship."

Mr. Judd said: "Mr. President, in presenting this gavel to you, in addition to the motto furnished by the mechanics who manufactured it, I would recommend this convention to believe that the person to be nominated here can, when the election in November shall be over, send a dispatch to Washington in the language of the gallant Perry—"We have met the enemy, and they are ours."

This brought forth loud cheers. A committee on credentials was then appointed, as follows:

Maine—George F. Talbott.	Indiana—Wm. T. Otto.
New Hampshire—Amos Tuck.	Michigan—Austin Blair.
Vermont—Ebenezer M. Briggs.	Illinois—Gustavus Koerner.
Massachusetts—George S. Boutwell.	Wisconsin—Carl Schurz.
Rhode Island—Benjamin T. Eames.	Minnesota—Stephen Miller.
Connecticut—S. W. Kellogg.	Iowa—J. A. Kasson.
New York—H. R. Selden.	Missouri—Chas. L. Bernays.
New Jersey—Thos. H. Dudley.	California—F. P. Tracy.
Pennsylvania—William Jessup.	Oregon—Horace Greeley.
Delaware—N. B. Smith.	Texas—H. A. Shaw.
Maryland—F. P. Blair.	District of Columbia—G. A. Hall.
Virginia—Alfred Caldwell.	Nebraska—A. Sidney Gardner.
Ohio—Joseph H. Barrett.	Kansas—John P. Hatterschiedt.
Kentucky—George D. Blakesly.	

When the report of the committee on credentials came up for consideration, David Wilmot made a very caustic attack on the delegations from slave States "who had no constituencies." They were all admitted, however, though some of them, like "Horace Greeley, of Oregon," had never seen the States they represented. The committee on rules made two reports—one providing that a two-thirds vote should be required to nominate and the other declaring that a simple majority should be sufficient for that purpose. The two-thirds scheme, like that to curtail the delegations of the slave States, was intended to defeat Seward. The report declaring a majority was competent to nominate, was finally adopted.

When the platform was announced, the delegates from Pennsylvania and other manufacturing States, threw themselves into a wild demonstration of approval over the tariff plank. Horace Greeley and Eli Thayer worked persistently to have this plank adopted as part of the platform, but failed:

Resolved, That holding liberty to be the natural birth-right of every human being, we maintain that slavery can only exist where it has been previously established by laws constitutionally enacted; and we are inflexibly opposed to its establishment in the Territories by legislative, executive, or judicial intervention.

While the platform was under discussion Joshua R. Giddings offered as an amendment to the first resolution as it was reported, the following:

That we solemnly re-assert the self-evident truths that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are those of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that governments are instituted among men to secure the enjoyment of these rights.

The first resolution was as follows:

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations.

Giddings' amendment was voted down. The old warrior thereupon arose and started in evident sorrow toward the door. Several delegates attempted to stop him, but he waved them aside saying that "all the labors of the past were lost; slavery had not been condemned, polygamy was untouched and the Declaration of Independence had been voted down. He must go."

Soon after Mr. Giddings had left the convention with his scars, his earnestness and his oaken patriotism, Geo. Wm. Curtis, of New York, obtained the floor and said:

I offer as an amendment to the report, as presented by the committee, the following so the second clause of the report shall read: "That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal Constitution"—and then, sir, I propose to amend by adding these words, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed"—then proceed—"is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved."

I have to ask this convention whether they are prepared to go upon the record and before the country as voting down the words of the Declaration of Independence. I ask gentlemen gravely to consider that in the amendment which I

have proposed, I have done nothing that the soundest and safest man in all the land might not do; and I rise simply to ask gentlemen to think well before, upon the free prairies of the West, in the summer of 1860, they dare to wince and quail before the men who in Philadelphia, in 1776—in Philadelphia, in the Arch-Keystone State, so amply, so nobly represented upon this platform to-day—before they dare to shrink from repeating the words that these great men enunciated.

The picturesque appearance of Mr. Curtis, his apparent earnestness and the nobility of his appeal took the convention by storm. His triumph was complete, and the sonorous sentences of the Declaration of Independence thus became a part of the Republican platform. Subsequently Mr. Giddings returned. He had been vindicated.

The convention was now ready for work, but adjourned without taking a ballot for the nomination of a candidate. The second night was given over to caucusing, processions, speeches, appeals, consolidations, champagne suppers and general exertions in behalf of the several candidates.

Seward seemed to be ahead. New York had sent up a plucky and adroit regiment of politicians to work for him, and thus far all their undertakings had been successful. Late Monday night even Henry S. Lane and Horace Greeley lost hope, and telegrams were sent everywhere announcing that undoubtedly Seward would be the nominee.

The convention re-assembled on the morning of the 18th, the third day, and the Wigwam was jammed full to bursting, while 2,500 people surged in the streets outside. A nimble fellow had been engaged to station himself on the sky-light to see what was going on within and announce the proceedings to the multitude without. The delegates were anxious to get to business, and immediately after prayer they were gratified. Wm. M. Evarts, of New York, nominated Mr. Seward. N. B. Judd, of Illinois, nominated Abraham Lincoln. Thomas H. Dudley, of New Jersey, nominated Wm. L. Dayton. Andrew H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, nominated

Simon Cameron. D. K. Cartter, of Ohio, nominated Salmon P. Chase. Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, seconded the nomination of Lincoln. Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, nominated Edward Bates. Austin Blair, of Michigan, seconded the nomination of Seward. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, nominated John McLean. Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin, seconded the nomination of Seward. Columbus Delano, of Ohio, seconded the nomination of Lincoln. The only names that produced "tremendous applause" were those of Seward and Lincoln. Everybody felt that the fight was between them, and yelled accordingly.

Murat Halstead thus described the scene :

The applause, when Mr. Evarts named Seward, was enthusiastic. When Mr. Judd named Lincoln, the response was prodigious, rising and raging far beyond the Seward shriek. Presently, upon Caleb B. Smith seconding the nomination of Lincoln, the response was absolutely terrific. It now became the Seward men to make another effort, and when Blair, of Michigan, seconded his nomination,

"At once there rose so wild a yell,
Within that dark and narrow dell;
As all the fiends from heaven that fell
Had pealed the banner cry of hell."

The effect was startling. Hundreds of persons stopped their ears in pain. The shouting was absolutely frantic, shrill and wild. No Comanches, no panthers ever struck a higher note, or gave screams with more infernal intensity. Looking from the stage over the vast amphitheatre, nothing was to be seen below but thousands of hats—a black, mighty swarm of hats—flying with the velocity of hornets over a mass of human heads, most of the mouths of which were open. Above, all around the galleries, hats and handkerchiefs were flying in the tempest together. The wonder of the thing was, that the Seward outside pressure should, so far from New York be so powerful.

Now the Lincoln men had to try again, and as Delano, of Ohio, seconded the nomination of Lincoln, the uproar was beyond description. * * I thought the Seward yell could not be surpassed, but the Lincoln boys were clearly ahead, and feeling their victory, as there was a lull in the storm, took deep breaths all around and gave a concentrated shriek

that was positively awful, and accompanied it with stamping that made every plank and pillar in the building quiver.

Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, leaped upon a table and, swinging hat and cane, performed like an acrobat. The presumption is that he shrieked, but no one can testify that he made a particle of noise. His mouth was wide open, but his voice was lost in the aggregate hurricane.

The faces of the Seward crowd grew white as the Lincoln shouts swelled into the wild hosannas of conscious victory. And they grew whiter as the balloting proceeded, as follows:

STATES.	FIRST BALLOT.					SECOND BALLOT.					THIRD BALLOT.						
	Seward.	Lincoln.	Cameron.	Bates.	Chase.	Seward.	Lincoln.	Cameron.	McLean.	Chase.	Seward.	Chase.	Lincoln.	McLean.			
Maine.....	10	6	.....	.....	.....	10	6	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	6	.....		
New Hampshire .	1	7	.....	.....	1	1	9	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	9	.....		
Vermont.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....		
Massachusetts.	21	4	.....	.....	.....	22	4	.....	.....	.....	18	.....	8	.....		
Rhode Island....	.....	.....	.....	1	5	1	3	.....	2	3	1	1	5	1
Connecticut.....	.....	2	.....	7	2	.....	4	.....	.....	2	1	4	4	.....		
New York.....	70	.....	.....	.....	.....	70	.....	.....	.....	.....	70	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	8	.....		
Pennsylvania....	1½	4	47½	1	.....	2½	48	1	2½	.....	.....	.....	52	2
Maryland.....	3	.....	.....	8	.....	3	8	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	9	.....		
Delaware.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....		
Virginia.....	8	14	1	.....	.....	8	14	1	.....	.....	8	.....	14	.....		
Kentucky.....	5	6	.....	1	8	7	9	.....	6	.....	6	4	13	.....		
Ohio.....	.....	8	.....	4	34	.....	14	.....	3	29	.....	15	29	2
Indiana.....	.....	26	.....	.....	.....	.....	26	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	26	.....		
Missouri.....	.....	.....	18	.....	.....	.....	18	.....	.....	.....	18	.....	.....	.....
Michigan.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	12	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22	.....		
Texas.....	4	.....	2	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
Iowa.....	2	2	1	1	1	2	5	.....	½	½	2	½	5½	.....		
California.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	4	.....		
<i>Territories.</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	2	1	1	.....	2	3	1	.....	2	.....	3	2	1	.....		
Dist. of Columbia.	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	173½	102	50½	48	12	49	184½	181	35	2	8	42½	180	22	24½	231½	5

On the first ballot B. F. Wade, of Ohio, received 3 votes; W. L. Dayton, of New Jersey, 14; John M. Reed, of Pennsylvania, 1; Jacob Callamer, of Vermont, 10; Charles Sumner 1, J. C. Fremont 1, C. M. Clay 2.

On the second ballot Dayton received 10 and Clay 2 votes, and on the third ballot each of these gentlemen received 1 vote.

The strongest nerves were strained by the intense excitement of the few minutes required for the third ballot, but it soon became apparent that Seward had gone down—"down like lead in the mighty waters" of opposition—and that Lincoln was the coming man. A hundred tally-sheets told the same story—231½ for Lincoln, one and one-half short of giving him the nomination.

There was a pause. Every one knew and felt that at a crisis like this some one could be counted on to step forward and distinguish himself by changing his vote and nominating the candidate. The pause was of short duration. D. K. Cartter, of Cleveland, mounted a chair and stretched his hand toward the presiding officer for recognition. All eyes were on him. The Wigwam was silent. "Mr. Chairman," he began with deliberation, "I rise to change four votes of Ohio from Mr. Chase to Mr. Lincoln."

Wrote Mr. Halstead:

The deed was done. There was a moment's silence. The nerves of the thousands, which through the hours of suspense had been subjected to terrible tension, relaxed, and as deep breaths of relief were taken, there was a noise in the Wigwam like the rush of a great wind in the van of a storm—and in another breath, the storm was there. There were thousands cheering with the energy of insanity.

A man who had been on the roof, and was engaged in communicating the result of the balloting to the mighty mass of outsiders, now demanded by gestures at the skylight over the stage, to know what had happened. One of the secretaries, with a tally Sheet in his hands, shouted: "Fire the salute! Abe Lincoln is nominated!" As the cheering inside the Wigwam subsided, we could hear that outside, where the news of the nomination had just been announced. And the roar that was heard, like the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep, gave a new impulse to the enthusiasm inside. Then the thunder of the salute rose above the din, and

the shouting was repeated with such tremendous fury, that some discharges of the cannon were absolutely not heard by those on the stage. Puffs of smoke, drifting by the open doors, and the smell of gunpowder told what was going on.

The moment that half a dozen men who were on their chairs making motions at the president could be heard, they changed the votes of their States to Mr. Lincoln.

Missouri, Iowa, Kentucky, Minnesota, Virginia, California, Texas, District of Columbia, Kansas, Nebraska and Oregon, insisted upon casting unanimous votes for "Old Abe" before the result was declared.

While these were being given, the applause continued, and a photograph of Lincoln, which had hung in one of the side rooms, was brought in, and held up before the surging and screaming masses. The places of the various delegations were indicated by staffs, to which were attached the names of the States, printed in large black letters on pasteboard. As the Lincoln enthusiasm increased, delegates tore these standards of the States from their places and swung them about their heads.

When the vote was declared, Mr. Evarts, the New York spokesman, mounted the secretary's table and handsomely and impressively expressed his grief at the failure of the convention to nominate Seward—and moved that the nomination be made unanimous.

John A. Andrew, of Massachusetts, Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin, and Austin Blair, of Michigan, seconded the motion in characteristic speeches, that of Mr. Blair being particularly strong and dignified. A response in behalf of Lincoln was made by O. H. Browning, and the convention adjourned for dinner.

Before re-assembling a caucus of presidents of delegations was held, and New-York was asked to name a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. Not having recovered from the chagrin and disappointment of her defeat, she declined, and the convention met with two favorite candidates for second place—Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine.

At one time a thousand voices called "Clay! Clay!" to the convention; and if the multitude could have had their way, he would have been put on the ticket by acclamation. But

it was stated that Mr. Hamlin was a good friend of Mr. Seward; was geographically distant from Lincoln and had been a Democrat. Therefore he was chosen on the second ballot, thus:

STATES.	FIRST BALLOT.								SECOND BALLOT.			
	Cassius M. Clay.	N. P. Banks....	A. H. Reeder....	Hickman.....	H. Hamlin.....	J. M. Reed.	H. W. Davis....	W. L. Dayton...	S. Houston.....	Hamlin.....	Clay	Hickman.....
Maine.....					16					16		
New Hampshire.....					10					10		
Vermont.....					10					10		
Massachusetts.....		20	1	1	1					26		
Rhode Island.....					8					8		
Connecticut.....	2	1		2	5					10		2
New York.....	9	4	3	11	35	1	8			70		
New Jersey.....			7	6	6					14		
Pennsylvania.....	4½	2½	24	7	11			8		54		
Maryland.....	2			1	8					10	1	
Delaware.....	3			1	2					6		
Virginia.....	23			1							23	
Kentucky.....	23										23	
Ohio.....					46					46		
Indiana.....	18				8					12	14	
Missouri.....		9		9						13	5	
Michigan.....	4				8					8	4	
Illinois.....	2		10	2	2					20	2	
Texas.....									6		6	
Wisconsin.....	5				5					5	5	
Iowa.....		1	1		6					8		
California.....				8						7	1	
Minnesota.....	1			1	6					7	1	
Oregon.....		1		3	1					3		2
Territories.												
Kansas.....				6						2	1	3
Nebraska.....	1			5								6
District of Columbia.....	2									2		
Total.....	101½	38½	51	58	194	1	8	8	6	367	86	13

After the usual congratulatory speeches and cheers for the nominees, the convention adjourned.

Chicago was wild with delight. Processions formed here and there and marched through the streets, bearing rails and instruments typical of rail-splitting, such as handspikes and mauls, brought in from the surrounding country. One hundred guns boomed from the top of the Tremont House; the great business blocks and Republican newspaper offices were

illuminated and enthusiastic hilarity took the form of a general contagion.

In front of the *Tribune* office stood four rails, brilliantly illuminated with tapers, brought from the 3,000 split by "Honest Old Abe" thirty years before on the Sangamon River bottoms. Around these curious emblems of popular prowess the crowds gathered and re-gathered, shouting themselves hoarse.

The result of the convention was the defeat of fame, political splendor and accomplished statesmanship by the irresistible influence which honesty, common-sense and the homely attributes of sturdy manhood always exercise over the masses. Therefore the masses rejoiced.

The campaign of 1860 was one of intense excitement. The South announced very early that it would vote for no Northern candidate or Northern platform. Therefore, when it became apparent in the Charleston convention, in April, that Stephen A. Douglas would be nominated, the fire-eaters withdrew, vehemently threatening to break up the Union. Even before that Wm. L. Yancey, of Alabama, had advised disunion even at the cost of revolution, and warned the Southern delegates to "go to Charleston prepared for decisive action." Solomon Cohen, of Georgia, said the South for some time had been divided upon but one question, "and that was time."

Charles J. Faulkner, once a representative in Congress from Virginia, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Committee in 1856, and later minister to France, at a Democratic meeting held in Virginia, over which he presided, said:

When that noble and gallant son of Virginia, Henry A. Wise, declared, as was said he did in October, 1856, that if Fremont was elected, HE WOULD SEIZE THE NATIONAL ARSENAL AT HARPER'S FERRY, how few would, at that time, have justified so bold and decided a measure. *It is the fortune of some great and gifted minds to see far in advance of their con-*

temporaries. Should William H. Seward be elected in 1860, where is the man now in our midst, who would not call for the impeachment of a governor of Virginia who would silently suffer that armory to pass under the control of such an Executive head?

Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, declared:

You ask me when will the time for disunion come; when will the South be united? It will be when you elect a Black Republican—Hale, Seward, or Chase—President of the United States. Whenever you undertake to place such a man to preside over the destinies of the South, you may expect to see us undivided and indivisible friends, and to see all parties of the South arrayed to *resist his inauguration.*

We can never quietly stand by and permit the control of the army and navy to go into the hands of a Black Republican President.

Mr. Crawford, of Georgia, said: "Now, in regard to the election of a Black Republican President, I have this to say, and I speak the sentiment of every Democrat on this floor from the State of Georgia: *We will never submit to the inauguration of a Black Republican President.*"

Senator Clingman, of North Carolina, in a political speech, said that "there are hundreds of disunionists in the South where there was not one ten years ago," and that in some of the States the men who would willingly see the Union dissolved were in the majority. In considering the proper cause for disunion, he said: "In my judgment, the election of the Presidential candidate of the Black Republican party will furnish that cause. * * * No other 'overt act' can so imperatively demand resistance on our part as the simple election of their candidate."

Gov. Letcher, of Virginia, in his message to the legislature of his State, avowed the rankest disunion and revolutionary sentiments. In this document, he declared, with reference to the election of a Republican President:

It is useless to attempt to conceal the fact that, in the present temper of the Southern people; *it can not be and will not be submitted to.* The 'irrepressible conflict' doctrine, announced

and advocated by the ablest and most distinguished leader of the Republican party, is an open declaration of war against the institution of African slavery, wherever it exists; and I would be disloyal to Virginia and the South if I did not declare that the election of such a man, entertaining such sentiments, and advocating such doctrines, *ought to be resisted by the slave-holding States..* The idea of permitting such a man to have control and direction of the army and navy of the United States, and the appointment of high judicial and executive officers, postmasters included, *can not be entertained by the South for a moment.*

Mr. Clay, of Alabama, in a speech in the Senate, contemplating the possible defeat of his party in the pending Presidential contest, said :

I make no predictions, no promise for my State ; but, in conclusion, will only say, that if she is faithful to the pledges she has made and principles she has professed—if she is true to her own interest and her own honor—if she is not recreant to all that State pride, integrity and duty demand—she will never submit to your authority. I will add, that unless she and all the Southern States of this Union, with perhaps but two, or, at most, three exceptions, are faithless to the pledges they have given, *they will never submit to the government of a President professing your political faith and elected by your sectional majority.*

When Mr. Clay had taken his seat Mr. Gwin, of California, made a speech in which he declared, as “inevitable result, that the South would prepare for resistance in the event of the election of a Republican President.”

Wm. L. Yancey declared : “*I want the Cotton States precipitated into a revolution.*”

Jno. T. Morgan, of Alabama, said : “If I had the power, I would dissolve this government in two minutes.”

David Hubbard, of Alabama, shrieked : “Resistance! *Resistance to the death, is what we now want!*”

The following letter, not made public until the campaign of 1860 was well under way, appeared in the *Washington States*, a Democratic journal :

MONTGOMERY, June 15, 1858.

DEAR SIR:—Your kind favor of the 15th is received.

I hardly agree with you that a general movement can be made that will clear out the Augean stable. If the Democracy were overthrown, it would result in giving place to a greater and hungrier swarm of flies.

The remedy of the South is not in such a process. It is in a diligent organization of her true men for *prompt resistance* to the next aggression. It must come in the nature of things. No national party can save us; no sectional party can ever do it. But if we could do as our fathers did—organize committees of safety all over the Cotton States (and it is only in them that we can hope for any effective movement)—we shall fire the Southern heart, instruct the Southern mind, give courage to each other, and at the PROPER MOMENT, *by one organized concerted action, we can precipitate the Cotton States into a revolution.*

The idea has been shadowed forth in the South by Mr. Ruffin; has been taken up and recommended in the *Advertiser* (published at Montgomery, Alabama,) under the name of "League of United Southerners," who, keeping up their old party relations on all other questions, will hold the Southern issue paramount, and will influence parties, legislatures and statesmen. I have no time to enlarge, but to suggest merely.

In haste, yours, etc.,

TO JAMES E. SLAUGHTER, Esq.

W. L. YANCEY.

In January, 1860, Robert Toombs said in the United States Senate :

My State has spoken for herself. Nine years ago a convention of her people met and declared that her connection with this government depended upon the faithful execution of this fugitive slave law, and her full enjoyment of equal rights in the common territories. I have shown that the one contingency has already arrived; the other waits only the success of the Republican party in the approaching Presidential election. When that time comes, freemen of Georgia, redeem your pledge; I am ready to redeem mine.

Never permit this federal government to pass into the traitorous hands of the Black Republican party.

Gov. George Gayle, of Alabama, said: "*Let us break up this rotten, stinking, and oppressive government.*"

All these things meant insurrection, and nothing else, unless the North should become, like the blacks, the abject

slaves of the South. At first the North was frightened; but gradually, as it became more and more apparent that the South cared nothing for country, government, honor, peace or Union, except as a conservator of human bondage, the fright gave way to a stern resolution to move forward in accordance with the spirit of civilization, freedom, Christianity and the Declaration of Independence, let the consequences be what they might.

The Northern tickets were Lincoln and Hamlin, Douglas and Fitzpatrick, Bell and Everett; the Southern ticket was Breckinridge and Lane.

About the only argument put forth by the Democrats was the threat made everywhere—in every newspaper and from every stump—that if Lincoln should be elected, disunion would follow at once.

The Union was a grand, holy institution as long as it gave offices to the Democracy of the North and slaves to the Democracy of the South; but whenever it failed to do those things, or even the former, it was a fraud and must be destroyed. That was the gist of Democratic argument, North and South.

The Democrats saw, long before the canvass closed, that Lincoln would be elected, and directed all their energies toward the work of destroying the Union. The cabinet ministers of President Buchanan sent our war-ships into foreign seas, emptied Northern armories into the South, and put forth official opinions, for the guidance of the Executive, to the effect that no power was lodged in the Constitution or with the President to prevent the withdrawal of any State from the Union.

The result of the election was no less sectional than the campaign had been. Lincoln received the electoral votes of California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont and Wisconsin—180, and all from the North. Douglas

received the votes of Missouri. Bell received the votes of Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia—thirty-nine, all from the South. Breckinridge received the votes of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas—seventy-two, all from the slave States. The desperate bitterness of the South is shown in the fact that in only three of the fifteen slave States did Lincoln receive a single vote of the people.

Comparatively speaking, but few people understand what made Lincoln President of the United States. This point may be as convenient as any other for an explanation in that direction. In 1858 Lincoln was a candidate for the United States Senate to succeed Douglas. A series of seven joint debates was arranged at as many different cities in Illinois, in order that the people, not only of that State but of the nation, might hear the great overshadowing question then holding the attention of the country, discussed by two of the ablest men in it. It is not possible to quote the addresses of Lincoln in this connection, for, with those of his opponent, they form a complete and valuable volume. A quotation from an oration in 1881 at Chicago, by the late Isaac N. Arnold, must therefore suffice:

The two most prominent men in Illinois, at that time were Douglas and Lincoln. Each was in the full maturity of his powers, Douglas being forty-five and Lincoln forty-nine years old. Douglas had for years been trained on the stump, in the lower house of Congress, and in the Senate, to meet in debate the ablest speakers in the State and nation. For years he had been accustomed, on the floor of the capitol, to encounter the leaders of the old Whig and Free-Soil parties. Among them were Seward, and Fessenden, and Crittenden, and Chase, and Trumbull, and Hale, and Sumner, and others, equally eminent, and his enthusiastic friends insisted that never, either in single conflict or when receiving the assault of a whole party, had he been discomfited. His style was bold, vigorous and aggressive, and at times defiant. He was ready, fertile in resources, familiar with political history, terrible in denunciation, and handled with skill all the weapons of debate. His iron will, restless energy, united

with great personal magnetism, made him very popular; and with these qualities he had indomitable physical and moral courage, and his almost uniform success had given him perfect confidence in himself.

Lincoln was also a thoroughly trained speaker. He had contended successfully, year after year, at the bar and on the stump, with the ablest men of Illinois, including Lam-born, Logan, John Calhoun and others, and had often met Douglas himself—a conflict with whom he always rather courted than shunned. Indeed, these two great orators had often tested each other's powers, and whenever they did meet, it was, indeed, "Greek meeting Greek," and the "tug of war" came, for each put forth his utmost strength.

In a speech of Mr. Lincoln in 1856, he made the following beautiful, eloquent, and generous allusion to Douglas. He said: "Twenty years ago, Judge Douglas and I first became acquainted; we were both young then, he, a trifle younger than I. Even then, we were both ambitious, I, perhaps quite as much as he. With me, the race of ambition has been a failure. With him, it has been a splendid success. His name fills the nation, and it is not unknown in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached; so reached that the oppressed of my species might have shared with me in the elevation, I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow."

We know, and the world knows, that Lincoln did reach that high, nay far higher eminence, and that he did reach it in such a way that "the oppressed" did share with him in the elevation.

Such were the champions who, in 1858, were to discuss before the voters of Illinois, and with the whole nation as spectators, the political questions then pending, and especially the vital questions relating to slavery. It was not a single combat, but extended through a whole campaign, and the American people paused to watch its progress, and hung, with intense interest, upon every movement of the champions. Each of these great men, I doubt not, at that time, sincerely believed he was right. Douglas' ardor, while in such a conflict, would make him think, for the time being, he was right, and I *know* that Lincoln argued for freedom against the extension of slavery, with the most profound conviction that, on success hung the fate of his country. Lincoln had two advantages over Douglas; he had the best side of the question, and the best temper. He was always good humored, always had

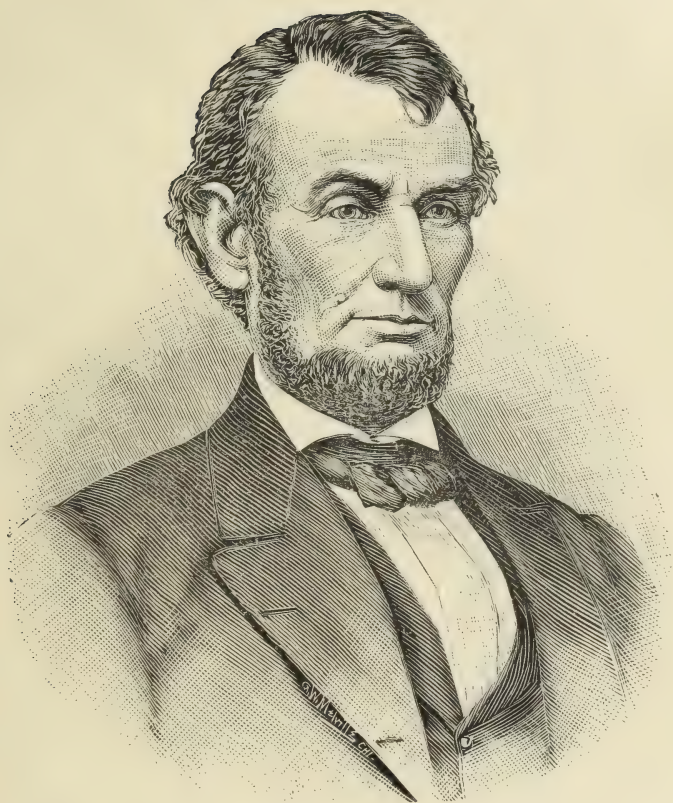
an apt story for illustration, while Douglas, sometimes, when hard pressed, was irritable.

Douglas carried away the most popular applause, but Lincoln made the deeper and more lasting impression. Douglas did not disdain an immediate *ad captandum* triumph, while Lincoln aimed at permanent conviction. Sometimes, when Lincoln's friends urged him to raise a storm of applause, which he could always do, by his happy illustrations and amusing stories, he refused, saying the occasion was too serious, the issue too grave. "I do not seek applause," said he, "nor to amuse the people, I want to convince them."

It was often observed during this canvass, that, while Douglas was sometimes greeted with the loudest cheers, when Lincoln closed the people seemed solemn and serious, and could be heard, all through the crowd, gravely and anxiously discussing the topics on which he had been speaking.

Douglas, by means of a favorable apportionment, succeeded in securing a majority of the legislature, but a majority of the vote was with Lincoln. These debates made Douglas Senator, and Lincoln President. There was something magnetic, something almost heroic, in the gallantry with which Douglas threw himself into this canvass, and dealt his blows right and left, against the Republican party on one side, and Buchanan's administration, which sought his defeat, on the other. The federal patronage was used, by the unscrupulous Slidell, against Douglas—but in vain; a few were seduced, but the mass of the Democratic party, with honorable fidelity, stood by him. This canvass of Douglas, and his personal and immediate triumph in being returned to the Senate, over the combined opposition of the Republican party led by Lincoln and Trumbull, and the administration with all its patronage, is, I think, the most brilliant personal triumph in American politics. If we look into English struggles on the hustings for its parallel, we find something with which to compare it, in the late triumph of Mr. Gladstone. If we seek its counterpart in military history, we must look into some of the earlier campaigns of Napoleon, or that in which Grant captured Vicksburg.

Douglas secured the immediate object of the struggle, but the manly bearing, the vigorous logic, the honesty and sincerity, the great intellectual powers exhibited by Mr. Lincoln, prepared the way, and two years later secured his nomination and election to the Presidency. It is a touching incident, illustrating the patriotism of both these statesmen, that, widely as they had differed, and keen as had been their riv-



Yours friend & eva

A Lincoln

alry, just as soon as the life of the Republic was menaced by treason, they joined hands to shield and save the country they loved.

It is difficult to say which section was more profoundly rejoiced over the election of Lincoln, the North or the South. The North rejoiced because they would soon be partially emancipated from the domination of the slave power, and the South because the election of "a sectional President" afforded the long-wished-for opportunity of withdrawing, "peaceably or by force," from "this rotten, stinking, and oppressive government."

CHAPTER XXI.

CONDITION OF THE REPUBLIC FROM 1856 TO 1864

The Grasp of Slavocracy—Buchanan's Wily Cabinet—Advice of Southern Senators and Governors—Federal Officials Resign—Buchanan's Servility—Attorney-General Black's Extraordinary Opinion—The Republic Has No Means or Power of Self-preservation—Black's Trick—The President's Message—Treason's Revelry in Washington—The Administration Watches in Silence While Davis Builds up the Southern Confederacy—Disarming the North—Arms and Stores for the South—Lincoln Escapes the Assassins and is Inaugurated—His Calm, Kindly Message—Beauregard Fires Upon Fort Sumter—Lincoln's Proclamation—Jefferson Davis Asks the Aid of Divine Providence—Lincoln's Policy—Emancipation Proclamation—Democratic Army Officers Resign and Return Home—A Sound War Measure as Well as an Act of Humanity—Grant at the Head of the Army—A Grim Warrior who Never Flattered.

We now have reached a pregnant and difficult period. Buchanan's administration was controlled wholly by the South, because fourteen out of the fifteen slave States elected Buchanan electors. The flesh-brokers also controlled the pro-slavery majority of the United States Supreme Court, as we have seen elsewhere. The entire patronage of the gov-

ernment North and South was prostituted to the lusts of bondage.

Congress had negotiated for the acquisition of Cuba; Buchanan had offered \$250 reward for the apprehension of John Brown, in addition to the \$3,000 offered by Missouri; the civil war in Kansas had kept excitement to the highest pitch; the raid of the eccentric John Brown into Virginia was trumpeted as typical of Northern sentiment; Northern State courts had declared the fugitive slave act unconstitutional and refused, in some instances, to deliver up fugitives; the American flag had been hauled down from the capitol of Mississippi and treated to similar indignities in the Carolinas and Alabama; Southern governors had, in their messages, advised the "cultivation of a martial spirit in order to be prepared for emergencies," and every Whig had been thrust from the federal offices.

The command had gone forth that no Republican President should be inaugurated if elected. Therefore, as soon as it became apparent that the Republican candidate for President would receive more votes than any of the other candidates, the work of dismemberment began.

The source and guiding spirits of rebellion were at Washington. No matter what *post mortem* defenses may be formulated; no matter that distinguished partisans have extolled the virtue and patriotism of Buchanan and his cabinet, the record of official deeds and utterances fixes the guilt where it belongs.

Buchanan's cabinet was remarkable for the culture, experience, diplomatic adroitness and political cunning of its members. Where they did not actively engage in the Democratic preparations for war, they dragged their official tails behind, like foxes, to obliterate the tracks of the administration and of the South.

John B. Floyd, secretary of war, subtle as a serpent, engaged in dismantling forts and stripping arsenals in the free

States, and concentrating ammunition, stores, muskets and ordnance in the South. Our navy was scattered and weakened, and the defensive powers of the North were crippled as thoroughly as possible.

As soon as it became known that Lincoln had been elected, South Carolina's preliminary measures of withdrawal from the Union caused Major Anderson to mass his forces at Fort Sumter. This spurred Floyd to redoubled activity. He immediately ordered the heavy ordnance from Alleghany Arsenal, in Pennsylvania, to Galveston and the mouth of the Mississippi River. He demanded the withdrawal of the federal forces in Charleston harbor. This brazen demand being refused, he resigned on December 29, 1860, and was succeeded by Joseph Holt, of Kentucky.

In his speech on the day before election, W. W. Boyce, a representative from South Carolina, said:

The question then is, what are we to do? In my opinion the South ought not to submit. If you intend to resist, the way to resist in earnest is to act. The way to enact revolution is to stare it in the face. I think the only policy for us is to arm as soon as we receive authentic intelligence of the election of Lincoln. It is for South Carolina, in the quickest manner and by the most direct means, to withdraw from the Union; then we will not submit, whether other Southern States will act with us or with our enemies.

Gov. Gist convened the legislature of South Carolina in special session on the day before election. He advised the people on that day (November 5, 1860) that "if Lincoln should be elected they must seek *redress*. The secession of South Carolina from the Union would alone satisfy the people."

James Chestnut, Jr., United States Senator from that State, addressed the legislature, declaring "the South would not *submit* to a Black Republican President and a Black Republican Congress; and that for himself he would unfurl the Palmetto flag and ring the clarion notes of defiance in the ears of an insolent foe."

On the day following election the federal officials in South Carolina resigned, and on the 10th of November the legislature passed a bill for the enrollment and equipment of militia, and the two United States Senators resigned.

The South has always claimed, and the hungry dough-faces of the Northern Democracy indorse the claim, that the South was forced into the Rebellion by the North. The facts in relation to the action of South Carolina alone disprove that falsehood. The only excuse alleged was that they "would not submit to the rule of a Black Republican President." Four months would elapse before even Lincoln's *policy* would be known. The Republicans had made no announcements, put forth no demands. They could not. They were four months from power.

The South had for years threatened secession, as has been seen by the utterances quoted in the preceding chapter, but had never before found an excuse for carrying it into execution. They had controlled the President, cabinet, Supreme Court, federal officials and army. What more could they ask? Now they had lost the administration. That was given out as a sufficient excuse¹ for secession and rebellion, and they were ready and waiting for both.

Before Congress met in December, President Buchanan, palsied by seventy years of hard service in the cause of slavery, asked his attorney-general, Jeremiah S. Black, for an opinion relative to the acts of the States that were preparing, in rapid succession, to secede from the Union. Some extracts from that official document will show what a powerful blow it was for the rebels and against the Union:

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE, November 20, 1860.

SIR:—I have had the honor to receive your note of the 17th, and now reply to the grave questions therein pro-

¹ Alex. H. Stephens, who became Vice-President of the Confederacy, thought the South had settled on a very flimsy pretext for rebellion. In his speech before the Georgia legislature, November 14, 1860, he said: "We went into the election with this people. The result was different from what we wished; but the election has been constitutionally held. If we were to make a point of resistance to the government, and go out of the Union on that account, the record would be made up hereafter against us."

pounded, as fully as the time allowed me will permit. Military forces can suppress only such combinations as are found directly opposing the laws and obstructing the execution thereof. It can do no more than what might and ought to be done by a civil posse, if a civil posse could be raised large enough to meet the same opposition. On such occasions especially the military power must be kept in strict subordination to the civil authority, since it is only in aid of the latter that the former can work at all.

But what if the feeling in any State against the United States should become so universal that the federal officers themselves (including judges, district attorneys and marshals,) should be reached by the same influence, and resign their places? Of course the first step would be to appoint others in their stead, if others could be got to serve.

But, in such an event, it is more than probable that great difficulty would be found in filling the offices. We can easily conceive how it might become altogether impossible. We are therefore obliged to consider what can be done in case we have no courts to issue judicial process, and no ministerial officers to execute it. In that event troops would certainly be out of place, and their use wholly illegal. If they are sent to aid the courts and marshals, there must be courts and marshals to be aided.¹ Without the exercise of those functions, which belong exclusively to the civil service, the laws can not be executed in any event, no matter what may be the physical strength which the government has at its command. Under such circumstances, to send a military force into any State, with orders to act against the people, would be simply making war upon them.

The existing laws put and keep the federal government strictly on the defensive.

Whether Congress has the power to make war against one or more States, and require the executive of the federal government to carry it on by means of force to be drawn from other States, is a question for Congress itself to consider. It must be admitted that no such power is expressly given; nor are there any words in the Constitution which imply it.

If it be true that war can not be declared, nor a system of hostilities carried on by the central government against a State, then it seems to follow that an attempt to do so would

¹ As the federal officials resigned just before this opinion was written, it has been generally supposed that Black and Buchanan advised that course in order to be able to make use of this very point as a sophistical argument against preserving the Union.

be *ipso facto* AN EXPULSION OF SUCH STATE FROM THE UNION. Being treated as an alien and an enemy, she would be compelled to act accordingly. And if Congress shall break up the present Union by unconstitutionally putting strife and enmity and armed hostility between different sections of the country, instead of the domestic tranquility which the Constitution was meant to insure, *will not ALL THE STATES be absolved from their federal obligations?* Is any portion of the people bound to contribute their money or their blood to carry on a contest like that?

If this view of the subject is correct, *as I think it is, then the Union must utterly perish* at the moment when Congress shall arm one part of the people against another for any purpose beyond that of merely protecting the general government in the exercise of its proper constitutional functions.

I am very respectfully yours, etc.,

J. S. BLACK.

To the President of the United States.

This extraordinary man, Judge Black, announced to the world in that opinion the astounding doctrine that the United States was not a nation; that it possessed no means or power of self-preservation; that if the marshals and courts resorted to the trick of resigning it would be illegal to employ federal force to execute the federal laws in an insurrectionary district in which they had resigned; and, more monstrous than all the rest, that treason did not consist in disobedience and defiance of the United States by a State, *but in an attempt by the United States to enforce the laws in that rebellious State!*

No other construction could be put on the opinion. The South was in a frenzy of delight. Black had gone infinitely farther than their most rabid leaders ever ventured as a matter of law. They gathered comfort and strength from its every sentence, and from that moment on there was never a check or falter in secession movements. The attorney-general of the United States had shorn the locks from Samson—manacled the mighty limbs of the nation and given a *carte blanche* to her enemies of the South to do what they pleased, *as there was no power in the Constitution or elsewhere to interfere with them or to protect herself.*

Assault and dismember the Union, said Black's opinion to the slave-drivers; the Union has no means of self-defense. If she attempts self-defense, she only becomes guilty of treason to you.

On this remarkable state paper President Buchanan drafted his message to Congress, which was delivered December 4, 1860, at Washington, after several State legislatures had met and begun to contrive dismemberment. He had made no effort to stay the tide of disunion, sent forth no patriotic cry to save his country, uttered no syllable that showed he possessed a country or a spark of patriotism. But, on the other hand, he aided and abetted secession by a message to Congress declaring that any attempt to stop it would destroy the Union; that if the Union "could not live in the affections of the people, it must one day perish;" that *even Congress* had no power to organize and employ force for its preservation, as the sword "was not placed in their hands" for that purpose.

The people of the North, the lovers of the Union, were struck dumb by this message. They saw the great Democratic party of the free States officially aiding and abetting, from the highest post on the Western Continent, the treason of the South; saw it abandoning honor and country for the flesh-pots of slavery.

Hoping, no doubt, to preserve at once the Union, slavery and peace, John J. Crittenden, United States Senator from Kentucky, at the opening of Congress in December, 1860, presented the following iron-clad "compromise" amendment of the Constitution:

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives, that the following be proposed and submitted as an amendment of the Constitution, which shall be valid as a part of the Constitution, when ratified by the conventions of three-fourths of the people of the States:

1st. In all of the territory now or hereafter acquired north of 36 degrees 30 minutes, slavery, or involuntary servi-

tude, except for the punishment of crime, is prohibited; while in all of the territory south of that, slavery is hereby recognized as existing, and shall not be interfered with by Congress, but shall be protected as property by all the departments of the territorial governments during its continuance. All the territory north or south of said line, within such boundaries as Congress may prescribe, when it contains a population necessary for a member of Congress, with a republican form of government, shall be admitted into the Union on an equality with the original States, with or without slavery, as the Constitution of the State shall prescribe.

2d. Congress shall have no power of abolishing slavery in the State permitting it.

3rd. Congress shall have no power of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia while it exists in Virginia and Maryland, or either; nor shall Congress at any time prohibit the officers of government or members of Congress, whose duties require them to live in the District of Columbia, bringing slaves there and using them as such.

4th. Congress shall have no power to hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, whether by land, navigable river, or sea.

5th. Congress shall have the power by law to pay any owner the full value of any fugitive slave, in all cases where the marshal is prevented from discharging his duty by force or rescue made after arrest. In all such cases the owner shall have the power to sue the county in which the rescue or violence was made; and the county shall have the right to sue the individuals who committed the wrong, in the same manner as the owner could sue.

6th. *No future amendment or amendments shall affect the preceding article*, and Congress shall never have power to interfere with slavery within the States where it is permitted.

Even this, as thoroughly as it would have placed the North under the iron heel of slavery and at the mercy of its man-stealers, was not enough. An absolute slave empire, undisturbed by the irritating presence of freedom and Christian civilization, and not troubled by any alliance with free territory, was the ideal the Southern Democrats had set up; hence nothing short of secession would satisfy them.

Buchanan sent Caleb Cushing secretly to Charleston to meet the leading secession spirits and beg them to do nothing but prepare for secession during his term. He evidently

wanted them to secede, but not till Lincoln should sit in the White House. Cushing was authorized to promise the Southerners that if they would commit no *overt* act until after the end of the administration, no reinforcements would be sent to Major Anderson. *What treason!*

At about the same time Lawrence M. Keitt was serenaded at Columbia, South Carolina. In his public speech of acknowledgement he thus set forth Buchanan's treason :

South Carolina can not take one backward step now without receiving the curses of posterity. South Carolina, single and alone, is bound to go out of this *accursed Union*.

MR. BUCHANAN IS PLEDGED TO SECESSION AND I MEAN TO HOLD HIM TO IT.

Take your destinies in your own hands and *shatter this accursed Union*. South Carolina can do it alone; but, if she can not, she can at least throw her arms around the pillars of the Constitution *and involve all the States in a common ruin*.

The American Republic trembled from ocean to ocean. Southern representatives swarmed around the capitol in a double capacity. They wished to cripple the government as much as possible; learn its plans and secrets and communicate them to their own States; and, while voting and scheming in the halls of the government which they had abandoned, were arranging for maintaining their attitude, if necessary, by force.

They all intended to "desert the old concern" soon, but wished to remain as long as they could be either of service to the South or injury to the North. The scenes of flagrant sedition enacted in the halls of Congress during the last weeks of Buchanan's term are unequalled in the history of the world. He sat in the executive chair in a comatose condition, deaf and drowsy, while his cabinet winked and smiled at the panorama of destruction going on unchecked around them.

Thus, while the Democratic spectre still occupied the White House, one after another of the slave States wheeled out of the Union. The flag was trailed in the dust and

burned in public amidst jeering crowds throughout the South. The Southern Confederacy was organized February 8, 1861, and Jefferson Davis, thirty days after his withdrawal from the United States Senate and from Buchanan's bosom, was inaugurated, with a full cabinet, as "President" of the new slave government; yet the Democratic administration made no attempt whatever to save the Union, vindicate the perpetuity of our institutions or shield our national honor, but, like dastards and co-conspirators, sat in passive complacency and saw the country going headlong to destruction.

General Scott, observing the energy of the rebels, called upon Buchanan repeatedly and urged that strong garrisons be sent to the imperiled fortresses, some of which were indifferently occupied and some not at all. Buchanan steadily refused to allow Scott to do anything to save our forts and arsenals, and also refused to allow the old hero to send a circular of warning to the handfuls of soldiers that formally occupied some of the government posts, until it was too late to be of avail.

Had Scott's plan been adopted, active secession would have been checked and public property valued at nearly \$6,000,000 would have been rescued at once. And possibly, *probably*, we may say, the Rebellion would also have been averted, 1,000,000 lives preserved and \$400,000,000 in treasure saved. But his plan might likewise have perpetuated slavery.

Scott's patriotic pleadings were not heeded, and Fort Moultrie, the arsenal, Castle Pinckney and the revenue cutter *William Aiken* were seized at Charleston in December; and before the close of January the forts and arsenals in Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, Florida and Louisiana had been seized by the rebels and the secession flag was floating from the Southern capitols.

Until Lincoln was safely seated in the White House, there was a perfect revelry of treason at Washington as well

as in the South. But, not satisfied with dismantling our fortresses, scattering our navy, emptying Northern arsenals into the armories of Southern militia, draining our treasury almost to the last dollar, and setting up a new government for themselves, they must attempt to assassinate the President of a "section" which they had just abandoned in contempt, and which, as Robert Toombs declared, "must forever remain to them as a foreign nation."

Although they had been permitted to peacefully inaugurate their own "President," Jeff. Davis, they declared we should never inaugurate ours. The conspiracy to assassinate Lincoln before his inaugural having been discovered, the matter of conducting him to Washington was intrusted to Allan Pinkerton, of Chicago, and his corps of famous detectives. Having been advertised to pass over one route, Lincoln suddenly chose another, and, disguised in partial Scottish costume, rode safely into the capital, completely baffling the Democratic conspirators.

Gen. Scott, in his Autobiography, wrote thus significantly:

The inauguration of President Lincoln was perhaps the most critical and hazardous event with which I have ever been connected. In the preceding two months I have received more than fifty letters, many from points distant from each other, some earnestly dissuading me from being present at the event, and others distinctly threatening assassination if I endeavored to protect the ceremony by military force.

Nevertheless the brave old warrior did "protect the ceremony with military force," and in a formidable and imposing manner. Assassins lurked near, but were overawed by his demonstration of federal power, and at noon of March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office as the first Republican President of the United States, and delivered his inaugural message.

Although the Southern Confederacy was fully organized and running on schedule time, and had levied war against the

federal government by firing on the *Star of the West* as she entered Charleston harbor, yet his message contained no sectional or hostile sentiments, no sentence that could be tortured into a policy of infringement or aggression on the rights of any State, real or assumed.

But that had no effect on the rebels. The Democracy had declared they "would not live under Black Republican rule," and, having made that "solemn announcement," the simple fact of Lincoln's inauguration was all the reason they wanted for proceeding with their scheme of rebellion.

Lincoln's calm and kindly yet wise and firm inaugural message, as the first ever delivered by a Republican President and as a remarkable state paper in strained and troublous times, shall be inserted before proceeding farther:

Fellow-Citizens of the United States:

In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President, before he enters on the execution of his office.

I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that, by the accession of a Republican administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists." I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me, did so with the full knowledge that I had made this, and made many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

“Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.”

I now reiterate these sentiments; and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration.

I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

“No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law.

All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as well as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause “shall be delivered up,” their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done; and should any one, in any case, be content that this oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in the civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States?"

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. During that period fifteen different and very distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task, for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulties.

A disruption of the federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself.

The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation, in 1778; and, finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union. But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect, are legally void; and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary, or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, which I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary.

I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it is forced upon the national authority.

The power confided to me *will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government*, and collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

Where hostility to the United States shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people that object. While the strict legal right may exist of the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union.

So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection.

The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to the circumstances actually existing, and with a view and hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons, in one section or another, who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny. But if there be such, I need address no word to them.

To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak, before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes? Would it not be well to ascertain why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step, while any portion of the ills you fly from, have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to, are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted, that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this.

Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution; it certainly would, if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case.

All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authorities? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Con-

stitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class, spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a case, will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will ruin and divide them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why not any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

A majority held in restraint by constitutional check and limitation, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; and the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible. So that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the government; and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be over-ruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice.

At the same time the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocable fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, as in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own masters, unless hav-

ing to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink, to decide cases properly brought before them; and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions into political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended; and this is the only substantial dispute; and the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, can not be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section; while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking we can not separate—we can not remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different sections of our country can not do this. They can not but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I can not be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either

of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

I will venture to add, that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish either to accept or refuse. I understand that a proposed amendment to the Constitution (which amendment, however, I have not seen) has passed Congress, to the effect that the federal government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconception of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves, also, can do this if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal, the American people. By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time.

If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it.

Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either.

If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you.

You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect and defend it."

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearth-stone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

Federal troops yet occupied Fort Sumter, in front of the city of Charleston. That having been decided by the Democrats to be "a menace to the free people of the State," was attacked by Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard, on the order of Geo. W. Randolph, secretary of war for the Confederacy, on the 12th of April, 1861. On the 14th, Major Robert Anderson and his gallant little band were forced to surrender, and thus were the fountains of the great deep broken up, deluging the South in blood and turning her smiling fields to desolation.

On the 15th of April Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring the South to be in a state of rebellion and calling for 75,000 militia "to re-possess the forts, places and property seized from the Union." He also summoned both houses of

Congress to assemble in extraordinary session on July 4, 1861.

The War of the Rebellion now began in earnest. With the firing on Fort Sumter a radical change took place in the sentiments of a large portion of the Democracy of the North. Every free State and the slave States of Delaware and Maryland pledged means and troops to suppress the Rebellion, and such Democratic leaders as Stephen A. Douglas, Matt. H. Carpenter, Dan. S. Dickinson, John J. Crittenden and Ben. F. Butler, announced their hearty support of the President.

Jefferson Davis also issued a proclamation two days later, calling upon the "good people of the Confederacy" to rally and drive out the "invader." Like the Maltese pirates and the Utah Mormons, he asked the aid and blessing of Divine Providence in behalf of his wicked efforts.

Although the Rebellion was carried on and finished by the Republicans, the history of that terrible conflict is of such a nature that it can not well be incorporated in a volume of this character. Lincoln's policy was for some time criticised as timid and slow. His more hardy and aggressive advisers demanded that the Negroes be either emancipated or declared contraband of war at once, as the Southern armies could never be whipped while 4,000,000 of blacks, without cost or remuneration, were at home tilling the soil for the support of the whites in the field.

After waiting long enough to see that the South did not want peace upon any terms save a permanent withdrawal from the Union and recognition by the North as an independent sovereign power, he issued a provisional proclamation of emancipation on September 22, 1862. In January, 1863, he supplemented it by a manifesto extirpating all forms of human bondage throughout the Republic.

This met with desperate resistance in the South, and bitter denunciation among a considerable class of Democrats in the North. Many Democratic army officers tore off their in-

signia of rank, resigned their commissions and returned home in disgust.

Large as was the faction that denounced the emancipation as "an Abolition crusade," and withdrew their support from the administration, it had no perceptible effect. The hope with which it inspired the masses of a speedy end of the war, entirely overshadowed the Democratic deflection, and rendered that deflection odious.

The second and absolute proclamation of emancipation was a noble document, ending thus: "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

The "considerate judgment of mankind" was expressed by the London *Spectator* when it declared:

We can not read it without a renewed conviction that it is the noblest political document known to history, and should have for the nation, and the statesmen he left behind him, something of a sacred and almost prophetic character. Surely none was ever written under a stronger sense of the reality of God's government; and certainly none written in a period of passionate conflict ever so completely excluded the partiality of victorious faction, and breathed so pure a strain of mingled justice and mercy.

The proclamation of emancipation could have been defended throughout the world as an act of progress and civilized humanity; but it was in reality a war measure, and as such fully sanctioned by the laws and usages of nations. The armed slave-holders and their Northern allies were vociferous in claiming that emancipation was inhumanity and cruelty, as the Negroes were more comfortable and contented in slavery. The falsity of this assertion requires no proof beyond reference to that extravagant idolatry of Lincoln which at once possessed the blacks and continues unabated to this day.

The history of the first four years of Lincoln's administration is the most remarkable in the annals of the world. Never were prodigious military, diplomatic and civil maneuvers of a new and untried nature undertaken and consummated with greater courage, foresight and success. The South was solid, the North divided. At first the "masterly inactivity" of McClellan, the disobedience and treason of such officers as Fitz John Porter, and the powerful aid furnished the rebel cause by Great Britain, the Knights of the Golden Circle and the peace-cryers of the North, settled discouragingly upon the President. But finally Chase revived our credit, and Lincoln put at the head of the federal forces a grim warrior—Ulysses S. Grant—who believed the only way to win battles was to fight, and then the tide of victory set in, never to be reversed or checked.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONVENTION OF 1864.

Lincoln Held the Confidence of the World—Brutally Abused by the Seditious Democracy—He Must be Re-nominated—The National Republican Convention Meets in Baltimore on June 7—Edwin D. Morgan's Address—Temporary Officers—Plea for the Republicans of the Rebellious States—Permanent Organization—Addresses by "Parson" Brownlow and Others—Lincoln Chosen on the First Ballot—Unrestrained Enthusiasm—Andrew Johnson for Vice-President—A Vigorous Campaign—Fremont's Candidacy—He Finally Withdraws With a Parthian Shot at Lincoln—Vallandigham and His Crew Meet and Nominate George B. McClellan—H. Clay Dean's Libellous Prayer—"Ape, Jackass or Hyena"—Plan of the Democracy—Lincoln's Triumphant Re-election.

With the advance of 1864 it became more clear that Abraham Lincoln would be re-nominated by the Republicans for the Presidency. He had, indeed, been conservative, but no man had ever occupied a position beset with so many new dan-

gers and unsettled questions, and it was necessary to proceed with all the care that human genius could invent. He could not lead public sentiment; only keep fully abreast of it. Yet he had the confidence, not of the Republican masses of the North alone, but of the whole world. His homely but sturdy ways, backed by keen common sense and the mighty men around him, had wrought prodigious successes.

For these reasons the Democrats were frantic against him. What a storm of denunciation, abuse and detraction beat against his weary soul! The Democratic adders, not content to crawl through the Northern gardens and strike the venom of treason into all the war measures of the federal power, must personally assault, with falsehood and vilification, the patient martyr who stood in the frightful breach attempting to save a government, a country and a flag *for them* as well as for posterity.

The call for the Republican convention, to meet at Baltimore on the 7th of June, was published February 22, 1864. There was no doubt that Lincoln would be almost unanimously re-nominated. Public interest in the meeting centered, therefore, largely on the character of the platform to be adopted and the probable nominee for the Vice-Presidency. About 600 delegates gathered in the Front Street Theater, which, by order of the city council of Baltimore, had been gracefully festooned with flags. The speaker's chair was on an elevated platform under a beautiful canopy of flags.

At noon, precisely, of Tuesday, June 7, the Second Regiment band, from Fort McHenry, brought the assemblage to order by a grand overture. Edwin D. Morgan then arose and said:

Members of the Convention:—It is a little more than eight years since it was resolved to form a national party, to be conducted upon principles and policy which had been established and maintained by those illustrious statesmen, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. A convention was held in Philadelphia, under the shade of trees that surrounded the Hall of Independence, and candidates (Fremont and Dayton)

were there nominated, who had espoused our cause and were to maintain it. But the State of Pennsylvania gave its electoral vote to James Buchanan, and the election of 1856 was lost.

Nothing daunted by defeat, it was determined to fight "on this line" not only "all summer" but four summers and four winters, and in 1860 the party banner was again unfurled with the names of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin inscribed thereon. This time it was successful, but with success came the Rebellion, and with the Rebellion of course war, and war, terrible and cruel war, has continued up to this time, when it is necessary under our Constitution to prepare for another Presidential election.

It is for this highly responsible purpose that you are to-day assembled. It is not my duty nor my purpose to indicate any general plan of action by this convention—but I trust I may be permitted to say that in view of the dread realities of the past, and what is passing at this moment, the fact that the bones of our soldiers are bleaching in every State of the Union, and by the further knowledge of the further fact that this has all been caused by slavery, the party of which you, gentlemen, are the delegated and only representatives, will fall short of accomplishing its great mission unless among its other resolves it shall declare for such an amendment of the Constitution as will positively prohibit African slavery in the United States. In behalf of the national committee I now propose for temporary president of this convention, Robert J. Breckenridge, of Kentucky.

The nomination was at once unanimously confirmed, and Preston King, of New York, and Alex. W. Randall, of Wisconsin, conducted the venerable "war-horse of Kentucky" to the chair. He was greeted with boisterous applause, and made an eloquent speech. He "did not," he said, "enter the deliberations of the convention as a Republican, nor as a Whig or Democrat, *but as a Union man*. And, as a Union man, he would follow the party that was for the Union to the ends of the earth and to the gates of death."

When it came to calling the roll of States in order to make up a committee on credentials, Thad. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, objected to seating, or recognizing the right to vote, of the delegations from the States belonging to the Southern Confederacy.

Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, L. H. Chandler, of Virginia, and James H. Lane, of Kansas, made pleas for the loyal delegates from the rebellious States. W. G. Brownlow and Horace Maynard were particularly eloquent in behalf of the "suffering, Union-loving people of Tennessee," and at last that State was admitted. Later the other slave States—except Virginia, South Carolina, Florida and North Carolina—were seated. Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Texas had no representatives present.

Considerable attention was given to speech-making and fraternizing with Democratic-Union men. Many distinguished public characters were present. Wm. Lloyd Garrison was in Baltimore for the first time since he was thrown into jail for his opposition to slavery. That consummate politician, Thurlow Weed, was conspicuous, working vigorously for the nomination of Gen. Winfield S. Hancock for the Vice-Presidency. The statesmen of Massachusetts, Iowa and Connecticut were equally assiduous in urging Gen. Benjamin F. Butler for the same position.

Committees were chosen as follows:

STATES.	CREDENTIALS.	PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.	RESOLUTIONS.
California.	J. Bidwell.	W. S. McMurthy.	G. T. Campbell.
Conn.	Augustus Brandegee.	O. H. Perry.	W. T. Minor.
Delaware.	E. G. Bradford.		Jacob Moore.
Illinois....	J. W. Shaffer.	J. Y. Scammon.	E. P. Ferry.
Indiana....	Jesse J. Brown.	J. S. Collins.	W. M. Dunn.
Iowa	Geo. D. Woodin.	Frank Street.	Wm. Stone.
Kansas....	M. H. Insley.	M. W. Delano.	A. C. Wilder.
Kentucky.	Samuel Lusk.	John A. Prall.	James Speed.
Maine.	B. W. Norris.	Jas. Drummond.	James H. Drummond.
Maryland..	H. H. Goldsborough.	J. A. J. Creswell.	Hugh Lennox Bond.
Mass	James T. Robinson.	Ginery Twitchell.	T. Wentworth.
Michigan..	Marsh Giddings	Edwin Lawrence.	O. D. Conger.
Minnesota	W. G. Butler.	Daniel Cameron.	Warren Bristol.
N. Hamp..	B. J. Cole.	Sheperd L. Bowers.	David Cross.
N. Jersey..	Joseph M. Scoville.	Socrates Tuttle.	Chas. R. Waugh.
New York..	Preston King.	Clark B. Cochrane.	H. J. Raymond.
Ohio	G. V. Dorsey.	R. Sherrard, Jr.	S. F. Cary.
Oregon....	H. Smith.	Josiah Failing.	T. H. Pearne.
Penn	A. H. Reeder.	A. K. McClure.	M. B. Lowry.
R. Island..	H. H. Fay.	John J. Reynolds.	E. Harris.
Vermont...	Edwin Hammond.	A. B. Gardner.	E. P. Walton.
W. Va.....	Jas P. Smith.	J. N. Boyd.	G. D. Hall.
Wisconsin.	J. B. Cassoday.	J. M. Gillett.	Edward Salomon.

The committee on permanent organization reported as follows, the report being at once adopted :

President—William Dennison, Ohio.

STATES.	VICE-PRESIDENTS.	SECRETARIES.
California.....	Robt. Gardner.	James Otis.
Connecticut.....	H. A. Grant.	S. L. Warner.
Delaware.....	Geo. Z. Tybout.	Benj. Burton.
Illinois.....	M. P. Brown.	Lorenz Brentano.
Indiana.....	John Beard.	John W. Ray.
Iowa.....	Geo. W. McCrary.	D. P. Stubbs.
Kentucky.....	G. C. Smith.	A. G. Hodges.
Kansas.....	F. W. Potter.	W. H. H. Lawrence.
Maine.....	Nath. M. Farwell.	Lot M. Morrill.
Maryland.....	A. C. Green.	L. E. Straughn.
Massachusetts.....	Moses Kimball.	Geo. A. Shaw.
Michigan.....	Chas. T. Gorham.	W. R. Noyes.
Minnesota.....	Chas. M. Dailey.	Charles Taylor.
New Hampshire.....	Onslow Stearns.	Ed. Spaulding.
New Jersey.....	W. A. Newell.	Edward Brettle.
New York.....	Lyman Tremain.	Wm. R. Stewart.
Ohio.....	D. Tod.	J. C. Devin.
Oregon.....	Fred A. Channan.	J. W. Southworth.
Pennsylvania.....	W. W. Ketcham.	John Stewart.
Rhode Island.....	J. DeW. Perry.	Joel M. Spencer.
Vermont.....	H. Stowell.	Horace Fairbanks.
West Virginia.....	C. D. Hubbard.	G. D. Hall.
Wisconsin.....	Jno. F. Potter.	C. C. Sholes.

Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, and James H. Lane, of Kansas, conducted Mr. Dennison to the stand, who, on taking the chair, delivered an address favoring a vigorous prosecution of the war, complete suppression of the Rebellion and the eternal abrogation of slavery.

"Parson" (W. G.) Brownlow, of Tennessee, entertained the audience with one of his characteristic speeches, bringing groans and hisses from the Maryland secession sympathizers who crowded the galleries. The convention then adjourned for the day.

The delegates re-assembled at 10 o'clock on Wednesday. All contests were settled, rightfully if not amicably. The State of Missouri sent a straight Republican delegation and a delegation of Democrats favoring a restoration of the Union *with slavery*. Even Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland and West Virginia—slave States—voted, with refreshing emphasis, against admitting the Union-without-slavery delegates.

Henry J. Raymond, of New York, read the platform. It was greeted with such demonstrations of applause and approval, that a pause after each plank was required for shouts and huzzas.

Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, sent up a resolution, after the adoption of the platform, declaring "Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, the unanimous choice of the convention for President and Vice-President." This question was, after some debate, divided, and a vote on the first portion of it resulted in the nomination of Lincoln on the first ballot as follows: Maine, 14; New Hampshire, 10; Vermont, 10; Massachusetts, 24; Rhode Island, 8; Connecticut, 12; New York, 66; New Jersey, 14; Pennsylvania, 52; Delaware, 6; Maryland, 14; Louisiana, 14; Arkansas, 10; Tennessee, 15; Kentucky, 22; Ohio, 42; Indiana, 26; Illinois, 32; Michigan, 16; Wisconsin, 16; Iowa, 16; Minnesota, 8; California, 7; Oregon, 6; West Virginia, 10; Kansas, 6; Nebraska,¹ 6; Colorado,¹ 6; Nevada, 6;—total for Lincoln, 494.

Missouri, having been so instructed, gave 22 votes for Ulysses S. Grant; but as soon as the ballot was announced, Mr. Hume, of that State, moved to make the nomination of Lincoln unanimous, which was carried amidst a tempest of hurrahs, while the band pealed forth "Hail Columbia."

The nomination of a Vice-President being declared in order, Daniel Mace, of Indiana, presented the name of Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, offered that of Hannibal Hamlin; Lyman Tremain, of New York, presented Daniel S. Dickinson; Horace Maynard, after picturing the sufferings and persecutions of the loyal people of Tennessee, declared they must not be slighted, and seconded Andrew Johnson. His speech produced a marked effect. The balloting proceeded, Johnson taking the lead.

¹ These territories were given the votes of States because they were organizing for admission to the Union as such.

As it became apparent that he was securing a majority, the scattering States hastened to change their votes before the result was announced, giving the gentlemen from Tennessee 490, to 17 for Dickinson and 9 for Hamlin.

After the usual congratulations the convention adjourned, and in the evening a monster ratification meeting was held in Monument Square. The mayor of Baltimore presided, and speeches were made by "Parson" Brownlow, Horace Maynard and others.

The succeeding campaign was stirring and vigorous. John C. Fremont had been nominated very early for the Presidency, with John Cochrane, of New York, for Vice-President, by a convention of dissatisfied radicals who met at Cleveland. His letter of acceptance was as unsparing as it was unjust in its arraignment of Lincoln's administration. He said he had resigned his commission in the army after he had "for a long time fruitlessly endeavored to obtain service," and, believing an indorsement of Lincoln and his policy "would be fatal to the country," advised the people "to organize against him every element of conscientious opposition, with the view to prevent the misfortune of his re-election."

It will be easily seen that Gen. Fremont was disgruntled. His acceptance was dated June 4; but in September, having found the masses emphatically against him, he changed his mind and withdrew from the field, writing a letter which ended by declaring Lincoln's "administration politically, militarily and financially a failure."

In August the "Democrats" met at Chicago and held a "national" convention for the nomination of a candidate for President. Their so-called convention had been called to meet on July 4, but, as the late Matt. H. Carpenter declared, "the rascals did not dare" to meet on that holy day, and so adjourned to "dog-days."

The South revolted in order to establish a slave empire. A large wing of the Democratic party at the North, by

means frequently as wicked and disgraceful as they always were treasonable, were its accomplices. No species of denial and sophistry can ever disprove the truth of that statement, which, more than ever before, shone out clear and unmistakable in the Chicago convention.

Venerable remnants of slavocracy, with their sins fresh-blown upon them and their pockets full of resolutions denouncing Lincoln as a "bloody monster" and the war as a "wretched failure," revived by the hope of once more marching into power and turning the North over to the South, gathered eagerly at Chicago to cheer and strengthen each other's treason.

Rev. Henry Clay Dean, the only pious rebel in Iowa, prayed:

For over three years Lincoln has been calling for men, and they have been given. But with all the vast armies placed at his command, he has failed! *failed!* FAILED! Such a failure has never been known. Such destruction of human life has never been since the destruction of Sennacherib by the breath of the Almighty. And still the *monster usurper* wants more men for his slaughter-pens. * * Ever since the *usurper, traitor and tyrant* has occupied the Presidential chair, the Republican party has shouted "War to the knife, and knife to the hilt." Blood has flowed in torrents, and yet the thirst of the old monster is not quenched. The cry is for more blood!

Clement L. Vallandigham, banished for treason, had returned ¹ and was in the convention helping to frame a platform, as were several leading confederate officers and statesmen. They indicted Lincoln as a "butcher," declared the war was a failure and, after some of the rebel members of the convention had furiously assailed him for attempting to suppress secession in Maryland, nominated as their candidate for President, George B. McClellan, of New Jersey, who had

¹ He was not re-arrested because Lincoln learned that if any attempt should be made to punish him for his treason, the Knights of the Golden Circle had planned to set fire to shipping, cities and homes of Republicans throughout the North.

been dismissed from the head of the army by President Lincoln for idleness.

The campaign was conducted against the Republicans on the war-a-failure plan. The rebels rallied around McClellan with tolerable zest because, while commanding the federal army, he had so managed as to do the least possible harm to them. But in the North his support, outside of the Knights of the Golden Circle, was lukewarm and weak.

The foregoing prayer by Henry Clay Dean and the following extract from the Richmond *Enquirer*, illustrate the qualities of the men composing the "Democratic" party of 1864:

The convention of Black Republicans in Baltimore has nominated for President of their country Abraham Lincoln, the Illinois rail-splitter, and for Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, known in the West as the Tennessee tailor, and the meanest of the craft. Whether they shall ever be elected or not, depends upon the confederate army altogether. If we were now at peace with that section, it would be altogether indifferent to us *what ape, or jackass or hyena* they set up to govern them. * * It is for the interest of the Democrats, if they would elect their President, to do their very uttermost to weaken the federal army, discredit federal finance, in short, extinguish the war altogether in order to extinguish the party which invented it, governs it and lives by it.

This advice was well followed, as history has recorded. The plan of the Democracy was to break down the administration, force the North to make peace on Southern terms, and, having upset the party in power and jumped into their places, adopt the rebel constitution entire, apply for admission to the Southern Confederacy and *thus* "restore the Union"—leaving out New England as "vermin and offscourings"—to a perfect Utopia of slavery, free-trade, free whisky and general profligacy.

But they failed, as all who believe that God sits on his throne and right prevails, knew they must; and Lincoln was triumphantly re-elected, receiving the electoral votes of

twenty-two States, including the slave States of Maryland and Missouri, and West Virginia. "Little Mac," the candidate of Vallandigham and the Knights of the Golden Circle, received the votes of New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ANOTHER TROUBLOUS PERIOD.

Lincoln Auspiciously Inaugurated—The North Strong and Hopeful—The South Weak and Fainting—Grant Before the Gates of Richmond—The Stars and Stripes Float Over Richmond—Gen. R. E. Lee Surrenders His Entire Army—Joseph E. Johnston Surrenders—Jefferson Davis In the Wilderness—The Confederate "Government" in a Carpet-bag—Davis and Other Confederates Captured on May 10, 1865—His Hood and Water-proof—Rebel Documents Burned—Democratic Hatred of Lincoln—Plots for his Assassination—Shot in Ford's Theatre by John Wilkes Booth—Death on April 15, 1865—Ruffianly Assault on Seward—Entire Cabinet to Have Been Murdered—Jefferson Davis Supposed to Have Been the Head Conspirator—President Johnson Offers a Reward for His Capture as Such—The North Weeps, the South Rejoices—Johnson's Policy—Reconstruction—Rebels to the Front—Secession Leaders Not Permitted to Enter Congress—Their Status—Johnson and the Northern Democracy Enraged—A Reign of Terror in the South—Dead-lock Between Congress and the President—Articles of Impeachment—Not Legally Convicted—Unfaithful Republicans—Southern States Admitted—Amendments of the Constitution—A Disastrous Administration.

No pretense can be made of giving even a *resume* of the great events of the succeeding four years of Republican power. Lincoln was duly inaugurated March 4, 1865, stronger and more hopeful than ever. 'The overwhelming indorsement of him at the polls had added a new light to his sad and anxious face. It also swept over the South like a plague, destroying the last vestige of the forced courage of

its leaders and withering the hopes of the tattered, starving and misled but ever brave rebel soldiery.

Victory could be felt in the air. Business was moving forward in wider channels with a deep and powerful current; Europe acknowledged the wonderful energy and recuperative strength of the North; our navy was well equipped and seeking engagements, and our credit was good. "President" Davis could only replenish his army by issuing frequent proclamations; confederate soldiers were deserting by the thousand; want was a common visitor throughout the rebellious district; Sheridan was sweeping with his cavalry down the Shenandoah Valley like a tornado; Sherman, with his terrible army, was pushing the march of victory "from Atlanta to the Sea," while Grant, the Mars of modern warfare, with his face invincibly set upon Richmond, was drawing the death-grip of his circle of bayonets closer and closer around the heart of the Rebellion.

On the first of April, 1865, he stood with his batteries before the gates of the rebel capital. Lincoln was at City Point, a few miles distant. He could see by the resistless advance of Grant that no power in the South could stand before him more than a few days at the utmost, and he wished to be as near victory as possible. The events of the next two days were more momentous than any of the preceding four years. The slaughter before Richmond was terrible, but the hour for the final blow had come, and no losses or bloodshed could deter Grant from thrusting his bayonets home to the vitals of the Rebellion.

On the morning of the 3d, General Weitzel entered Richmond, run up the stars and stripes¹ and took formal possession of the city. The next day President Lincoln, on foot and with but few attendants, passed into and about the

¹ The regimental flag of the 19th Wisconsin Regiment was the first to float from the rebel capitol. It was run up by Colonel Vaughn, of Portage City, Wisconsin, who had previously handed down the confederate colors. It occupies a conspicuous place in the capitol building at Madison, Wisconsin, and is pointed out to visitors by the veterans with honest pride.

ruined capital. The Negroes, recognizing him, crowded around in the most extravagant demonstrations of joy and reverence. They shouted, wept and prayed. They had seen "Massa Linkum, the 'mighty Lord," and had nothing further to ask. Lincoln was deeply moved.

On the afternoon of April 9, Robert E. Lee surrendered his sword tearfully and sadly to U. S. Grant under the shattered apple-tree at Appomattox. A few days later other rebel generals, one after another, succumbed, and on April 26, Joseph E. Johnston, with his army of plucky but starved and weary soldiers, capitulated to General W. T. Sherman. The Rebellion was at an end.

But Jefferson Davis, with the confederate "government" tumbled promiscuously into a small carpet-bag, was wandering through the South, seeking an opportunity of escape. He knew that by the common usages of war and of nations, he would be shot if captured. A reward of \$100,000 had been offered for his capture, by President Johnson, as an accomplice in the assassination of Lincoln. Colonel Henry Harnden, of Wisconsin, was on his trail. At Poor Robin Ferry, Georgia, on May 9, 1865, Harnden fell in with Colonel Pritchard, of Michigan, and related that he was "close upon the heels of 'President' Davis."

Pritchard, having fresher horses and men, immediately started in pursuit, and getting ahead of Harnden, technically made the capture, though, at the moment the rebel chieftain was taken, Harnden's men had surrounded Davis' camp and were waiting for the approach of daylight in order to make the seizure.

The capture was effected just in the gray of morning on Thursday, May 10, 1865. The locality is near the Allapaha, a branch of the Suwannee River, and is known as Irwinville, Irwin county, Georgia. It is in the "pine barrens"—the country of the "clay-eaters," or much-despised "white trash."

Davis, who had on a hood and his wife's water-proof, carried a water-pail, personating a woman about to fetch water from a neighboring spring. He at first drew a bowie-knife and showed fight, but, seeing resistance useless, soon gave up.¹ Mrs. Davis was very indignant, and warned "the Yanks" that "some of them would get hurt." With Davis were Postmaster-General Reagan, of Texas, Edmund Cooper, the "President's" private secretary, and several others.

As soon as the capture had been effected one of the prisoners cast a bundle of papers into the camp-fire, and another stepped aside and touched a match to a large package of documents, supposed to have been of great importance. The nature of the papers thus destroyed has never been, and probably never will be, divulged.

There was now nothing left of the slave empire but poverty, defeat, distress and ashes.

Not Grant, not all the "Yankee" generals and soldiers who had conquered them and their rebellion, were so bitterly hated by the South and their Northern sympathizers as Lincoln. Their venom and resentment centered upon him.

Several plots had been contrived for his assassination, but all had fallen far short of success. For four years he had been watchful, his near friends constantly warning him of his danger. But after the triumphant election of 1864 and the apparent collapse of the rebellious slave power, he gave no further thought to secret assassins.

Richmond having fallen, "President" Davis being a fugitive, Lee's armies having been captured and the end of the war being in sight, Lincoln went in good humor to Ford's Theatre on the evening of April 14, 1865, the fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter, to witness a representation of "Our American Cousins."

Suddenly, as the play progressed, those in the immediate vicinity of the President's box were startled by the report

¹ "President" Davis was subsequently bailed by Horace Greeley and others. He was never tried.

of a pistol. The audience, however, supposing the noise came from behind the scenery, gave no attention to it until John Wilkes Booth, a well-known actor and secessionist, leaped down upon the stage in riding costume, and, swinging aloft his smoking pistols, shouted, "The South is avenged!"

The fall injured one of his limbs; but he sprang from the stage, rushed out through the theatre, mounted a horse that stood in waiting and rode rapidly away, before the information reached the auditorium that Lincoln had been assassinated.

The President was conveyed quickly to the White House, where he lingered until morning in an unconscious condition, and then died, aged fifty-six, occupying the highest place in American history.

Booth, the tool of an extensive conspiracy that never was and never will be fully known, entered the President's box at half-past 10 o'clock, armed with pistols and a bowie-knife. Having fastened the door of the box behind him, shot Lincoln and plunged the knife at others in the apartment, he thrust his head from the window of the box and shouted, "*Sic semper tyrannis.*"¹

At precisely the same hour Lewis Payne Powell, by pretending to have medicine for the patient, gained entrance to the apartments of Wm. H. Seward, secretary of state, who was prostrate with wounds resulting from a fall from his carriage. He struck savagely at Seward's throat with a bowie-knife, inflicting desperate but not fatal wounds. He also seriously wounded several attendants, but, notwithstanding the outcry and confusion, easily escaped, as did Booth, and rode rapidly away.

The plan of the conspirators was to assassinate the President and his entire cabinet, leaving Andrew Johnson, the

¹ "Ever so to tyrants"—the motto of Virginia.

Vice-President, free to act in accordance with such influences as the South could bring to bear upon him.

The shooting of Booth by Boston Corbett, in Maryland, on the 26th of April, the capture and execution of Mrs. Sur-ratt, Payne, Harold and Atzerott, on the 6th day of July, 1865, and the imprisonment of others for life, did not go far toward punishing the conspirators. It has been asserted that some of the highest men in the confederate "government," including Jefferson Davis,¹ were parties to the assassination; but no proof sufficient to secure conviction was ever brought forward. It is certain, however, that the South was greatly rejoiced over the news of the assassination—almost the only drop of sweet in the heavy draught of bitterness which secession had for four long years been pressing to their lips.

When the news of Lincoln's assassination flashed over the country, the North was celebrating the fall of Richmond in the freest manner. In every hamlet bonfires were blazing, cannons roaring, processions marching, mass-meetings shouting, bells ringing and the people generally rejoicing.

Suddenly the flaunting pennants of victory gave place to the sombre emblems of sorrow. The change was startling. The country was shocked, paralyzed: It was hardly possible to believe that rebellion, in its expiring throes, had been able to rally and strike down our beloved President. But so it was. It was well that the Rebellion had practically closed

¹ On the 2d of May President Johnson issued the following proclamation: WHEREAS, It appears, from evidence in the bureau of military justice, that the atrocious murder of the late President, Abraham Lincoln, and the attempted assassination of the Hon. W. H. Seward, secretary of the State, were incited, concerted and procured by and between Jefferson Davis, late of Richmond, Virginia, and Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, Beverly Tucker, George W. Sanders, W. C. Cleary and other rebels and traitors against the government of the United States, harbored in Canada.

Now, therefore, to the end that justice may be done, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do offer and promise, for the arrest of said persons, or either of them, within the limits of the United States, so that they can be brought to trial, the following rewards: \$100,000 for the arrest of Jefferson Davis; \$25,000 for the arrest of Jacob Thompson, late of Mississippi; \$25,000 for the arrest of George W. Sanders; \$25,000 for the arrest of Beverly Tucker; and \$10,000 for the arrest of William C. Cleary, late clerk of Clement C. Clay. The provost marshal-general of the United States is directed to cause a description of said persons with notice of the above rewards to be published.

when Lincoln was assassinated, for, had it been otherwise, the Union armies, spurred to revenge, would have literally destroyed everything before them in the South.

Andrew Johnson took the oath of office as President at 11 o'clock of the day of Lincoln's death. He proceeded in short order, in obedience to the instincts of his original Democracy, to throw the country into civil chaos, passion and anarchy, not exceeded by that from which it had just escaped. He essayed to be greater than Congress, to be above the North which elected him, and beyond laws, precedent and people. He proposed to reconstruct the rebellious States to suit himself, or rather, to suit them, defying Congress in his progress as an usurper and dictator.

At the close of the Rebellion he appointed provisional governors for the rebellious States, Congress having established military control of the South. Under these military governors the rebels held elections, choosing only such persons as had been actively hostile to the Union. Union men were ostracized, pronounced ineligible, driven from the State, or assassinated. Elections were also held for Senators and Representatives, resulting in sending to Washington the leaders of secession and rebellion in 1860 and 1861.

The rebellious States proposed to adopt no new constitutions, but elected officers and determined to wage war in a new form under their old slave charters. As the rebels presented themselves for admission, Congress declared against their entrance. It was not proper that men who had been public enemies, levying war against the government, should be permitted to enter Congress and vote down the measures presented to subdue them. If those rebels had been admitted then, unconditionally, the fruits of emancipation and of the war would have been destroyed, and all the losses sustained by the slave States would have been ordered paid—saddled upon the North, as the South had but little property left.

This is not a mere assertion, founded on presumption; it is just what the Southern leaders openly avowed, as, insolent and blood-bespattered, they prowled around Washington declaring they had "no regrets for the past, and no guarantees for the future" except hostility to the government. Men do not cease to be public enemies when they are forced to stop *for want of power, not for want of will.*

Congress declared that the rebel leaders, by their acts of war, had wrought attainder of treason, and they should not be permitted and were not qualified, to participate in public affairs until they had been purged. They were not even legal voters upon federal matters.

This decision was as fatal to the Democracy as was the fall of Richmond and surrender of Lee. President Johnson furiously opposed it, as did, of course, the South and the hungry Democrats of the North.

Johnson and the Democracy held that the South had never been out of the Union, that Congress had no power to prescribe conditions of admission, that the President alone had power over those questions and that Congress was "no Congress, but a body hanging upon the verge of the government."

Thus encouraged, the rebels inaugurated a fearful reign of terror and bloodshed in the South. They defied all federal and military laws and committed outrages and butcheries without number.

Congress and the President came to a dead-lock. Several leading Republicans and loyal Democrats who were patriotic lovers of office and federal patronage, joined with Johnson in this new rebellion against Congress and the Constitution, because they thought if he should win, and they believed he would, the Democracy would be borne triumphantly into power on the backs of the rebel South, and they, having a chance at the first places in the crib, would thrive and fatten

forever on State-sovereignty and the fruits of Southern domination.

Thereafter no bill of importance became a law except over the President's veto. Johnson became, as far as he could in time of peace, a worse rebel than Jefferson Davis. The South, which reviled and denounced him in 1864, was now lavish in its praises, extolling him as a "noble patriot" and the "only *true* friend of constitutional liberty," which meant "liberty" to hold slaves, evade the revenue and defy the federal laws.

He vetoed the Freedmen's Bureau bill, the bill to admit Nebraska with a constitution giving Negroes the right of suffrage; vetoed the reconstruction bills, the tenure-of-office act, and acted as a general obstructionist to the end of his term.

So gross had Johnson's misdemeanors and servility to rebels become, that in the spring of 1868 the House brought in an exhibit of impeachment against him for violating the tenure-of-office act in suspending Edwin M. Stanton, his secretary of war. He was tried by the Senate, but not legally convicted, because his friends, by means of various influences, secured seven Republicans—Wm. Pitt Fessenden, J. B. Henderson, Lyman Trumbull, P. G. Ross, James W. Grimes, J. S. Fowler, and O. G. Van Winkle—to vote with twelve Democrats, thus making the exact nineteen votes required to prevent formal impeachment.

Congress, however, went forward with the work of reconstruction, and one after another the States lately in rebellion were admitted to the Union with constitutions prohibiting slavery and otherwise conforming to the amendments of the federal Constitution and a Republican form of government.

Lincoln lived to see the XIII amendment, forever prohibiting slavery, proposed, but it was declared in force by Johnson in December, 1865, after having been ratified by Ala-

bama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin—34; and ratified conditionally by Alabama and Mississippi. It was rejected by Delaware and Kentucky.

The XIV article of amendment was proposed by Congress on June 13, 1866, and proclaimed in force on July 28, 1868, after having been ratified by Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin—33.

Of the foregoing thirty-three States, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia, first rejected the amendment but finally ratified it. New Jersey and Ohio rescinded their ratification. No final action was taken by California, and the amendment was rejected by Delaware, Kentucky and Maryland.

Johnson's administration was unfortunate in every aspect. His usurpations and his trucklings to Democracy prolonged the bitterness of the war, retarded Southern progress and conciliation, and encouraged the rebels to defy all federal laws as far as possible, in the hope that whenever the Democrats should again get into power, the consequences of the war would be wiped out.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONVENTION OF 1868.

The People's Choice—Pre-disposing Events—A Soldiers' Convention—Resolutions—The Veterans Denounce the Republican Friends of Andrew Johnson—Temporary Officers—Four Lists of Committees by States—Permanent Organization—Wm. Pitt Fessenden's Brother—The Soldiers Received—A "Reconstructed Rebel"—Question of Admitting Territories and Unreconstructed States—They are Admitted—Struggle over the Vice-Presidency—No More Johnsons Wanted—Carl Schurz Amends the Platform—Grant Nominated Unanimously—The Vote—Presentation of Candidates for Second Place—Schuyler Colfax Nominated on the Fifth Ballot—The Vote—"Let Us Have Peace"—The Democrats, So-called, Meet—A Secession Crowd—Horatio Seymour Nominated—A Roaring Campaign—Vallandigham's Threat—Grant Elected.

A candidate for the Presidency had been nominated by the loyal people of the United States long before even the call was issued for the Republican National Convention of 1868. It might also be said that the candidate had been elected, so thoroughly united was public sentiment at the opening of that Presidential year.

The convention met in Crosby's Opera House, Chicago, on Wednesday, May 20. Ten thousand prominent generals and statesmen were present, their vast following of laymen swelling the attendance beyond that of 1860.

No one discussed candidates for the first place. There was but one, and nothing remained but to go through the motion of putting him on the ticket. He had been practically nominated for months. The only issues were the Vice-Presidency, the financial portion of the platform and whether

"the seven traitors," as they were harshly termed, who had voted against the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, should be formally read out of the Republican party.

Excitement was intense. General John A. Logan had been assaulted with stones by the Democrats of York, Pennsylvania, as he passed along on his way to Chicago; several Republican members of the Louisiana legislature had recently been assassinated by the Democrats; President Johnson, whose odious administration had aroused the entire North, had just escaped impeachment without a vote to spare, and, it was alleged, by disgraceful means. The people, therefore, were awake and active.

There also assembled in Chicago at the same time, a general convention of soldiers, which was more numerous and not less conspicuous for distinguished men than the regular political gathering. It was presided over by General Lucius Fairchild, of Wisconsin, with such men as Generals John A. Logan, John Cochrane, Alfred Pleasanton and Daniel E. Sickles for vice-presidents, secretaries and other officers. They also had in their midst an object of enthusiastic admiration, "Old Abe," the famous war eagle, which passed through every battle of a four years' campaign with the Eighth Wisconsin regiment. The gallant old bird screamed as the bands played, and was greeted with cheers everywhere.

The soldiers met a few hours in advance of the political convention, and after speeches and songs, adopted resolutions nominating Grant for the Presidency, declaring the Republicans who voted against Johnson's impeachment were unworthy the confidence of a brave and loyal people, and also the following:

Resolved, That for the maintenance of those principles which underlie our government, and for which we have fought during four years of war, we pledge our earnest and active

support to the Republican party, as the only political organization which, in our judgment, is true to the principles of loyalty, liberty and equality before the law.

Resolved, That we, the soldiers of the Republic, extend to the loyal men of the South our sympathy, and the promise of our support in the struggles yet in store for them under the present administration, before they can enjoy the liberties of American citizens, without fear of persecutions and assassinations, and that, if necessary, we stand ready to aid them with our strength in the future as we have in the past.

When the names of the seven Republican Senators who voted for Andrew Johnson, were denounced by the soldiers as "disloyal to the cause which had cost four years of blood," the band played "The Rogue's March," and the old veterans groaned and sang "Old Grimes is Dead." Thus, it will appear that the gathering of soldiers was as much a Republican convention as the one called to nominate a President.

The regular Republican convention was called to order at 12 o'clock by Marcus L. Ward, of New Jersey, in a brief speech. He nominated for temporary chairman, Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin, who was conducted to the chair by Lyman Tremain, of New York, and Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana. He acknowledged the compliment in a scholarly speech, which was greeted with applause. When he said the people did not understand how great a loss they had suffered in the assassination of Lincoln until they saw the smallness of Andrew Johnson, the cheering was emphatic. In closing he declared: "I spurn the idea that the American people can *ever* so far forget themselves as to throw the destiny of the nation into the hands of men who yesterday attempted to destroy the Republic and who to-day stand ready to dishonor it."

The temporary secretaries were B. R. Cowen, of Ohio, Luther Caldwell, of New York, and Frank S. Richards, of Tennessee.

The following committees were appointed:

STATES.	CREDENTIALS.	PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.	RESOLUTIONS.	RULES.
Alabama...	J.P. Stow	J.J. Martin	D.C. Humphries	R.M. Reynolds
Arkansas...	S.F. Cooper	R.W. McChesney	H.B. Morse	L.H. Roots
California...	P. Connor	W.E. Lovett		
Colorado...	John Evans	John Evans	G.M. Chilleothe	J.B. Chaffee
Conn.	W.G. Coe	A.H. Byington	J.M. Woodman	S.L. Sayles
Delaware...	N.B. Smithers	W.L. Cannon	C.S. Layton	I.J. Jenkins
Florida...	H.H. Moody	V.B. Chamberlain	R.T. Rhombear	V.B. Chamberlain
Georgia...	L.P. Gudger	W.H. Watson	H.K. McCoy	D.G. Cotting
Illinois...	J.H. Addams	A.C. Babcock	H. Raster	Emory A. Storrs
Indiana...	J.C. Albert	G.H. Buskirk	R.W. Thompson	G.K. Steele
Iowa	E.T. Smith	Seth Craig	G.M. Dodge	L.M. Holt
Kansas...	N.A. Adams	J.A. Martin	B.F. Simpson	C.W. Babcock
Kentucky...	A.G. Hodges	O.H. Burbridge	C. Eginton	T.J. Pickett
Louisiana...	A.L. Lee	G.C. Benham	W.R. Fish	A.J. Sypher
Maine.....	H.M. Plaisted...	Wales Hubbard	Eugene Hale	W.P. Harriman
Maryland...			J.L. Thomas, Jr.	G.W.Z. Black
Mass.	G.B. Loring	A.R. Field	F.W. Byrd	Estes Howe
Michigan...	J.W. Longyear	H. Rich	R.R. Beecher	W.B. Williams
Minnesota...	J.C. Rudolph	C.C. Andrews	R.M. McLaren	A.A. Butler
Miss.	T.B. Sears	R.M. Tindall	A.R. Howe	D.McA. Williams
Missouri...	D.P. Dyer	G.A. Moser	R.T. Van Horn	A.W. Mullin
Nebraska...	L. Girard	P.B. Stephenson	R.W. Furnas	S.A. Strickland
N.H.	J.E. Bickford	J.H. Bailey	J.F. Briggs	E.A. Vaughn
N. Jersey...	J.W. Hazleton	J.H. Bartlett	J. Davidson	C.H. Skillman
N. York...	T.G. Younglove	H. Harris	C. Andrews	Geo. Barker
Nevada....	L. Hyntman	H.H. Beck	C.E. Delong	O.R. Leonard
N. Carolina...	H. Potter, Jr.	W.R. Myers	L.G. Estes	F.F. French
Ohio.....	James Scott	Wm. Stones	John C. Lee	T.L. Young
Oregon....	L.S. Thompson	R. Mallory	H.R. Kincaid	Max Ramsey
Penn.	John Cesna	J.H. Orne	S.E. Dimmick	T.E. Cochran
R. Island...	J. DeW. Perry	L. Flagg	R.G. Hazzard	W.H. Reynolds
S. Carolina...	H.E. Hayne	B.F. Whittemore	B.O. Duncan	J.P. McEpping
Tennessee...	W. Bosson	L.C. Houk	W.Y. Elliott	W.J. Smith
Texas.....	R.K. Smith	A.H. Langley	G.W. Paschal	N.C. Rioltet
Vermont...	Luther Baker	W.W. Grant	W.H. Johnson	G.C. Shepard
Virginia...	J.M. Thatcher	J. Hahurst	Lysander Hill	G.S. Smith
W. Va.	F.P. Pierpont	E.R. Hall	R.S. Brown	H.C. McWhorter
Wisconsin...	E.L. Browne	A.S. Sloan	Horace Rublee	A.J. Turner

The committee on permanent organization reported as follows:

President—Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut.

STATES.	VICE-PRESIDENT.	STATES.	VICE-PRESIDENT.
Alabama.....	Willard Warner	Missouri	A. J. Harlan
Arkansas.....	A. McDonald	Montana	W. F. Saunders
California.....	James Coey.	Nebraska	A. Saunders
Colorado.....	J. B. Chaffee	Nevada.	J. M. Walker
Connecticut...	W. H. Pierson	New Hampshire	E. Gould
Delaware.	L. Thompson	New Jersey....	J. S. Irick
Florida.....	H. H. Moody	New York.....	C. M. Depew
Georgia.....	Foster Blodgett	North Carolina.	Alf. Dockery
Illinois.....	Jesse K. Dubois	Ohio	N. C. McFarland
Indiana.....	Walter Q. Gresham	Oregon.....	Joseph R. Failing
Iowa	J. M. Hedrick	Pennsylvania...	J. K. Moorehead
Kansas.....	S. S. Prouty	Rhode Island...	W. Green
Kentucky.....	J. F. Speed	South Carolina.	C. T. Stolbrand
Louisiana.....	Wm. P. Kellogg.	Tennessee.....	T. A. Hamilton.
Maine.....	T. A. D. Fessenden	Texas.....	S. D. Wood
Maryland.....	H. Stockbridge	Virginia ...	John Burke
Massachusetts...	D. W. Gooch	Vermont.....	G. J. Stannard
Michigan.....	Henry Waldron	West Virginia...	S. D. Karns
Minnesota.....	H. P. VanCleve	Wisconsin	Edward Salomon
Mississippi.....	T. L. White		

Secretaries were chosen as follows:

Thomas D. Fister.	Wm. C. Goodloe.	Luther Caldwell.	D. V. Bell.
C. W. Lowell.	J. W. Holden.	C. B. Higby.	S. D. Lindsey.
Coates Kinney.	F. B. Salomon.	E. F. Waters.	Max. Ramsey.
B. Bent.	J. H. Easton.	J. C. S. Colby.	Wm. E. Rose.
Joshua T. Heald.	Lewis Weil.	Samuel Maxwell.	T. McKinley.
J. Rhombeaur.	Charles Seymour.	G. N. Collins.	Wm. P. Home.
Geo. G. Wilber.	Geo. G. Briggs.	Francis B. Ayer.	S. D. Ringree.
James P. Root.	W. W. Scott.	Robt. C. Bellville.	Edgar Allen.
Chas. R. Hogate.	A. W. Patterson.	A. C. Harmer.	Joseph T. Hoke.

When the name of T. A. D. Fessenden was announced as a vice-president from Maine, the delegates demanded to know whether he entertained the same views as his brother, Senator Fessenden, relative to the guilt of Andrew Johnson. The answer was quickly made that he did not, and the audience shouted their approbation.

At this point a delegation from the soldiers and sailors' convention, headed by Gen. Lucius Fairchild, entered and presented this resolution:

Resolved, That as the soldiers and sailors, steadfast now as ever to the Union and the flag, fully recognize the claims of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant to the confidence of the American people; and believing that the victories won under his guidance in war will be illustrated by him in peace by such measures as will secure the fruits of our exertions and restore the Union upon a loyal basis, we declare our deliberate conviction that he is the choice of the soldiers and the sailors of the Union for the office of President of the United States.

Having read the resolution, Gen. Fairchild said: "The soldiers of the United States ask the nomination of Grant for President because we love him. We love him, sir, because he is loyal to the Union, loyal to justice, loyal to freedom and loyal to right. If you will give us our comrade as a leader in the campaign of 1868, we will bear upon the enemy's works as we did in the field in 1864."

This brief speech acted upon the great audience like magic. All rules, restraints and proceedings were forgotten. When the uproar had subsided Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, leaped upon a chair and moved to nominate Grant by acclamation. This was contrary to the rules, but the delegates didn't care for rules. They wanted Grant nominated at once and without rules, so they could let off their yells and hurrahs.

Order was restored, finally, and Joseph E. Brown, a "reconstructed rebel," of Georgia, delivered a manly address of some length. He found no resentment or hatred at the North, and thought it depended entirely on themselves whether the Southerners should advance in peace, prosperity and harmony.

A debate of considerable ability arose over whether the territories and those lately rebellious States that had not yet been reconstructed and admitted to the Union, should be allowed to vote. The argument in opposition was that as those States and the territories could not participate in an election for President, it was neither logical nor sensible to allow them to take part in selecting a candidate for others.

The Southern and Western delegates were eloquent, arguing that as an age of progress had been inaugurated, no moss-back precedents should be followed, and that as the President was a chief executive for all, it would be a small favor to allow all a voice in naming the candidate.

Gen. Lee, of Louisiana, then reported that the territories and the District of Columbia be given two votes each, and all the unreconstructed States be admitted to equal privileges with the others.

The report was adopted, and thus the precedent was established of giving territories representation in national conventions.

After distributing a deluge of campaign songs, the convention adjourned for the day. The evening of the 20th was remarkable for the activity of the log-rollers for Vice-President. Lincoln had been assassinated, thus giving the White House over to the enemy, and as the Democrats had threatened to kill Grant also, if he should be elected, the masses were determined that the nominee for the second place should be a man of ability, patriotism and tried principles.

The leading candidates were Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania; Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts; Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine; Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana; Reuben E. Fenton, of New York; and Ben. F. Wade, of Ohio. Wade's great strength consisted in the conspicuous record made by him as one of the managers, on the part of the House, of the trial of President Johnson.

The convention re-assembled at 10 o'clock on Thursday. The resolutions of the National Council of the Union League of America were read and ordered spread on the records. They were greeted with cheers. Several attempts to nominate Grant by acclamation had to be drowned with speeches, pending the report of the committee on resolutions. F. Hassaurek, of Ohio; John M. Palmer, of Illinois; and John W. Forney, of Pennsylvania (Johnson's "dead duck") addressed the impatient audience with unusual ability and effect. Gen. Palmer's reference to the recreant Republicans who voted against Johnson's impeachment, brought forth marked demonstrations of approval.

Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, now appeared with the platform, which he read, each plank eliciting hearty cheers. It consisted of twelve sections. Carl Schurz moved to add the two resolutions which now stand as eleven and twelve, and they were unanimously adopted.

Nominations being in order, John A. Logan, of Illinois, arose and said:

In the name of the loyal citizens and soldiers and sailors of this great Republic of the United States; in the name of loyalty, liberty, humanity and justice; in the name of the national Republican party, I NOMINATE as a CANDIDATE FOR THE CHIEF MAGISTRACY of THIS NATION, ULYSSES S. GRANT.

The band struck up "Hail to the Chief," a volley of musketry rent the outer air and the audience went off into a spasm of screaming enthusiasm.

The roll of States was called as soon as the secretary's voice could be heard, the chairman of each delegation re-

sponding in a brief but characteristic speech with a unanimous vote for Grant.

Chairman Hawley then arose and declared: "Gentlemen of the convention, the roll-call is complete. You have 650 votes and you have given 650 votes for Ulysses S. Grant."

A scene wholly indescribable now ensued. The audience, rising, waved every loose article in the room, and every pair of lungs gave forth their utmost yell. While the tumult of enthusiasm was at its highest the scenery was skillfully shifted on the stage so as to bring to view a large and spirited picture of Grant, represented as standing on one of the pedestals in front of the White House, with the Goddess of Liberty by his side. A still more frantic yell greeted its appearance, and suddenly, like a message from on high, a dove, painted red, white and blue, was let loose from the stage and flew gracefully over the shouting thousands, while the band played "The Battle Cry of Freedom."

George F. Root, when quiet had been restored, sang, "We'll Fight It Out Here, On the Old Union Line," with fine effect. Old soldiers wept for very joy and thousands of eyes were moist. It was indeed a soul-inspiring occasion. It was the long-roll, that, gathering strength and volume, rang and reverberated through the campaign from the Bay of Fundy to the Pacific Ocean.

Nominations for Vice-President being in order, Wm. Claflin, of Massachusetts, brought forward Henry Wilson; Henry S. Lane presented Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana; Ben. F. Wade was nominated by R. P. Spalding, of Ohio, and Reuben E. Fenton was nominated by Lyman Tremain, of New York. James Speed, of Kentucky, A. G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, James Harlan, of Iowa, S. C. Pomeroy, of Kansas, J. A. J. Cresswell, of Maryland, and Wm. D. Kelly, of Pennsylvania, were also presented. The several ballots stood:

BALLOT FOR VICE-

STATES.	FIRST BALLOT.											
	No. of Delegates.	Wilson....	Colfax....	Wade.....	Fenton....	Hamlin..	Curtin....	Harlan....	Pomeroy..	Kelly.	Speed.....	Cresswell.
Alabama.....	18	4	4	2	2					4		
Arkansas.....	10	9		1								
California.....	10	1	2	5	2							
Colorado.....	6		6									
Connecticut.....	12	4	2	2	4							
Dakota.....	2		2									
Delaware.....	6	6										
District of Columbia	2			2								
Florida.....	6	2	2		2							
Georgia.....	18	6	2	3	6		1					
Idaho.....	2											
Illinois.....	32		3	15	3	11						
Indiana.....	26		26									
Iowa.....	16							16				
Kansas.....	6								6			
Kentucky.....	22										22	
Louisiana.....	14				14							
Maine.....	14					14						
Maryland.....	14			1								15
Massachusetts.....	24	24										
Michigan.....	16		19									
Minnesota.....	8			8								
Mississippi.....	14	5		5	4							
Missouri.....	22		2	20								
Montana.....	2			2								
Nebraska.....	6			5								
Nevada.....	6			2	4							
New Hampshire.....	10	10										
New Jersey.....	14		14									
New York.....	66				66							
North Carolina.....	18			18								
Ohio.....	42			42								
Oregon.....	6											
Pennsylvania.....	62		6	1		48						
Rhode Island.....	8		3	2		1						
South Carolina.....	12	12										
Tennessee.....	20		6	3	11							
Texas.....	12	11		1								
Vermont.....	10		10									
Virginia.....	20	18		2								
West Virginia.....	10	5	1	2			1					
Wisconsin.....	16		7		6	2	1					
Total.....	650	119	115	147	126	28	51	16	6	4	22	14

PRESIDENT, 1868.

SECOND BALLOT.						THIRD BALLOT.						FOURTH BALLOT.						FIFTH BALLOT.		
Wilson	Colfax	Wade	Fenton	Hamlin ..	Curtin	Wilson	Colfax	Wade	Fenton	Hamlin ..	Curtin	Wilson	Colfax	Wade	Fenton	Hamlin ..	Curtin	Wilson	Colfax	Wade
11	1	2	2	...	...	11	1	2	2	...	...	11	1	2	2	...	...	11	15	15
10	2	5	2	...	...	10	1	8	1	...	...	8	1	2	2	...	...	8	10	10
1	6	3	4	...	...	1	6	2	7	...	...	1	6	2	2	...	...	1	6	6
4	1	3	...	...	...	4	3	2	...	...	...	4	2	2	8	...	...	4	12	12
...	2	...	...	...	1	...	5	2	1	...	...	...	5	2	1	...	...	...	2	2
...	5	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	2	...	...	...	6	6
2	2	2	2	...	...	2	2	6	2	...	...	2	2	5	2	...	...	2	2	2
2	7	7	2	...	...	...	4	6	2	...	...	...	5	5	2	...	...	...	6	6
...	15	3	11	...	...	...	17	3	8	...	...	...	6	17	3	6	...	...	18	18
...	26	10	2	...	...	...	26	8	8	...	...	...	86	8	8	...	...	...	32	32
...	4	2	...	...	...	...	8	2	2	...	...	...	8	2	2	...	...	...	26	26
...	9	13	...	...	...	...	10	12	9	...	...	...	10	12	9	...	...	...	16	16
...	...	14	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	6	6
...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	22
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	14
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	14
1	2	10	...	...	...	1	2	10	...	...	...	1	3	10	...	...	...	1	14	14
24	16	...	...	...	...	24	16	...	...	...	...	24	16	...	...	...	...	24	14	14
...	...	8	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	16	16
5	5	4	...	...	...	5	4	5	...	...	...	5	4	5	4	...	...	...	8	8
...	2	20	...	...	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	...	1	2	20	...	...	...	14	14
...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	20	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	22	22
...	...	6	...	...	...	...	6	2	...	...	...	...	6	2	...	...	...	...	6	6
...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	2	4	...	...	...	6	6
10	14	...	...	...	...	10	14	...	...	...	...	10	14	...	...	...	...	10	10	10
...	...	66	...	...	...	...	66	...	...	...	...	...	66	...	...	...	...	...	14	14
9	...	9	...	...	...	9	...	9	...	...	...	7	...	10	...	...	...	...	18	18
...	4	38	...	...	...	...	5	37	...	...	...	...	6	36	...	...	...	...	6	6
...	6	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	6	6
...	3	5	...	...	44	...	5	7	...	...	40	2	14	33	...	3	...	...	52	52
...	5	3	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	6	2	...	...	...	...	8	8
12	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	5	...	...	...	12	12
...	6	3	11	...	...	...	6	3	11	...	...	...	6	3	11	...	...	...	20	20
...	...	9	3	...	...	...	11	1	...	...	...	...	1	11	...	...	...	...	12	12
...	10	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	10	10
12	4	2	2	...	...	10	6	2	2	...	...	...	10	2	3	...	...	...	20	20
6	3	1	...	...	...	7	2	1	...	...	...	5	4	1	...	...	...	...	10	10
...	7	6	2	...	...	...	8	1	5	2	...	...	11	...	3	2	...	...	16	16
114	145	170	144	30	45	101	165	178	139	25	40	87	186	206	144	25	69	38	541	541

Mr. Colfax, elected to Congress in 1854 in the first campaign of Republicanism, and re-elected six times in succession, was then speaker of the House of Representatives and very popular throughout the country. His nomination, therefore, gave general satisfaction. He was known to be able, genial, patriotic and experienced, and his candidacy added strength to the ticket.

Grant's brief but meaty letter of acceptance ended with the famous epigram, "*Let us have peace.*" It was caught up by songster and poet among the loyal people; the fires were kindled from hill-top to hill-top; the country resembled a vast military encampment, so active were the "Boys in Blue," and a campaign of intense activity and roaring enthusiasm at once began.

On the 4th day of July, 1868, the Democrats, so-called, held a "national" convention at New York, while President Johnson issued from Washington, on the same day, his proclamation of plenary amnesty to all rebels not under indictment. The "convention" was a rank gathering. Among the delegates were Fort Pillow Forrest, D. W. Voorhees, a bright and shining light of the Knights of the Golden Circle; Edmund Cooper, "President" Davis' private secretary; Charles O'Connor, who said in 1860, that in case of secession, only those who attempted to save the Union would be guilty of treason; A. S. Aldrich, the first man to suggest a general secession convention; fifty rebel colonels and generals; 100 members of the Knights of the Golden Circle; a dozen leading members of the bloody Ku-Klux Klans; ex-Senator Chestnut, the bitterest Union-bater in the South; G. W. Woodward, of Pennsylvania, who declared that if he were President Johnson he would order up the congressmen from the unreconstructed rebel States, and if Congress should refuse to admit them, command them to disperse Congress at the point of the bayonet; about half of the rebel Congress of 1861-5; Samuel J. Tilden, who, in October, 1860, composed one of

the most poisonous secession letters that emanated from the North, besides such notorious secessionists as E. Barksdale, R. Barnwell Rhett, Ben. H. Hill, Wade Hampton, Wm. M. Tweed, August R. Wright and C. L. Vallandigham.¹

It was a grotesque and troublous gathering. As showing the retrogressive, secession spirit that controlled its proceedings, it may be stated that only the rare adroitness of a few cool leaders prevented the adoption of a resolution declaring the convention would be "governed by the rules of the House of Representatives *prior* to 1860."

Several platforms were presented. One declaring that "the Union is indissoluble; *no State can withdraw from the Union*, nor can it be dissolved by Congress," raised intense commotion. It was spewed out in hot haste. The principal talk was "restoration."

Horatio Seymour was chosen permanent chairman, and accepted the "honor" in a speech that would have done credit to Jefferson Davis in 1861. After a session of six days he was also nominated for President on a platform of shameless repudiation and fiat-moneyism, with Francis P. Blair, Jr., for Vice-President.

If the business of selecting the Democratic candidates had been left to the Republicans, they could not have found two others more weak and unpopular than Seymour and Blair.

Grant was elected, receiving the electoral votes of Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Ten-

¹ Before the nominations were made, Vallandigham declared:

"Of one thing in our deliberative judgment and deep conviction, all concerned may rest assured; and therefore Eastern 'Conservative and War Democrats,' and their allies in the West may take notice of it and govern themselves accordingly: No platform or candidate will or can carry Ohio, or any Western or Border State, that is committed, openly or tacitly, to the proscription of the sagacious, gallant, and truly patriotic men who refused to support the late civil war, with all its evil and bitter fruits accumulating now every day. Let the Captain Cuttles of the War Democracy and Conservatism 'make a note of it.'"

nessee, Vermont, West Virginia and Wisconsin—25 States and 214 electoral votes.

CHAPTER XXV.

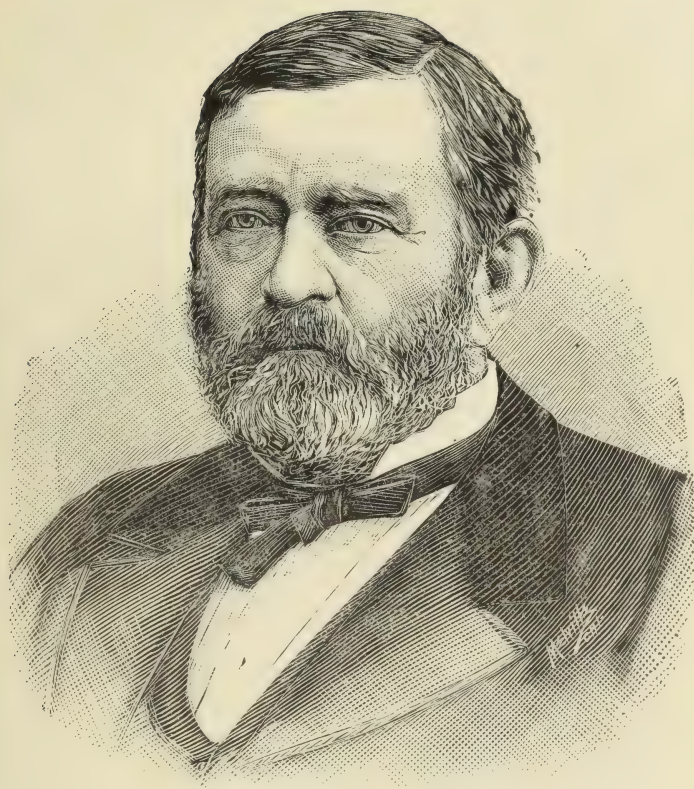
CONVENTION OF 1872—GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION.

Delegates Meet on June 5, at Philadelphia—No Factions—Lists of Committees by States—A Season of Speeches—Permanent Organization—Rules of the Convention—Resolutions by the Union League of America—The Colored Orators—Paul Strobach's Story—Grant Nominated—He Receives Every Vote in the Convention—Songs and Cheers—Democracy and Republicanism Contrasted—Candidates for Vice-President—The Vote—Henry Wilson Nominated—Greeley Leads the Democrats—Jeremiah S. Black and Charles Sumner—Ridiculous Features—Southern Butcheries—Grant's Great Majority—Poor Greeley—Grant's Successful Administration.

The Republican National Convention of 1872, which convened in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, on Wednesday, June 5, was comparatively tame. It was generally understood that, owing to the popular demand for Grant's re-nomination, there would be no contest—none of that sparring of political giants for vantage-ground and coveted points which gives interest and excitement to such gatherings.

The assemblage was called to order by Wm. Claflin, of Massachusetts, in a brief speech referring to our improved public credit and general prosperity. He then presented Morton McMichael, of Pennsylvania, as temporary chairman, who, on being unanimously elected, was escorted to the stand by Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, J. H. Platt, of Virginia, and James Lewis, of Louisiana.

As he could never open his mouth and do otherwise, Mr. McMichael made an eloquent speech, followed by music from



U. A. Grant



the band engaged for the occasion. John W. Newlin, of New Jersey, Hiram Potter, Jr., of Florida, and John R. Hubbard, of West Virginia, were chosen temporary secretaries, and the various committees were appointed as follows:

STATES.	CREDENTIALS.	PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.	RESOLUTIONS.	RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS
Alabama..	J. W. Burke	Isaac Heyman	R. M. Reynolds	W. B. Jones
Arkansas..	J. H. Johnson	J. M. Johnson	W. H. Grey	S. Wheeler
California.	Thos. Fallon	F. K. Shattuck	J. H. Withington	C. M. Patterson
Conn.	J. D. Frary	Bartlett Bent	J. R. Hawley	Daniel Chadwick
Delaware..	Benj. Burton	John C. Clark	H. F. Pekels	C. F. Richards
Florida....	J. H. Armstrong	F. N. Wicker	J. W. Johnson	J. W. Butler
Georgia....	Edwin Belcher	J. F. Long	D. A. Walker	J. M. Simms
Illinois....	J. F. Alexander	Enoch Emery	Herman Raster	I. A. Powell
Indiana....	M. L. Bundy	G. K. Steele	Charles Cruft	C. W. Chapman
Iowa.....	I. Pendleton	A. R. Anderson	W. Vanderer	I. W. Card
Kansas....	Wm. Baldwin	J. Kellogg	C. A. Morris	H. C. Cross
Kentucky..	S. L. Casey	J. B. Bruner	James Speed	W. H. Gibson
Louisiana..	M. F. Smith	E. W. Robinson	John Ray	W. G. Elliott
Maine.....	J. E. Butler	Hiram Bliss, Jr	S. T. Pullen	A. H. S. Davis
Maryland..	Alex. Randall	John T. Ensor	T. A. Spence	S. M. Shoemaker
Mass.....	E. B. Stoddard	S. Johnson	J. B. D. Cogswell	Oliver Ames
Michigan..	J. H. Stone	James Birney	W. A. Howard	Geo. Willard
Minnesota.	C. H. Goodsell	A. E. Rice	W. E. Hicks	R. F. Crowell
Miss.....	Edwin Hill	A. K. Davis	J. R. Lynch	A. Parker
Missouri..	G. A. Moser	E. O. Stanard	J. H. Stover	J. C. Orrick
Nebraska..	John Roberts	John D. Neligh	J. B. Weston	H. M. Atkinson
Nevada....	C. C. Stevenson	G. M. Sabin	L. H. Head	G. M. Sabin
N. H.....	D. Richards	Daniel Barnard	Ossian Ray	J. W. Johnson
N. Jersey..	George Wurts	L. D. Jarrard	Charles Hewitt	David Vickers
New York..	E. W. Foster	J. N. Hungerford	J. N. Matthews	B. P. Carpenter
N. Carolina	Lewis Hilliard	J. H. Harris	J. W. Hood	G. H. Brown
Ohio.....	Griffith Ellis	N. H. Van Vorhis	R. B. Hayes	W. C. Cooper
Oregon....	Hiram Smith	Myer Hirsch	H. R. Kincaid	J. F. Devore
Penn.....	L. D. Shoemaker	Chas. Albright	G. W. Seofield	C. W. Gilfillan
R. Island..	E. L. Freeman	W. D. Brayton	Wm. Goddard	L. W. Ballou
S. Carolina	S. A. Swails	W. B. Nash	R. B. Elliott	T. J. Mackey
Tenn.....	R. R. Butler	W. Y. Elliott	A. J. Ricks	G. E. Grisham
Texas.....	W. A. Saylor	W. A. Ellett	J. W. Talbot	J. P. Newcomb
Vermont... G. W. Grandey		Geo. Wilkins	B. H. Steele	J. Hutchinson, Jr
Virginia... Robert Norton		J. A. Harman	Edward Daniels	G. G. Goddell
W. Va.... Geo. Edwards		J. E. Schley	T. B. Swann	D. T. Farnsworth
Wisconsin. J. G. Thorpe		T. C. Pound	T. S. Allen	C. J. L. Meyer
Arizona.... John Titus		J. H. Toole	(No nomination)	(No nomination)
Colorado... J. B. Chaffee		G. M. Chillicothe	J. B. Chaffee	G. M. Chillicothe
Dakota..... (Contested)		(No nomination)	(No nomination)	(No nomination)
Dis. of Col. John F. Cooke		A. R. Shepherd	A. R. Shepherd	John F. Cooke
Idaho.... E. J. Curtis		E. C. Ford	E. J. Curtis	B. J. Curtis
Montana... L. B. Church		L. B. Church	W. F. Sanders	L. B. Church
N. Mexico. Wm. Breeden		(No nomination)	(No nomination)	(No nomination)
Utah..... (Contested)		(No nomination)	(No nomination)	(No nomination)
Wash't'n.. E. Dorfield		(No nomination)	(No nomination)	(No nomination)
Wyoming.. J. W. Donnellan		G. W. Corey	J. W. Donnellan	G. W. Corey

While the committees were out preparing their reports, the intervening time was occupied by some notable speeches. John A. Logan, of Illinois, led off with an address eulogistic of Gen. Grant. He was followed by Gerrit Smith, of New

York; Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana; James L. Orr, of South Carolina; Richard J. Oglesby, of Illinois; J. R. Hawley, of Connecticut; Marcus D. Boruck, of California; Wm. H. Grey, (colored) of Arkansas; Robert B. Elliott (colored) of South Carolina; and James H. Harris (colored) of North Carolina. The convention was astonished at the rich eloquence and clear logic of the colored speakers, and cheered them vociferously.

The committee on permanent organization reported as follows:

President—Thomas Settle, of North Carolina.

STATES.	VICE-PRESIDENTS.	SECRETARIES.
Alabama.....	Paul Strobach.	William V. Turner.
Arkansas.....	Elisba Baxter.	L. G. Wheeler.
California.....	H. S. Sargent.	Marcus D. Boruck.
Connecticut.....	Sabin L. Sage.	Daniel Chadwick.
Delaware.....	Isaac Jump.	Henry F. Pickles.
Florida.....	Dennis Egan.	J. W. Butler.
Georgia.....	B. F. Conly.	P. M. Shirtley.
Illinois.....	Emery A. Storrs.	Daniel Shepard.
Indiana.....	Sol. D. Meredith.	O. M. Wilson.
Iowa.....	W. H. Seevers.	A. J. Felt.
Kansas.....	John C. Carpenter.	Henry Buckingham.
Kentucky.....	R. M. Kelley.	T. C. Buerles.
Louisiana.....	Louis Frager.	E. L. Weber.
Maine.....	P. F. Robey.	E. C. Brett.
Maryland.....	Thomas Kelso.	W. G. Tuck.
Massachusetts.....	Alexander H. Rice.	Charles E. Whiting.
Michigan.....	Eben B. Waul.	C. S. Draper.
Minnesota.....	C. T. Benedict.	Otto Wullmark.
Mississippi.....	R. W. Flurnoy.	B. K. Bruce.
Missouri.....	John F. Benjamin.	Theodore Breuer.
Nebraska.....	John S. Bowen.	J. B. Weston.
Nevada.....		C. C. Stevenson.
New Hampshire..	Wm. H. Y. Hackett	Charles S. Whitehouse.
New Jersey.....	Dudley S. Gregory.	John W. Newlin.
New York.....	H. B. Claflin.	D. Ogden Bradley.
North Carolina..	Edward Cantwell.	T. A. Sykes.
Ohio.....	Jacob Mueller.	James A. Sands.
Oregon.....	John P. Booth.	H. R. Kinus.
Pennsylvania.....	H. W. Oliver.	H. H. Bingham.
Rhode Island.....	A. E. Burnside.	Wilson W. Aldrich.
South Carolina..	A. J. Ransier.	H. G. Maxwell.
Tennessee.....	William H. Wisner.	Thomas Waters.
Texas.....	A. B. Norton.	G. T. Rubey.
Vermont.....	J. Fairbanks.	W. Harris, Jr.
Virginia.....	Charles T. Malord.	John W. Woltz.
West Virginia....	Charles Horton.	I. T. Hoke.
Wisconsin.....	Luciad Fairchild.	L. F. Frisby.
Colorado.....	George M. Chilleothe.	Jerome B. Chaffee.
Dist. of Columbia.	John F. Cooke.	Alex. R. Shepherd.
Idaho.....	John R. McBride.	E. J. Curtis.
Wyoming.....	John W. Donnellan.	George W. Corey.

This completed the labors of the first day. The convention re-assembled at 10 o'clock on Thursday and received and adopted the report of the committee on rules.¹

A communication from the Union League of America was read and entered upon the record of the convention as a part of its proceedings, several planks of which are here presented;

First. We reject, as utterly unfounded, the idea that the mission of the Republican party has been accomplished, and that no necessity exists for its continuance. By its principles and actions the nation was saved during the period of the late Rebellion, and by them must it be preserved and exalted in coming time.

Second. Whatever may be its pretenses, the Democratic party remains unchanged in character and ultimate purposes. What it was from April, 1861, to April, 1865, it still is, and

¹ RULE 1. Upon all subjects before the Convention, the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories.

RULE 2. Each State shall be entitled to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress according to the recent apportionment, and each Territory shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its Chairman.

RULE 3. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

RULE 4. In making the nominations for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate has received the majority of the votes cast, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be, "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes the Chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast.

RULE 5. When a majority of the delegates from any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, the Secretary calling the roll of States in the order heretofore stated.

RULE 6. In the record of the vote by States the vote of each State shall be announced by the Chairman; and in case the votes of any State shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition.

RULE 7. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegation of any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by the majority of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with, and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

RULE 8. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes to present the name of such candidate.

RULE 9. The rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of this Convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

RULE 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and District represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory and District shall name, through its Chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee.

will continue to be. Incapable of reform or improvement, it will always be unfit to direct or govern the nation.

Third. In the so-called Liberal-Republican party¹ we find no attractive political virtue and no important distinctive principle. It is manifestly an organization created by personal designs, and by feelings so embittered and intense that it is prepared and solicitous to form an alliance with the Democratic party, as the only possible method of accomplishing its narrow and unjustifiable purposes. This fact alone develops its true nature; and it requires no other to present it to the people as inherently base and ignoble, and altogether undeserving of their approval and support.

Ninth. All tariff and internal taxation needed for the reduction of the public debt and for the support of the government should be so adjusted as to bear with least weight upon the laboring classes, and to foster and encourage the industries of the nation, which are the foundation of all national prosperity.

Speeches were heard from Geo. W. Carter, of Mississippi, a colonel in the confederate army; Paul Strobach, of Alabama, a naturalized German, who recited the details of how a Negro was killed and his wife burned at the stake, near his home, by the Democratic Ku-Klux Klans. Emory A. Storrs, of Illinois, John B. Henderson, of Missouri, John R. Lynch (colored) of Mississippi, and E. F. Noyes, of Ohio, also addressed the convention.

The rules were now suspended in order to proceed with the nomination for President, and Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois, "in the name of liberty, loyalty, justice and law," nominated Ulysses S. Grant to be his own successor as President of the United States.

A wilderness of hats, caps, umbrellas and handkerchiefs and a roar of huzzas greeted the nomination. The band struck up a national air and an equestrian portrait of Grant, heroic size and filling the entire rear end of the stage, was suddenly rolled down back of the speaker and band.

When the applause had ceased the nomination was seconded by S. L. Woodford, of New York, and Marcus D. Boruck, of California.

¹ Carl Schurz's personal-hatred-of-Grant party.

The roll was then called and every one of the 752 votes to which the various States and territories were entitled, were cast for Grant. The announcement of this solid vote of the Republic for her great chieftain threw the assemblage into another paroxysm of enthusiastic excitement. The band, catching the infection, rendered "John Brown," "Rally Round the Flag" and "Yankee Doodle" with spirit. The entire audience joined with fervor in all the choruses, and repeated entire the thrilling battle-song under which so many of them had marched with Grant to victory—"Rally Round the Flag."

Lucius B. Church, of Montana, being called for, ascended the platform and sang "The Red, White and Blue," as he sung it in 1860 at Chicago, before the nomination of Lincoln, the audience and band taking part in the chorus. He then sang "Marching Through Georgia," in which the crowd, still standing and waving hats and handkerchiefs, joined with redoubled fervor. Every heart was thrilled by the sublimity of the occasion, and when the music died away, there was hardly a dry eye in the hall.

In referring to the wonderful scene just described, in which the spirit and battle-songs of the Republican party, bursting from a thousand throats, were those also of the nation, it is impossible to refrain from contrasting it with the miserable meetings of the Democracy, who have no history that is a part of human progress, no songs that vibrate in unison with the anthems of freedom and the nation.

The nomination of a Vice-President being next in order, Morton McMichael presented Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, who was seconded by Geo. B. Loring, of that State, Ossian Ray, of New Hampshire, and J. F. Quarles, of Georgia. R. W. Thompson, of Indiana, nominated Schuyler Colfax, seconded by W. A. Howard, of Michigan, J. R. Lynch, of Mississippi, Gerrit Smith, of New York, and Cortlandt Parker, of New Jersey. John F. Lewis, of Vir-

ginia, was presented by James B. Sener, of that State; E. J. Davis, of Texas, by Webster Flanagan, of that State, and Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, by David A. Nunn, of that State. The ballot was then taken and resulted in the nomination of Wilson, by the following vote :

STATES.	No. of Delegates.	Henry Wilson.	Schuyler Colfax.	Horace Maynard.	Edmund J. Davis.	Joseph R. Hawley.	E. F. Noyes.
Alabama.....	20	12	7	1			
Arkansas.....	12	12					
California.....	12	12					
Connecticut.....	12	6	6				
Delaware.....	6		6				
Florida.....	8	5	3				
Georgia.....	22	22					
Illinois.....	42	25	17				
Indiana.....	30		30				
Iowa.....	22	19	3				
Kansas.....	10	10					
Kentucky.....	24	4	20				
Louisiana.....	16	5	11				
Maine.....	14	4	10				
Maryland.....	16		16				
Massachusetts.....	26	26					
Michigan.....	22		22				
Minnesota.....	10		10				
Mississippi.....	16	11	4	1			
Missouri.....	30	27	2			1	
Nebraska.....	6	2	4				
Nevada.....	6	6					
New Hampshire.....	10	10					
New Jersey.....	18		18				
New York.....	70	16	53				1
North Carolina.....	20	20					
Ohio.....	44	30	14				
Oregon.....	6		6				
Pennsylvania.....	58	58					
Rhode Island.....	8		8				
South Carolina.....	14	9	5				
Tennessee.....	24			24			
Texas.....	16				16		
Vermont.....	10		10				
Virginia.....	22	20	2				
West Virginia.....	10	9	1				
Wisconsin.....	20	15	5				
Arizona.....	2		2				
Colorado.....	2	1	1				
Dakota.....	2	½	1½				
District of Columbia.....	2		2				
Idaho.....	2		2				
Montana.....	2		2				
New Mexico.....	2	2					
Utah.....	2		2				
Washington.....	2		2				
Wyoming.....	2	1	1				
Total.....	752	390½	308½	26	16	1	1

The campaign which followed turned largely upon the deplorable and bloody condition of the South. It was what the Democrats termed a "bloody-shirt" campaign. Grant's opponent was Horace Greeley, who, having been for years the most radical and aggressive Republican in America, was suddenly, in one of those grotesque and incomprehensible freaks which that party periodically makes, taken up as the standard-bearer of the Democracy. Having winked at the secession theory after it had been defeated by the arbitration of arms, and given bail for Jefferson Davis, he felt certain he could be elected.

Although the ides of November brought the overwhelming re-election of Grant, the result was for some time after the campaign opened, in serious doubt. Charles Sumner, Carl Schurz and several other leading Republicans had turned back on the records of a life time, and were making unprecedented assaults upon the administration. Many of the weaker members of the rank and file in the party were also announcing their adherence to Greeley's plan of peace, which, no matter how disguised, meant nothing less than the abandonment of all effort to restore the South to anything like the civil freedom of a Republican form of government.

Jeremiah S. Black, a powerful leader of the Democracy, was actively opposing Grant, because, as he wrote to the *Baltimore Gazette* on August 6, 1872, the election of Greeley would "begin the process of the gradual extinction of the XIVth and XVth amendments of the Constitution, which," he said, "were frauds upon the spirit and letter of that instrument, inasmuch as *they effected the worst outrage which it was made to prevent.*"

Charles Sumner was at the same time urging the Negro Republicans to vote with Judge Black for Greeley because, under his administration, their rights would be better protected than under that of Grant.

Black wanted Greeley elected because it would *wipe out* the XIV and XV amendments, and Sumner wanted him elected because it would *strengthen them*. The candidacy itself of Greeley was the only feature of the campaign that exceeded this one in utter ridiculousness.

The Southern Democrats, in armed bands called Ku-Klux, White Camelias, Pale-Faces, etc., were scouring the country and killing Republicans by the hundred, burning their houses, destroying their property, defying law and courts, and committing barbarities without number; Southern claims were multiplying apace, and there was an apparent general revival of the old rebel spirit throughout the South.

This reign of anarchy and bloodshed turned Greeley's "shake-hands-across-the-bloody-chasm" business into the veriest babble of imbecility. The people couldn't swallow it, and Grant was elected by a vote that was practically unanimous. He carried thirty-one States, but as the votes of Arkansas and Louisiana were not counted for either side, he was given the benefit of only twenty-nine—that is, 286 electoral votes, 300 including those of Arkansas and Louisiana.

Poor Greeley was the victim of poetic justice. He had, by his great energy and patriotism, contributed more than any other man to kill the Democratic party and make a giant of Republicanism. And then, strange to relate, he stooped in his declining years to bring the old Bourbon corpse back to life, and was crushed in the very act by the giant nursed to greatness by himself and his *Tribune*. He went straight from his nomination at Cincinnati to the grave.

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION.

Grant first entered upon his administration of public affairs in the face of extraordinary difficulties. Soldiers were to be paid and pensioned in accordance with the principles of equity; an enormous war-tax was to be modified and adjusted to the ways of peace; public credit was to be strengthened; our securities and paper money must be brought to

par; the Southern States were to be further and fully reconstructed; an unparalleled reign of terror and assassination by the Southern Democracy was to be checked; the floods of fraudulent claims from the South were to be exposed and resisted; the amendments of the Constitution must be upheld; payment of the enormous war-debt must be provided for—in short, the strained and high-pressure condition of private business and public affairs must be brought back to the calm, steady flow of peace, and that, too, without destructive shock or disturbance.

Choosing his counsellors, he set about accomplishing these things with that quiet determination which always characterized his victorious generalship of the federal armies.

The second clause of the XIV article of amendment did not make Negro suffrage absolutely imperative. It became apparent that some of the States would therefore soon disfranchise the blacks formally, as they already had practically, and just before Grant took his seat the XV article was proposed in Congress. He favored its adoption, it was adopted, and on the 30th of March, 1870, he declared it in force. It was ratified by the legislatures of Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin—30. Georgia and Ohio first rejected, but finally ratified the amendment, and New York rescinded her ratification. The amendment was rejected by California, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey and Oregon—6—and no final action was taken by Tennessee.

The civil status of the Negro being now fixed, the white Democrats of the South, encouraged by Northern Democratic statesmen and newspapers, organized into secret bands to prevent the blacks from voting, holding office or earning a

livelihood. These bands, known as Ku-Klux Klans and by various other names, engaged in general midnight assassination, controlled and directed by such leading Democrats as Gen. N. B. Forrest, for the avowed purpose of exterminating all Republicans in that section, white and black.

Therefore the famous sentence—"Let us have peace"—with which Grant ended his first letter of acceptance, could not be carried into practical effect; for while he sat in the White House, his eye dwelt upon a more dreadful state of affairs in the South than existed while he was leading the Union army over that prostrate and lacerated section.

He grappled with the matter in a manner at once brave and firm, and, as far as possible, made use of the army and other federal powers to protect the Negroes. As several thousand blacks were assassinated during Grant's administration in spite of his efforts to save them, it would be difficult to conceive what wholesale slaughter would have followed a policy less strong and determined than his.

While the great captain occupied the White House, the Alabama claims against Great Britain, founded on the fact that the English were active sympathizers and aiders of the secessionists, were adjusted, and the sum of \$15,500,000 damages secured.¹ The enormous frauds of the whisky-ring were also discovered and broken up, and several men high in public place and confidence punished; the public debt was steadily reduced; the faith of the nation was pledged anew to pay the national debt in full in strict accordance with the original intent; the vast territory of Alaska was annexed to Washington Territory as a county; to a large extent the Ku-Klux Klans, White Camelias and other Democratic bands of midnight assassins in the South were broken up; the force bill and civil rights bill, for the benefit and protection of the

¹ By the treaty of Washington, ratified by the United States on May 24, 1871, arbitrators were appointed by Brazil, Italy, Switzerland, Great Britain and the United States to examine and decide upon these claims. The award was made on September 14, 1872, at Geneva, Switzerland.

Negroes, were enacted; thousands of pensions were adjusted and paid; other thousands of fraudulent claims from the South were examined and rejected; the standing army was reduced; the pensions for soldiers were increased in various ways three or more times; railways were built and new territory opened up to settlers; all soldiers were given homesteads; the great asylums for disabled volunteers were opened; Benj. F. Butler's inflation bills were vetoed; civil service to a certain extent was inaugurated; a special amnesty bill was passed; the resumption law was enacted; the Sumner supplementary civil rights bill became a law; the Centennial Exposition was prepared for and held; the San Domingo annexation scheme was disposed of; the complex election troubles of Louisiana and other Southern States were partially straightened out and the reconstruction acts of Congress and the legal-tender notes were declared valid and constitutional.

Grant's administration covered eight years of prosperity and advancement.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CONVENTION OF 1876—ADMINISTRATION OF R. B. HAYES.

The Delegates Meet at Cincinnati on June 14—Speech of Theo. M. Pomeroy—Lists of Committees—Permanent Organization—Equal Suffrage and Kindred Subjects—The Chinese Question Discussed—Vote on the Anti-Chinese Resolution—Presentations of Candidates—Robt. G. Ingersoll's Glowing Speech—The Seven Ballots for Presidential Candidates—R. B. Hayes Chosen—Conkling Defeated Blaine—Wm. A. Wheeler for Vice President—A Notification Committee—The Strength of Hayes Increases Day by Day—Samuel J. Tilden and Anti-Resumption—Close Results of the Election—Civil Strife Feared and Threatened—The Electoral Commission—It Declares Hayes Duly Elected—Administration of R. B. Hayes—Resumption of Specie Payments—Refunding the National Debt—Important Achievements.

In conformity with the usual notice by the national committee, the delegates to the Sixth National Republican Convention met at Cincinnati on Wednesday, June 14, 1876, and were called to order by Edwin D. Morgan with an address appropriate to the centennial year, recounting with pardonable pride and eloquence the giant growth and achievements of the Republic, and especially its advance under Republican rule.

He then nominated Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York, as temporary chairman, who, upon being unanimously chosen, was escorted to the chair by H. P. Baldwin, of Michigan, and Charles C. VanZandt, of Rhode Island. Mr. Pomeroy's speech was one of power, and elicited hearty applause. Among other things he said:

The Republican party can not continue to live by reason of its splendid achievements in the past, nor the Democratic party expect to be returned to power upon its glittering promises of reform in the future. The former party has but to present men representative of its principles; the latter must discover both its principles and its men. In former days, when party ties were firmer, when the immediate pressure of impending national calamity hedged us about and compelled party fidelity, the platform carried along the man, whomsoever he might be. Party ties are looser now, and no platform is buoyant enough to float an unworthy candidate.

The necessity for the continuance of the administrative policy of the Republican party, while not so apparent in immediate results, is as commanding respecting future consequences as at any time in its history. We are told that it has accomplished its mission, and, therefore, has no longer claim to live. Well, if it has, and the time for its dissolution has come, it can die triumphantly, like the apostle of old, exclaiming. "I have fought a good fight; I have kept the faith." It has fulfilled many missions. It fulfilled the mission of its birth in neutralizing the disastrous effects of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, in saving freedom to the great territories of the North-west, and in bringing California into the sisterhood of States undefiled by slavery and adorned like a bride in the glitter of her golden promise. It fulfilled the mission of its youth in accepting the "irrepressible conflict," and it was a mission worth living for to have saved a nationality like ours; to have freed 4,000,000 slaves and raised them to the dignity of American citizenship, and to have reconstructed the federal Constitution so as to place the liberties of the citizen and the credit of the nation upon foundations strong enough to endure anything except the imbecility of a Democratic administration.

On motion of David Atwood, of Wisconsin, Irving M. Bean, of that State, and H. H. Bingham, of Pennsylvania, were elected temporary secretaries, and on motion of W. A. Howard, of Michigan, Gen. E. W. Hincks, of Wisconsin, was chosen sergeant-at-arms. The usual committees were then appointed as follows:

STATES.	CREDENTIALS.	RULES AND BUSINESS.	RESOLUTIONS.	PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.
Arkansas.	O. P. Snyder.	R. A. Dawson.	C. C. Waters.	M. W. Benjamin
Arizona...	De F. Porter.	De F. Porter.	R. C. McCormick	R. C. McCormick.
California.	N. D. Rideout.	J. M. Pierce.	Chas. F. Reed.	L. H. Foote.
Conn.....	Joseph Selden.	J. T. Rockwell.	J. R. Hawley.	Sam. Fessenden
Colorado...	J. B. Chaffee.	Geo. W. Morgan.	J. B. Belford.	John L. Routt.
Dakota....	Alex. Hughes.	Alex. Hughes.	A. McHench.	A. McHench.
Delaware...	James Scott.	J. H. Hoffecker	Eli R. Sharp.	J. R. Lofland.
Georgia...	James Atkins.	J. F. Long.	H. M. Turner.	Edwin Belcher.
Indiana...	Asbury Steele.	T. M. Browne.	R. W. Thompson	K. G. Shryock.
Illinois....	G. S. Bangs.	H. S. Baker.	C. B. Farwell.	G. B. Raum.
Iowa.....	J. T. Baldwin.	S. M. Clarke.	Hiram Price.	W. G. Donnan.
Idaho.....	D. P. Thompson.	Austin Savage.	Austin Savage.	D. P. Thompson.
Kansas....	A. H. Horton.	A. J. Banta.	T. D. Thacher.	D. P. Lowe.
Kentucky.	J. W. Finnell.	T. O. Shackleford.	James Speed.	J. J. Landrum.
Louisiana.	Chas. E. Nash.	G. B. Hamlet.	Henry Dumas.	S. B. Packard.
Maine.....	Seth L. Millikin.	James M. Stone.	N. Dingley, Jr.	John L. Stevens.
Maryland.	John T. Ensor.	Wm. Perkins.	L. H. Steiner.	Joseph Pugh.
Mass.....	John E. Sanford.	Wm. T. Davis.	E. L. Pierce.	Geo. B. Loring.
Michigan.	Geo. Hannahs.	W. H. Withington	H. P. Baldwin.	D. L. Filer.
Minnesota.	W. G. Ward.	John T. Ames.	J. B. Wakefield.	J. L. Merriam.
Mississippi	R. C. Powers.	J. J. Spellman.	C. W. Clarke.	J. T. Settle.
Missouri..	M. A. Rosenblatt	H. E. Havens.	R. T. Van Horn.	George Bain.
Montana...	W. F. Sanders.	B. H. Tatem.	W. F. Sanders.	W. F. Sanders.
Nebraska..	L. W. Osborn.	R. G. Brown.	N. R. Pinney.	S. B. Packard.
Nevada....	C. N. Harris.	R. S. Clapp.	J. P. Jones.	Frank Bell.
N. Hamp.	Alonzo Nute.	Thos. C. Rand.	Chas. H. Burns.	B. F. Whidden
N. Jersey.	Wm. J. Magie.	J. H. Kendrick.	Fred. A. Potts.	G. A. Hobart.
New York.	Thos. C. Platt.	W. L. Sessions.	Chas. E. Smith.	Wm.orton.
N. Carolina.	James Heaton.	R. M. Norment.	R. C. Badger.	W. H. Wheeler.
N. Mexico.	Wm. P. Breeden.	W. P. Breeden.	S. B. Axtell.	W. P. Breeden.
Ohio.....	Wm. H. Upson.	J. T. Updegraff.	Ed. C. Cowles.	R. P. Buckland.
Oregon....	J. B. David.	J. H. Foster.	H. K. Hines.	H. K. Hines.
Penn.....	Wm. S. Quay.	John Cessna.	E. McPherson.	Chas. Albright.
R. Island..	Henry Howard.	I. F. Williams.	Charles Nourse.	J. M. Pendleton.
S. Carolina.	S. A. Swails.	Robert Smalls.	DH Chamberlain	HG Worthing'tn
Texas.....	J. P. Newcomb	Richard Allen.	E. J. Davis.	S. H. Russell.
Tennessee	A. G. Sharp.	W. Y. Elliott.	A. A. Freeman.	Edward Shaw.
Utah.....	G. A. Black.	J. B. McKean.	J. B. McKean.	G. A. Black.
Vermont..	W. G. Veazie.	F. E. Woodbridge	G. H. Bigelow.	W. C. French.
Virginia..	J. F. Dezenendorf.	J. F. Lewis.	Wm. Miller.	Ross Hamilton.
W. Virg'a.	Nathan Goff, Jr.	J. E. Schley.	J. W. Davis.	T. H. Logan.
Wisconsin.	David Atwood.	R. L. D. Potter.	Jas. H. Howe.	Geo. C. Ginty.
Washing'n	T. T. Minor.	Elwood Evans.	Elwood Evans.	T. T. Minor.
Wyoming.	Wm. Hinton.	J. M. Carey.	W. Hinton.	J. M. Carey.

While these committees were out, J. A. Mason, of New York, offered a resolution favoring universal suffrage without regard to sex; Geo. Wm. Curtis presented an address of the Republican Reform Club of New York; Abram J. Dittenhafer offered the resolutions of the German Republican Convention of New York, and speeches were made by John A. Logan, of Illinois, J. R. Hawley, of Connecticut, Henry Highland Garnett, of New York, W. A. Howard, of Michigan and Frederick Douglass, of Washington. The report of the committee on permanent organization was as follows:

President—Edward McPherson, of Pennsylvania.

Secretary—Irving M. Bean, of Wisconsin.

STATES.	VICE-PRESIDENTS.	ASSISTANT SECRETARIES.
Arkansas.....	M. W. Gibbs	H. M. Cooper
California.....	George S. Evans	Isaac Hecht
Colorado.....	Henry McAllister	W. B. Osborn
Connecticut.....	Martin J. Sheldon	John A. Tibbitts
Delaware.....	David W. Moore	John H. Hoffecker
Georgia.....	R. L. Mott	J. T. Collins
Illinois.....	John I. Rinaker	Thos. A. Boyd
Indiana.....	James S. Frazer	L. Noble
Iowa.....	W. T. Shaw	J. D. Hunter
Kansas.....	William Martindale	A. L. Redden
Kentucky.....	E. R. Weer	T. E. Burns
Louisiana.....	George Y. Kelso	W. G. Brown
Maine.....	J. B. Brown	C. A. Boutelle
Maryland.....	James A. Gary	F. M. Darby
Massachusetts...	P. A. Chadbourne	Smith R. Phillips
Michigan.....	Henry P. Baldwin	B. D. Pritchard
Minnesota.....	L. Bogen	R. B. Langdon
Mississippi.....	M. Shaughnessey	J. A. Hoskins
Missouri.....	G. A. Finkelnburg	Daniel S. Twitchell
Nebraska.....	H. S. Kaley	R. G. Brown
Nevada.....	Thomas Wren	C. N. Harris
New Hampshire...	E. A. Straw	Geo. W. Marston
New Jersey.....	William A. Newell	James N. Stratton
New York.....	Marshall O. Roberts	James W. Husted
North Carolina...	James H. Harris	T. M. Owen
Ohio.....	Benjamin F. Wade	L. J. Critchfield
Oregon.....	J. H. Foster	J. B. David
Pennsylvania.....	J. Smith Futhy	Henry H. Bingham
Rhode Island.....	Henry Howard	Edward L. Freeman
South Carolina...	R. H. Gleaves	Wm. J. McKinley
Tennessee.....	Horace H. Harrison	J. T. Wilder
Texas.....	A. B. Norton	Adolph Zadek
Vermont.....	George Howe	Mason S. Colburn
Virginia.....	R. H. Carter	W. N. Stevens
West Virginia....	W. E. Stevenson	Z. D. Ramsdell
Wisconsin.....	James Bintliff	R. C. McCormick
Arizona.....	De Forest Porter	Andrew McHench
Dakota.....	Alexander Hughes	D. P. Thompson
Idaho.....	Austin Savage	W. F. Sanders
Montana.....	Benjamin H. Tatem	William Breeden
New Mexico.....	Samuel B. Axtell	George A. Black
Utah.....	James B. McKean	T. T. Minor
Washington.....	Ellwood Evans	J. M. Carey
Wyoming.....	William Hinton	

The proceedings of the second day began with some remarks by Mrs. Sarah J. Spencer, on equal suffrage. She pleaded eloquently to have the Republican party adopt equal suffrage as a part of its creed, and presented a memorial of similar import from Susan B. Anthony, in behalf of the National Woman's Suffrage Association.

The report of the committee on rules was then adopted, which was the same as that given in the proceedings of the convention of 1872.

When the report of the committee on resolutions came up for adoption, an animated discussion arose over the eleventh section, relating to the free immigration of Chinese. The clause was opposed as un-American and contrary to the Declaration of Independence, by E. L. Pierce, of Massachusetts, and Geo. Wm. Curtis, of New York; and was championed by S. B. Axtell, of New Mexico, John P. Jones, of Nevada, and James B. Belford, of Colorado. The convention refused to strike it out by the following vote :

<i>States.</i>	<i>Aye.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>Aye.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Alabama.....	10	10	New York.....	30	35
Arkansas.....	8	4	North Carolina.....	3	17
California.....	—	12	Ohio.....	19	25
Colorado.....	—	6	Oregon.....	—	6
Connecticut.....	5	7	Pennsylvania.....	—	58
Delaware.....	2	4	Rhode Island.....	5	3
Florida.....	—	8	South Carolina.....	14	—
Georgia.....	7	15	Tennessee.....	2	22
Illinois.....	2	40	Texas.....	—	16
Indiana.....	10	20	Vermont.....	4	6
Iowa.....	12	10	Virginia.....	—	22
Kansas.....	—	10	West Virginia.....	3	7
Kentucky.....	14	10	Wisconsin.....	—	20
Louisiana.....	5	8	Arizona.....	—	2
Maine.....	6	8	Dakota.....	—	2
Maryland.....	15	1	District of Columbia.....	—	2
Massachusetts.....	20	6	Idaho.....	—	2
Michigan.....	6	16	Montana.....	2	—
Minnesota.....	—	10	New Mexico.....	—	2
Mississippi.....	11	5	Utah.....	—	2
Missouri.....	12	17	Washington.....	—	2
Nebraska.....	—	6	Wyoming.....	—	2
Nevada.....	—	6			
New Hampshire.....	2	8			
New Jersey.....	—	18	Totals.....	215	532

It being now in order to present candidates for the Presidency, the roll of States was called.

Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, was nominated by R. W. Thompson, of that State, and seconded by P. B. S. Pinchback, of Louisiana.

Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky, was presented by John M. Harlan, of that State, and seconded by Luke P. Poland, of Vermont, Geo. Wm. Curtis, of New York and Richard H. Dana, of Massachusetts.

James G. Blaine, of Maine, was nominated by Robert G. Ingersoll, of Illinois, and seconded by Henry M. Turner (colored) of Georgia, and Wm. P. Frye, of Maine.

Roscoe Conkling, of New York, was brought forward by Stewart L. Woodford, of that State.

Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, was nominated by Ed. F. Noyes, and seconded by B. F. Wade, of the same State, Augustus St. Gem, of Missouri, and J. W. Davis, of West Virginia.

John F. Hartranft, of Pennsylvania, was presented by Linn Bartholomew, of that State.

The three remarkable speeches were those in favor of Mr. Blaine. That of Ingersoll is still famous;¹ that of Turner (colored) was conspicuous for its rhetorical finish and that of Frye for startling force.

The condition of the Republican party was more factional than it had ever been. Disappointed politicians, from which no party is ever free, wanted one candidate, the "Reformers" another, and the anti-Grant men another; while the masses were largely for Blaine. Under such circumstances, the balloting for a candidate began on Friday morning June, 16, and resulted :

¹ Mr. Ingersoll closed thus :

Our country, crowned by the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of her past and prophetic of her future; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius; asks for a man who has the grandest combination of heart, conscience and brain the world ever saw. That man is James G. Blaine. For the Republican hosts, led by this intrepid man there can be no such thing as defeat. This is a grand year,—a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the sacred past: filled with the legends of liberty; a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountain of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for the man who has preserved in Congress what their soldiers won upon the field; a year in which they call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of the Rebellion; the man who, like the intellectual athlete, hath stood in the arena of debate challenging all comers, and who up to the present moment is a total stranger to defeat. Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every traitor to his country and every maligner of his fair reputation. For the Republican party to desert that gallant man now is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle. James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred, because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

Gentlemen of the Convention: In the name of the great Republic, the only Republic that ever existed upon the face of the earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers that died upon the field of battle; and in the name of those that perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers,—Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders, James G. Blaine.

BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT

STATES.	FIRST BALLOT.								
	Number of Delegates.	Blaine.....	Morton.....	Conkling..	Bristow....	Hayes.....	Harttraft..	Wheeler....	Jewell
Alabama.....	18	10	.....	.....	7	2	.....	.....	1
Arkansas.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	9	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	10
Delaware.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	1	4	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	5	6	8	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	38	.....	.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	.....	30	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Iowa.....	22	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	.....	.....	.....	24	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	2	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	14	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	6	.....	.....	17	.....	.....	3	.....
Michigan.....	22	8	.....	1	9	4	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	.....	11	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	30	14	12	1	2	1	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	.....	2	3	1	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	7	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	13	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
New York.....	70	.....	.....	69	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	9	2	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	.....	.....	.....	.....	44	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	58	.....	.....
Rhode Island.....	8	2	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	.....	13	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	2	5	3	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	4	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	1	.....	.....	8	1	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	16	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	8	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals,	754	285	124	99	113	61	58	3	11

AT CINCINNATI.

SECOND BALLOT.								THIRD BALLOT.							
Baine	Morton	Conkling ..	Bristow	Hayes	Hartant ..	Washburne..	Wheeler.....	Baine.....	Bristow	Conkling....	Hartant....	Hayes.....	Morton.....	Wheeler	Washburne..
16			4					15	4	1			11		
1	11							1		3		3			
6		3		3				6							
6								6	8			2			
2			9	1				2							
6								6		3	3				
4	4							2	3	6					
9	4	6	3					9	3			1	4		
35			6	1				35	6						
	30												30		
22								22							
10								10							
			24						24						
3	12							5					11		
14								14							
16								16							
5			18				3	5	19					2	
8		1	9	4				8	10			4			
9						1		8	1	2		2	5		1
1	6	3	6					1	7			1	11		
15	11	1	2	1				15	3			1			
6								6							
		2			4				2	2	2				
7			3					7	3						
12				6				12				6			
		69	1						1	69					
8	2	3	1		5			9	1	1	8				
			44									44			
6								6							
4					54			3			55				
2								2							
			6						6						
	13		1						1				13		
2	12	1						2	1				13		
8	8		8					1	8				9		
1			8	1				1	7			1			
14	4	4						1		3			4		
8				2				15	3			2			
17	1		2					8					1		
2								16							
2								2							
2								2					1		
1				1				3							
2								1				1			
2								2							
	2							2							
								2							
			2					2	2						
296	120	93	114	64	63	1	3	293	121	90	68	67	113	2	1

BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT

STATES.	FOURTH BALLOT.							
	Blaine.....	Bristow.....	Conkling....	Hartnft....	Hayes.....	Morton.....	Wheeler....	Washburne..
Alabama...	16	4						
Arkansas...	1	6				11		
California...	6		3		3			
Colorado....	6							
Connecticut...	2	9			1			
Delaware.....	6							
Florida.....	3		2	4				
Georgia.....	9	2	6			4		1
Illinois.....	35	5			1			1
Indiana.....						30		
Iowa.....	21		1					
Kansas.....	10							
Kentucky.....		24						
Louisiana.....	5					11		
Maine.....	14							
Maryland.....	16							
Massachusetts...	5	19					2	
Michigan.....	6	11			5			
Minnesota.....	8	1						1
Mississippi.....		7	2	1	1	4		
Missouri.....	18	3			1	8		
Nebraska.....	6							
Nevada.....		1	2	3				
New Hampshire...	7	3						
New Jersey.....	12				6			
New York.....		2	68					
North Carolina...	9			8	1	1		
Ohio.....					44			
Oregon.....	6							
Pennsylvania.....	3			55				
Rhode Island.....	2	6						
South Carolina..		1				13		
Texas.....	1	5				10		
Tennessee.....	7	10				7		
Vermont.....		8			2			
Virginia.....	15					7		
West Virginia...	8				2			
Wisconsin.....	16	3				1		
Arizona.....	2							
Dakota.....	2							
Idaho.....	1					1		
Montana.....	2							
New Mexico.....	1				1			
Utah.....	2							
District of Columbia,	2							
Washington.....	2							
Wyoming.....		2						
Totals.....	292	126	84	71	68	108	2	3

AT CINCINNATI.—Continued.

FIFTH BALLOT.								SIXTH BALLOT.								SEVENTH BALLOT.		
Blaine.....	Bristow.....	Conkling...	Harrafft..	Hayes.....	Morton....	Wheeler....	Washburne..	Blaine.....	Morton....	Conkling....	Bristow.....	Hayes.....	Harrafft..	Washburne..	Wheeler....	Blaine.....	Bristow.....	Hayes.....
16	4	...	...	...	11	...	...	15	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	17	3	...
1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	1
6	...	3	...	3	...	...	...	6	...	2	...	4	...	...	...	6	...	6
6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...
2	8	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	7	3	...	...	...	2	7	3
6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...
2	...	...	3	...	3	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	1	...	8	...	...
3	2	6	...	...	5	...	1	9	4	6	2	...	...	1	...	14	1	7
33	5	...	3	3	...	...	1	32	4	...	5	3	...	2	...	35	5	2
...	...	...	...	...	30	...	...	...	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	25
21	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	21	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	22	...	...
10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...
...	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	24
5	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	6	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	2
14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	...
16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	...
5	19	...	...	...	...	2	...	5	...	...	19	...	...	...	2	5	...	21
...	...	...	...	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	...	...	...	...	...	22
9	...	2	...	2	4	...	1	9	5	2	4	4	...	1	...	9	...	1
...	8	...	...	2	5	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16
20	3	...	...	2	...	...	...	18	7	...	3	2	...	...	...	20	...	10
6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...
...	1	2	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	6
7	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	7	...	3
12	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	12	...	6
...	2	68	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	68	2	...	...	...	...	9	...	61
...	...	...	6	12	1	...	...	12	1	...	...	1	5	...	...	...	...	20
...	...	...	44	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	44	...	...	...	...	...	...	44
6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...
5	...	...	53	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	44	...	...	30	...	28
2	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	2	...	6
5	3	...	...	1	5	...	...	10	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	7	...	7
3	3	...	1	1	8	...	...	2	4	1	1	7	...	...	...	1	...	15
7	10	...	...	...	7	...	...	7	1	...	12	4	...	...	...	6	...	18
...	8	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	2	...	...	...	...	...	10
16	...	...	3	...	3	...	...	13	4	...	3	2	...	...	...	14	...	8
7	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	6	...	4
16	3	...	...	...	1	...	...	16	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	16	...	4
2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2
1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
286	114	82	69	104	95	2	3	308	85	81	111	113	50	4	2	351	21	384

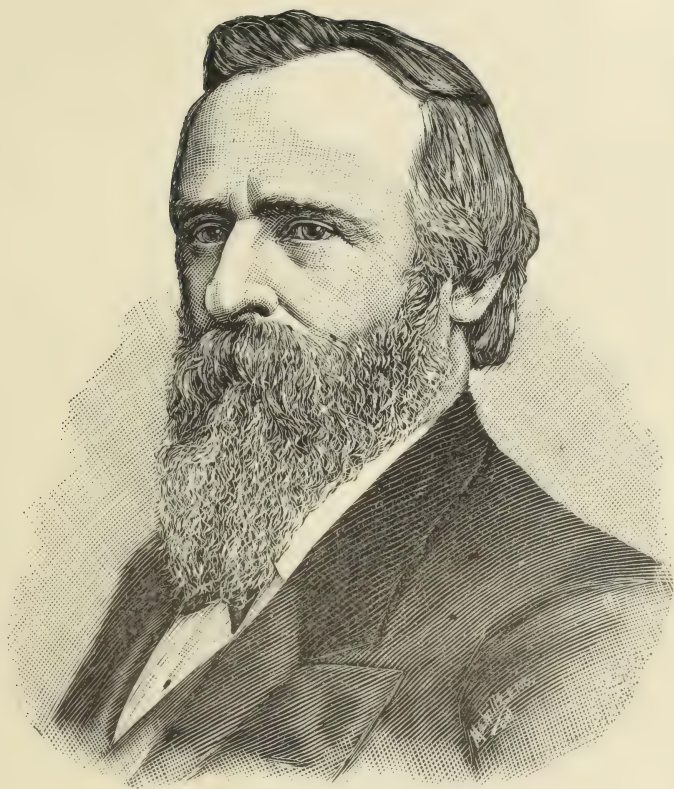
Wm. P. Frye, of Maine, at the close of the seventh ballot, thanked, in a strong and hearty way, the men who had stood by Blaine so gallantly, declared that the Pine Tree State would give the nominee 20,000 majority and moved that the nomination of R. B. Hayes be made unanimous. Carried, with loud acclamations. Roscoe Conkling, of New York, prevented the nomination of Blaine, transferring his strength on the seventh ballot to Hayes.

The nomination of Vice-President being in order, Luke P. Poland, of Vermont, nominated William A. Wheeler, of New York; E. R. Hoar, of Massachusetts, nominated Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut; T. C. Platt, of New York, nominated Stewart L. Woodford, of that State; J. M. Harlan, of Kentucky, nominated Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, and Henry C. Pitney, of New Jersey, nominated F. T. Frelinghuysen, of that State.

After the first ballot had proceeded until South Carolina was reached, S. W. Kellogg, of Connecticut, moved that Mr. Wheeler's nomination be declared unanimous, which was carried.

Having agreed upon a national committee, chairman McPherson appointed the following as a committee to wait upon Mr. Hayes and inform him what had taken place at Cincinnati:

Alabama.....	Willard Warner.	New Jersey.....	W. A. Newall.
Arkansas.....	Powell Clayton.	New York.....	J. W. Husted.
California.....	Alex. G. Abel.	North Carolina.....	Thomas Powers.
Colorado.....	J. B. Chaffee.	Ohio.....	B. Eggleston.
Connecticut.....	Joseph R. Hawley.	Oregon.....	J. C. Tolman.
Delaware.....	J. R. Lofland.	Pennsylvania.....	J. D. Cameron.
Florida.....	S. B. Conover.	Rhode Island.....	C. C. Van Zandt.
Georgia.....	B. Chamberlain.	South Carolina.....	Joseph H. Rainey.
Illinois.....	George S. Bangs.	Tennessee.....	Jacob M. Thornburg.
Indiana.....	Will Cumback.	Texas.....	Edmund J. Davis.
Iowa.....	Hiram Price.	Vermont.....	Luke P. Poland.
Kansas.....	J. P. Lowe.	Virginia.....	John F. Lewis.
Kentucky.....	William C. Goodloe.	West Virginia.....	Joseph W. Davis.
Louisiana.....	S. B. Packard.	Wisconsin.....	Elisha W. Keyes.
Maine.....	Eugene Hale.	Arizona.....	R. C. McCormick.
Maryland.....	W. G. Tuck.	Dakota.....	Alexander Hughes.
Massachusetts.....	E. R. Hoar.	District of Columbia.....	S. J. Bowen.
Michigan.....	William A. Howard.	Idaho.....	D. W. Thompson.
Minnesota.....	Alexander Ramsey.	Montana.....	W. F. Sanders.
Mississippi.....	B. K. Bruce.	New Mexico.....	S. B. Axtell.
Missouri.....	Augustus St. Gem.	Utah.....	James B. McKean.
Nebraska.....	N. R. Pinney.	Washington.....	Orange Jacobs.
Nevada.....	J. P. Jones.	Wyoming.....	J. M. Carey.
New Hampshire.....	E. A. Straw.		



Sincerely
R. B. Hayes

The work of the convention would undoubtedly have come to a different result if it had not been for the prevalence of the so-called "unit-rule," which is an invention of the politicians for forcibly throwing the vote of a State solid for one candidate when a portion of the delegates may favor, or may have been instructed to support another.

The nomination of Hayes was not at first received with general enthusiasm, because he was not a man of such national renown as Blaine, Conkling, Morton and others who had been prominent before the convention. His clean public and private record, however, soon spread among the people, and he grew in strength and popular esteem, day by day, until the close of the campaign.

His opponent, Samuel J. Tilden, was a man of great wealth, adroitness and political power, but he stood upon an anti-resumption platform and had a war record which, to the North, indicated that in case he should be elected the policy of the federal government would once more be dictated or tainted by those secession elements of the South which were still active. Had it not been for these things he certainly would have received an undisputed majority of the electoral colleges and been elected.

As it was, by appalling frauds and butcheries in the South and wholesale corruption in New York City on election day, and a shameless attempt, by means of cipher dispatches, forgery and bribery in Florida, Oregon and elsewhere, to prevent Republican electors from securing their certificates after they had been elected, he came so near capturing a majority that the contest could only be settled by resorting to the novel machinery of the Electoral Commission.

For weeks after the election European journals and the timid people of America predicted fratricidal strife. The Democrats threatened to inaugurate Tilden by force, a hair-brained editor of Kentucky pledging 100,000 men from that State alone for that purpose. But the cooler heads

pointed significantly to the resolute occupant of the White House—Ulysses S. Grant—and the presence in Washington of the grizzled and fearless head of the army—Wm. T. Sherman—and the troglodytes quailed.

Having been exposed in the villainous attempt to corrupt the officials of Oregon and Florida, and purchase electoral votes in those States, the Electoral Commission was organized by act of Congress approved January 29, 1877. It consisted of five Senators—Geo. F. Edmunds, Frederick T. Frelinghuyssen, Oliver P. Morton, Allen G. Thurman¹ and Thomas F. Bayard;¹ five Representatives—Henry B. Payne,¹ Eppa Hunton,¹ George F. Hoar, James A. Garfield and Josiah G. Abbott;¹ and five Associate Justices of the United States Supreme Court—Nathan Clifford,¹ W. Strong, Joseph P. Bradley, Samuel F. Miller and Stephen J. Field.¹

The Commission had all the authority of both Houses or either House of Congress as to taking testimony and admitting evidence, and was under its own rules to enter upon an investigation whenever more than one set of returns should be received from any State, and make a report of its decision to Congress. But that decision was not to deprive the defeated candidate of the right to try the title of his opponent, under *quo warranto* proceedings, to the office of President.

The undisputed States carried by Hayes were California, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Nevada, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont and Wisconsin. The Electoral Commission gave the votes of Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina to Hayes by a vote of eight to seven, on the ground of wholesale intimidation, fraud, disfranchisement and murder by the Democrats. He thus had 185 votes to 184 for Tilden.

¹ Democrats—seven of them.

It would be well if a bench of great minds, such as composed that commission, could look into and decide the result of every Presidential election in the South.

ADMINISTRATION OF R. B. HAYES.

The reign of Mr. Hayes was planned in accordance with the theory of pacification.¹ He thought that by giving the Democrats of the South some part in the administration of public affairs, they would gradually forget their animosities and in time become kindly-disposed toward the Republican party and its policy of progress and enlightenment. He also believed in and attempted to practice civil service reform, and conducted federal business independent of his future prospects, having declared that he would serve but one term as President.

His incumbency was in every way respectable, but conciliation did not conciliate. Aided by the civil service reform of that time, it rather weakened the Republican party, and, instead of mollifying the Democrats, aided and strengthened them.

John Sherman, America's greatest financier, was in the Hayes cabinet as secretary of the treasury. He refunded a large portion of the national debt into bonds bearing a lower rate of interest, and consummated the resumption of specie payments—the two most important transactions of the post-Rebellion period. The latter made our paper and gold circulate together at par, and the former saved to the country a large sum in annual interest charge, brought our national credit above par in European money markets and strengthened every department of business at home.²

The arrears-of-pensions bill was also approved by Hayes, while the eccentric financial legislation of the silver, greenback and inflation men was vetoed by him, though the silver

¹ Amongst other things he took Carl Schurz, who four years before did everything in his power to defeat the Republican party, into his cabinet.

² See Chapter XXIX, on Finances.

bill, shorn of some of its more destructive features, was passed over his head.

At the opening of his administration the country was somewhat burdened with a financial depression, but that speedily passed away before the advance of specie resumption, and the years 1879 and 1880 brought general stability and prosperity in all branches of business.

Politically, the rule of Mr. Hayes was not brilliant; but it was peaceable and respectable and the country prospered under him.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONVENTION OF 1880—THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

Delegates Meet in Chicago on June 2—Large Gathering—Temporary Organization—Speech of George F. Hoar—Lists of Committees—Permanent Organization—Conkling's Resolutions of Impressment—Determined Contest over the 'Unit-Rule'—Designed to Help Grant—Its Defeat—Boutwell's Resolution—Webster Flanagan's Sentiments—Gavel of Historic Timber—Presentation of Candidates—Garfield's Speech—The First Ballot—Thirty-five Additional Ballots—36th Ballot in Detail—Scene After its Announcement—Candidates for the Vice-Presidency—Chester A. Arthur Chosen—Committee of Notification—The Canvass—Disgraceful Assaults on Garfield—The Criminal Morey—Chinese Letter—Its Effect—Garfield Elected—He Carried Nineteen States and 216 Electors' Votes—Auspicious Opening of Garfield's Reign—Shot by a Disappointed Office-seeker—A Long Period of Suffering—Death—The Whole World in Mourning—Arthur Takes the Oath of Office—He Enters Upon a Difficult Task—A Dignified and Successful Administration—Good-will and Confidence Take the Place of Coldness and Distrust.

On Wednesday, June 2, 1880, J. Donald Cameron, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the national committee, called to order the seventh national convention of the Republican party, in the exposition building at Chicago.

A great crowd was present, for giants were in the field as candidates and as generals of the contending forces.

After the usual preliminaries George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, was unanimously chosen temporary chairman. He was conducted to the chair by E. J. Davis, of Texas, Green B. Raum, of Illinois and William P. Frye, of Maine, which he accepted in an able and scholarly speech, reciting the wretched history of the Democracy in contrast with the resplendent triumphs of Republicanism.

The roll of States was then called and the various committees were announced as follows:

STATES.	CREDENTIALS.	RESOLUTIONS.	PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.	RULES.
Alabama..	Isaac Heyman	W. Youngblood	B.S.Turner	J.A.Thomasson
Arkansas..	P.Clayton	S.H.Holland	O.P.Snyder	J.H.Johnson
California..	C.Haymond	D.S.Payne	J.Mansfield	E.A.Davis
Colorado..	G.T.Clark	Amos Steck	John A. Ellett	M.N.Magone
Conn....	S.Fessenden	H.C.Robinson	J.M.Douglas	D.Chadwick
Delaware..	J.R.Lofland	L.G.Clarke	C.Febiger	B.Burton
Florida..	J.E.Lee	F.C.Humphreys	V.J.Shipman	James Dean
Georgia..	Edwin Belcher	A.E.Buck	Madison Davis	R.D.Locke
Illinois....	G.B.Raum	E.A.Storrs	R.Whiting	A.W.Metcalf
Indiana....	B.Higginbotham	G.W.Friedley	J.J.Todd	B.W.Langdon
Iowa.....	J.S.Clarkson	G.D.Perkins	J.M.Sharp	S.M.Clark
Kansas....	B.F.Simpson	B.W.Perkins	S.S.Benedict	G.H.Case
Kentucky..	R.P.Stoll	A.T.Wood	M.C.Hutchins	W.G.Hunter
Louisiana..	[contest]			
Maine.....	A.A.Strout	Lewis Barker	L.G.Downes	L.Powers
Maryland..	W.J.Hooper	J.M.Harris	C.T.Westcott	J.J.Weaver, Jr
Mass.....	C.R.Codman	J.M.Barker	W.B.S.Hopkins	R.M.Morse, Jr
Michigan..	O.D.Conger	G.A.Farr	E.C.Watkins	J.H.Chandler
Minnesota..	D.M.Sabin	D.Sinclair	J.V.Daniels	E.F.Drake
Mississippi	F.M.Libby	C.W.Clarke	James Hill	H.C.Carter
Missouri..	H.E.Havens	R.T.VanHorn	L.C.Slavens	T.B.Rodgers
Nebraska..	N.R.Persinger	J.W.Dawes	V.L.Bierbower	J.L.Mitchell
Nevada....	M.D.Foley	T.D.Edwards	E.Strother	W.W.Bishop
N.H.....	W.E.Chandler	C.Holman	S.W.Hale	J.G.Sturgis
N.Jersey..	C.Robbins	W.W.Phelps	James Gopsill	C.H.Sinnickson
N.York....	B.F.Traey	E.Pierrepoint	H.R.Pierson	G.H.Sharpe
N.Carolina.	G.W.Price, Jr.	J.H.Harris	R.Barringer	O.H.Blocker
Ohio.....	W.M.Boteman	R.M.Stimson	A.Hart	J.A.Garfield
Oregon....	J.H.Mitchell	H.W.Scott	O.P.Tompkins	D.C.Ireland
Penn.....	John Cessna	W.B.Rodgers	H.J.Reeder	W.H.Armstrong
R.Island..	J.P.Sanborn	C.H.Handy	A.K.Goodwin	T.W.Chase
S.Carolina	W.N.Taft	D.M.McCall	W.J.Whipper	C.M.Wilder
Tennessee.	J.M.Thornburgh	H.H.Harrison	W.T.Cate	J.M.Cordell
Texas.....	W.Flanagan	J.G.Tracey	W.H.Hakes	Wm.Chambers
Vermont...	J.W.Stewart	G.G.Benedict	H.C.Belden	J.B.Meade
Virginia..	C.C.Tompkins	J.D.Brady	H.C.Harris	W.R.Watkins
W.Va.....	J.M.Hagans	C.D.Hubbard	J.H.Riley	A.C.Moore
Wisconsin..	E.Sanderson	J.V.Quarles	W.E.Carter	A.J.Turner
Arizona...	R.C.McCormick	W.A.Vosburg	W.A.Vosburg	W.A.Vosburg
Dakota....	Porter Warner	C.T.McCoy	P.Warner	
Dist. of Col.	S.J.Bowen	J.F.Cook	J.F.Cook	
Idaho.....	G.L.Shoup	J.W.Brown	G.L.Shoup	G.L.Shoup
Montana..	H.N.Blake	R.E.Fisk	R.E.Fisk	H.N.Blake
N.Mexico..	W.Breeden	W.L.Rynerson	Wm.Breeden	
Utah.....	V.M.C.Silvia	Presley Denny	V.M.C.Silvia	Presley Denny
Washng't'n	T.H.Brents	T.T.Minor	J.A.Perkins	
Wyoming..	M.C.Brown	W.A.Carter	M.C.Brown	W.A.Carter

Some eloquent remarks followed a resolution by John A. Logan to give 500 tickets of admission to the Veteran Soldiers' Association, which resolution was adopted. The committees, owing to contests of an aggravated form among the delegations from several States, were unable to report, therefore adjournment for that day took place at 3 o'clock P. M.

Soon after re-assembling on Thursday at 11 o'clock, the committee on permanent organization reported as follows, which report was adopted:

President—Geo. F. Hoar, of Massachusetts.

Secretaries—John H. Roberts, of Illinois; C. L. Magee, of Pennsylvania; and Geo. M. Buchanan, of Mississippi.

Reading Clerks—Charles W. Clisbee, of Michigan; and James C. Brodwell, of Missouri.

Stenographer—Eugene Davis, of New York.

STATES.	VICE-PRESIDENTS.	ASSISTANT SECRETARIES.
Alabama.....	James Gillette.	George W. Washington.
Arkansas.....	H. B. Robinson.	J. K. Barnes.
California.....	John Mansfield.	E. A. Davis.
Colorado.....	Lafayette Head.	George T. Clark.
Connecticut.....	Jeremiah Olney.	N. Taylor Baldwin.
Delaware.....	Albert Curry.	Benjamin Burton.
Florida.....	Sherman Conant.	E. I. Alexander.
Georgia.....	S. A. Darnelle.	W. W. Brown.
Illinois.....	John Wentworth.	George M. Brinkerhoff.
Indiana.....	Francis Adkinson.	Roscoe G. Hawkins.
Iowa.....	J. W. Thompson.	P. W. Llewellyn.
Kansas.....	Simon Matz.	P. Hutchinson.
Kentucky.....	E. H. Hobson.	J. R. Puryear.
Louisiana.....	David Young.	Charles Gordon.
Maine.....	Jos. R. Bodwell.	W. W. Thomas, Jr.
Maryland.....	H. J. Brown.	John W. Belt.
Massachusetts.....	Nath'l A. Horton.	Chas. W. Clifford.
Michigan.....	Perry Hannah.	Morgan Bates.
Minnesota.....	D. Morrison.	C. F. Kindred.
Mississippi.....	B. K. Bruce.	G. W. Gayles.
Missouri.....	William J. Terrell.	James E. Adams.
Nebraska.....	D. A. Lewis.	V. L. Bierbower.
Nevada.....	C. C. Stevenson.	J. J. Meigs.
New Hampshire.....	Joel Eastman.	C. M. Murphy.
New Jersey.....	Judson Kilpatrick.	A. P. Condit.
New York.....	Chester A. Arthur.	John B. Murray.
North Carolina.....	D. H. Starbuck.	I. B. Abbott.
Ohio.....	D. M. Harkness.	H. C. Hedges.
Oregon.....	O. P. Tompkins.	D. C. Ireland.
Pennsylvania.....	Hamilton Disston.	Wm. C. Moreland.
Rhode Island.....	Isaac M. Potter.	Horace A. Jenckes.
South Carolina.....	W. F. Myers.	W. A. Hayne.
Tennessee.....	W. Y. Elliott.	Fred. R. Hunt.
Texas.....	W. H. Holland.	George N. Dilley.
Vermont.....	J. G. McCullough.	L. B. Cross.
Virginia.....	William H. Pleasants.	M. R. De Mortie.
West Virginia.....	J. T. Hoke.	S. P. McCormick.
Wisconsin.....	Philetus Sawyer.	George E. Bryant.
Arizona.....	Richard C. McCormick.	
Dakota.....	Porter Warner.	Frank Veits.
Dis. of Columbia.....	Sayles J. Bowen.	
Idaho.....	George L. Shoup.	J. W. Brown.
Montana.....	Robert E. Fisk.	Henry N. Blake.
Utah.....	Pressley Denny.	V. M. C. Silvia.
Washington.....	Thomas H. Brents.	Thomas T. Miner.
Wyoming.....	W. A. Carter.	M. C. Brown.

Without accomplishing anything in the way of appropriate business, the convention adjourned for the day at 7:30 P. M. On re-assembling on Friday, Roscoe Conkling offered a resolution:

Resolved, As the sense of this convention that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, no matter who that nominee may be; and that no man should hold a seat here who is not ready to so agree.

The roll of States was called and the resolution was adopted, 716 to 3. Mr. Conkling then sent up another resolution:

Resolved, That the delegates who have voted that they will not abide the action of this convention do not deserve and have forfeited their votes in this convention.

This precipitated a spirited debate, in which, however, Mr. Conkling took no part. Finally, after the three delegates from West Virginia who voted against the first resolution had said they did not intend by their votes to declare they would not support the nominees of the convention, but merely to express their disapproval of the expediency of the resolution, James A. Garfield, of Ohio, expressed the hope that the second resolution would be withdrawn, and Mr. Conkling thereupon withdrew it.

James A. Garfield, from the committee on rules, reported practically the rules recorded in the proceedings of 1872, which, after considerable debate, a minority report having been made by Geo. H. Sharpe, of New York, on behalf of nine States, was adopted. An additional rule, number 11, was adopted, referring all resolutions to the committee on platform without debate.

The principal contest of the convention arose over the report of the committee on credentials. A powerful attempt had been made by the friends of certain candidates to control the entire delegations of given States by the operation of the "unit-rule." That is to say, if forty of the fifty-eight delegates from Pennsylvania favored the nomination of

Grant, and eighteen were for Blaine, it was proposed that the vote of Pennsylvania should not be cast by districts in such a manner that each man could express his choice—forty for Grant and eighteen for Blaine—but that the forty should control the eighteen and the entire vote of the State, fifty-eight, be cast for Grant.

This question entered into the report of the committee on credentials because there were contests from Illinois and other States, which, if decided in favor of district or individual representation, would help one candidate, and if decided in favor of the unit-rule, or State representation, would help some other candidate.

The controversy on this point was long, able and determined. The majority report, except in one or two special instances, favored clean, untrammelled district representation, while the minority¹ reported in favor of the iron-clad unit-rule. In supporting the latter for Illinois, Emory A. Storrs made a speech of some length in favor of U. S. Grant. As no candidate had been put in nomination at that time, his speech was supposed to demonstrate that the demand for enforcing the unit-rule was founded upon a desire to increase the strength of Grant.

At last the principle of district representation prevailed. The discussion of it continued through Friday until 2 o'clock in the morning, and until 5 o'clock Saturday afternoon. It had not only occupied much valuable time, but had been the cause of more or less personality and bitterness. As far as the point in controversy alone is concerned, however, the

¹ This controversy may be easily illustrated by extracting a single paragraph from the minority report:

The minority wish to call the attention of the Convention especially to the contest in West Virginia. We insist that it stands, in respect to principle and facts, precisely upon the same grounds as the contests in Illinois, Alabama and Kansas. The contestants were selected as delegates by the caucus (or "convention," as characterized by the majority) of the Congressional delegation in attendance upon the State Convention. Their names were reported to the Convention. The State Convention *refused* to give them credentials to this Convention, but selected other delegates, upon the ground that the contestants, *although properly representing the sentiments of their constituents*, were not in accord with the majority of the State Convention.

result was wholesome. Geo. F. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, sent up the following resolution for the purpose of cutting off all such contests in the future:

Resolved, That the National Republican Committee be and it is hereby instructed to prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the national convention, to be held in 1884, to announce the same to the country, and to issue the call for that convention in conformity therewith.

The resolution of Mr. Boutwell was finally added to the 10th rule of the convention, with a proviso that the national committee should not adopt any rule or regulation that would deprive the various Congressional Districts of the United States of the right to elect their own delegates to the national conventions.¹

Edwards Pierrepont now presented the platform. James M. Barker, of Massachusetts, moved to amend it by adding a pretty stiff civil service reform plank, the substance of which was that political considerations should not control either in the appointment or dismissal of federal officials, who, after being appointed, should be retained during competency and good behavior.

In opposing this plank Webster Flanagan, of Texas, made a speech² which afforded great merriment for the delegates as well as the galleries, and made him famous.

At the evening session of Saturday the national committee was agreed upon, and a gavel of historic value was presented to the chairman, by James P. Root, of Chicago. The head of it was made of wood taken from the home of

¹ That these instructions were obeyed perfectly may be seen by reading the call for the national convention of 1884, given in the Appendix.

² He said: *Mr. President*: Texas has had quite enough of civil service reform. During the last four years, sir, out of 1,400 officers appointed by the President of the United States, 140 represented the Republican party. We are not here, sir, for the purpose of providing offices for the Democracy. There is one plank in the Democratic party that I have ever admired, and that is, "To the victors belong the spoils." After we have won the race, as we will, we will give those who are entitled to positions, office. What are we up here for? I mean that members of the Republican party are entitled to office, and if we are victorious we will have office. I, therefore move to lay the amendment on the table.

Abraham Lincoln, and the handle of a cane grown on Washington's estate at Mount Vernon.

Nominations were now in order.

The presentation of James G. Blaine was made by James F. Joy, of Michigan, and seconded by F. M. Pixley, of California, and Wm. P. Frye, of Maine.

The name of William Windom, of Minnesota, was brought forward by E. F. Drake, of that State.

Ulysses S. Grant, of New York, was nominated by Roscoe Conkling, of that State, and seconded by William O. Bradley, of Kentucky.

John Sherman, of Ohio, was nominated by James A. Garfield,¹ of that State, and seconded by F. C. Winkler, of Wisconsin, and R. B. Elliott, of South Carolina.

George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, was presented by Frederick Billings, of that State, and seconded by John E. Sanford, of Massachusetts.

Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, was nominated by J. B. Cassoday, of Wisconsin, and seconded by Augustus Brandagee, of Connecticut.

This ended the speeches of nomination, and at 12 o'clock Saturday night the convention adjourned until Monday at 10 o'clock.

¹ Mr. GARFIELD of Ohio. *Mr. President:* I have witnessed the extraordinary scenes of this Convention with deep solicitude. Nothing touches my heart more quickly than a tribute of honor to a great and noble character; but as I sat in my seat and witnessed this demonstration, this assemblage seemed to me a human ocean in tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury, and tossed into spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man; but I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths are measured.

When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when the sunlight bathes its peaceful surface, then the astronomer and surveyor take the level from which they measure all terrestrial heights and depths.

Gentlemen of the Convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of our people. When your enthusiasm has passed when the motions of this hour have subsided, we shall find below the storm and passion that calm level of public opinion from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured, and by which their final action will be determined.

Not here, in this brilliant circle where 15,000 men and women are gathered, is the destiny of the Republic to be decreed for the next four years. Not here where I see the enthusiastic faces of 756 delegates, waiting to cast their lots into the urn and determine the choice of the Republic; but by 4,000,000 of Republican firesides, where the thoughtful voters, with wives and children about them, with the calm thoughts inspired by love and country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and reverence for the great men who have adorned and blessed our nation in days gone by, burning in their hearts—there God prepares the verdict which will determine the wisdom of our work to-night. Not in Chicago, in the heat of June, but at the ballot-boxes of the Republic, in the quiet of November, after the silence of deliberate judgment, will this question be settled.

The intervening Sunday was a memorable day. The vast crowds present during the week thinned out, but the delegates remained in Chicago to receive telegrams, papers, letters, influence and pressure from all directions, in favor of this candidate or that. On re-assembling Monday morning the convention proceeded at once to ballot, which resulted as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.....	Blaine.....	Sherman....	Edmunds...	Windom.....	Washburne.
Alabama.....	20	16	1	3			
Arkansas.....	12	12					
California.....	12		12				
Colorado.....	6	6					
Connecticut.....	12		3		2		7
Delaware.....	6		6				
Florida.....	8	8					
Georgia.....	22	6	8	8			
Illinois.....	42	24	10				8
Indiana.....	30	1	26	2			1
Iowa.....	22		22				
Kansas.....	10	4	6				
Kentucky.....	24	20	1	3			
Louisiana.....	16	8	2	6			
Maine.....	14		14				
Maryland.....	16	7	7	2			
Massachusetts.....	26	3		2	20		1
Michigan.....	22	1	21				
Minnesota.....	10					10	
Mississippi.....	16	6	4	6			
Missouri.....	30	29					1
Nebraska.....	6		6				
Nevada.....	6		6				
New Hampshire.....	10		10				
New Jersey.....	18		16				2
New York.....	70	51	17	2			
North Carolina.....	20	6		14			
Ohio.....	44		9	34	1		
Oregon.....	6		6				
Pennsylvania.....	58	32	23	3			
Rhode Island.....	8		8				
South Carolina.....	14	13		1			
Tennessee.....	24	16	6	1	1		
Texas.....	16	11	2	2			1
Vermont.....	10				10		
Virginia.....	22	18	3	1			
West Virginia.....	10	1	8				
Wisconsin.....	20	1	7	3			9
Arizona.....	2		2				
Dakota.....	2	1	1				
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1				
Idaho.....	2		2				
Montana.....	2		2				
New Mexico.....	2		2				
Utah.....	2	1	1				
Washington.....	2		2				
Wyoming.....	2	1	1				
Totals.....	756	304	284	93	34	10	30

The balloting then continued without much interruption or material change, until the State of Wisconsin, on the 34th ballot, broke the column by giving sixteen votes to Garfield.¹ W. A. M. Grier, a delegate from Pennsylvania, had voted for him steadily from the second ballot, but without making any apparent impression until Wisconsin led off, advising Ohio in vain to do so, thus breaking John Sherman's forces, followed immediately by the weary battalions of all the candidates but Grant. His lieutenants had gone in to win or die, but as will be seen by the following detail of the last ballot, more than one-half of his support came from those States, which, had they secured his nomination, would not have given him a single electoral vote. It may be said that James G. Blaine gave the nomination to Garfield. The 36th and last ballot stood as follows :

¹ On the day the nomination was made as Garfield was walking to the Exposition Building with Charles Foster, a tract peddler handed him a leaf on which were these words, from Acts : "This is the stone which is set at naught of you builders, which is become the head of the corner."

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Grant.	Maine.....	Sherman . .	Washburne .	Garfield.....
Alabama.....	20	16	4			....
Arkansas.....	12	12				....
California.....	12		12			....
Colorado.....	6	6				....
Connecticut.....	12		1			11
Delaware.....	6		6			....
Florida.....	8	8				....
Georgia.....	22	8	10	3		1
Illinois.....	42	24	6		5	7
Indiana.....	30	1				29
Iowa.....	22					22
Kansas.....	10	4				6
Kentucky.....	24	20	1			3
Louisiana.....	16	8				8
Maine.....	14					14
Maryland.....	16	6				10
Massachusetts.....	26	4				22
Michigan.....	22	1				21
Minnesota.....	10	2				8
Mississippi.....	16	7				9
Missouri.....	30	29				1
Nebraska.....	6					6
Nevada.....	6	2	1			3
New Hampshire.....	10					10
New Jersey.....	18					18
New York.....	70	50				20
North Carolina.....	20	5				15
Ohio.....	44					43
Oregon.....	6					6
Pennsylvania.....	58	37				21
Rhode Island.....	8					8
South Carolina.....	14	8				6
Tennessee.....	24	15	1			8
Texas.....	16	13				3
Vermont.....	10					10
Virginia.....	22	19				3
West Virginia.....	10	1				9
Wisconsin.....	20					20
Arizona.....	2					2
Dakota.....	2					2
District of Columbia.....	2					2
Idaho.....	2					2
Montana.....	2					2
New Mexico.....	2					2
Utah.....	2					2
Washington.....	2					2
Wyoming.....	2					2
Totals.....	756	306	42	3	5	399

The thousands who had kept tally knew that Garfield had won. There was a momentary hush, as if the seven or eight thousand people were taking breath, and then the storm burst; and while the cheering went on, the banners of the several States were borne to the place where the Ohio delegation sat, Garfield in the midst of them. The band was

playing "The Battle-Cry of Freedom" at the lower end of the hall; and when the cheering subsided for a moment, the air was taken up and sung in chorus by thousands of voices. This went on for a quarter of an hour, during which time Conkling sat in his place at the head of his delegation without betraying emotion of any sort. Efforts were made to get Garfield out; but he remained hidden in the midst of his Ohio friends.

At the end of the commotion Roscoe Conkling, leader of the Grant forces, moved that the nomination of Garfield be made unanimous, supplementing it with a hearty speech predicting certain victory. He was followed in the same strain by John A. Logan, of Illinois, J. A. Beaver, of Pennsylvania, W. H. Pleasants, of Virginia, A. W. Campbell, of West Virginia, W. W. Hicks, of Florida, A. B. Norton, of Texas, Charles Foster, of Ohio, L. C. Houck, of Tennessee, Ben. H. Harrison, of Indiana, and Eugene Hale, of Maine.

Mr. Conkling's motion was agreed to unanimously, amidst resounding hurrahs. Then, after a brief recess, F. M. Pixley, of California, nominated E. B. Washburne for Vice-President, which was seconded by Dennis McCarthy, of New York, and A. W. Campbell, of West Virginia; H. C. Robinson, of Connecticut, presented Marshall Jewell, of that State; W. W. Hicks, of Florida, nominated Thomas Settle, of that State, seconded by J. H. Harris, of North Carolina; L. C. Houck, of Tennessee, nominated Horace Maynard, of that State; Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, nominated Chester A. Arthur, of that State, seconded by William Dennison, of Ohio, Judson Kilpatrick, of New Jersey, Emory A. Storrs, of Illinois, J. R. Lynch, of Mississippi, J. M. Harris, of Maryland, Chauncey I. Filley, of Missouri, and P. J. Carter, of Virginia. William Chambers, of Texas, nominated Edmund J. Davis, of that State. On a call of the States Mr. Arthur was chosen by the following vote:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Del.	Arthur.....	Washburne.	Jewell.....	Woodford..	Maynard ..	Settle	Bruce.....	Davis	Alcorn.....
Alabama.....	20	18	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	12	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	12	.....	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	22	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	42	24	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	5	11	5	1	4	1	2	.....	.....
Iowa.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	10	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	24	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	16	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	2	.....
Maine.....	14	.....	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	16	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	26	2	22	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Michigan.....	22	6	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	10	8	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	16	11	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Missouri.....	30	30	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	10	3	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	18	3	14	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New York.....	70	69	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	20	20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	42	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	58	47	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Rhode Island.....	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	14	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	24	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	16	9	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vermont.....	10	4	5	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	19	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	10	1	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	20	2	16	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....
Arizona.....	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dakota.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Idaho.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	756	468	193	44	1	30	1	8	2	4

On motion of R. C. McBeth, of Missouri, seconded by Creed Haymond, of California, the nomination was made unanimous. Before adjournment, which followed soon after, at 7:25 P. M. of Tuesday, June 8, the chair appointed the following committee to notify the nominees of the action of the convention:

GEO. F. HOAR, Mass., <i>Chairman.</i>	Mississippi	George C. McKee
Alabama..... Willard Warner	Missouri.....	Robert T. VanHorn
Arkansas..... M. W. Gibbs	Nebraska.....	Lorenzo Crounse
California..... Creed Haymond	Nevada.....	M. D. Foley
Colorado..... John L. Routt	New Hampshire.....	Benjamin F. Prescott
Connecticut..... H. B. Bigelow	New Jersey.....	Judson Kilpatrick
Delaware..... James R. Lofland	New York.....	William H. Robertson
Florida..... Sherman Conant	North Carolina.....	Stewart Ellison
Georgia..... J. F. Long	Ohio.....	Charles Foster
Illinois..... John A. Logan	Oregon.....	John H. Mitchell
Indiana..... Ben. H. Harrison	Pennsylvania.....	John Cessna
Iowa..... Robert M. Haynes	Rhode Island.....	John P. Sanborn
Kansas..... P. B. Plumb	South Carolina.....	R. B. Elliott
Kentucky..... John D. White	Tennessee.....	A. M. Hughes, Jr
Louisiana..... William Pitt Kellogg	Texas.....	E. J. Davis
Maine..... Eugene Hale	Vermont.....	Frederick Billings
Maryland..... J. A. J. Creswell	Virginia.....	Joseph Jorgenson
Massachusetts..... W. S. B. Hopkins	West Virginia.....	A. W. Campbell
Michigan..... Omar D. Conger	Wisconsin.....	Philetus Sawyer
Minnesota..... A. C. Wedge	CHAS. W. CLISBEE, Mich., <i>Secretary.</i>	

The canvass of 1880 was notable for its malignity of personal attack and the extreme criminality of the methods of the Democracy. Gen. W. S. Hancock was the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, but he had no part in the wickedness of the campaign.

The disfranchisement of several entire States of the South and the butchery of several hundred colored Republicans at each election had become so familiar to the public as a part of the regular Democratic election programme as to excite but little comment and less wonder. But when the highest men in the party conceived and executed a base forgery, as they did in the Morey-Chinese letter, and poisoned and deceived the people by uttering and re-affirming it as genuine after its falsity had been detected and exposed, the Democracy fell into the uttermost detestation and disrepute.

The crime was so low and vulgar, and was carried out so deliberately and wickedly by men of such high social and political standing, that the world stood aghast and astonished. And it seemed impossible to believe that, under the circumstances, the party could command the vote of a single honorable citizen anywhere.

But as butcheries and frauds had always succeeded in the South, so the crime of forgery was successful on the Pacific slope, and Nevada and California gave all but one of their electoral votes to Hancock.

Nevertheless, the Republicans were abundantly successful. Garfield received the electoral votes of Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont and Wisconsin—nineteen States and 216 votes, in addition to the one vote of California. Hancock received the votes of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia—eighteen States and 147 votes, besides five votes from California. Of these eighteen States he was legitimately entitled to Delaware, New Jersey, Texas, Missouri, Maryland, Georgia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Arkansas, West Virginia, Tennessee and probably Virginia and Alabama—thirteen States and 120 votes. The remaining States that were counted for Hancock were carried by the common killings and frauds of the Democratic party in the South, or the forgery of the Morey letter by its cardinals and bishops in the North.

In any other business but that of politics, forgers, defrauders and murderers soon find their way to the penitentiary or the scaffold.

THE GARFIELD AND ARTHUR ADMINISTRATION.

The administration of James A. Garfield opened auspiciously on the 4th of March, 1881. The country was at peace, business was prosperous and reasonably profitable, the national debt was being steadily and rapidly reduced, the postal service was becoming a source of small revenue above its cost, and public favor smiled benignly.

However, his officers soon discovered and began to expose corruption in the Star-route postal service. An investigation and prosecution was instituted against the malfasant public servants, which subjected him to endless attack and persecu-

tion, to which was added a controversy over certain New York appointments.

These things engendered a large amount of personal bitterness. Unfortunately that bitterness was not confined to leading statesmen and the respectable partisans of each, but reached a low-bred, vicious and licentious vagabond named Charles J. Guiteau.

This Guiteau was what is vulgarly termed a "dead-beat," and, like many another of that class, was an office-seeker. Having been repeatedly repulsed in his sorties for foreign missions, he conceived the brutal theory that if Garfield were "removed" the enemies of the President would triumph and that he, Guiteau, would be liberally rewarded by them for the removal.

He therefore purchased a large pistol, entered into practice with it, went once while Garfield was at worship to assassinate him, and once when he started with his wife for Long Branch. The presence of Mrs. Garfield and other influences unnerved the wretch, and the murder was postponed.

On the morning of the 2d of July Garfield was in high spirits. He was to start that day with his wife, who was at Long Branch convalescent from a long fever, for New England. He was astir early. His son Jim, a young athlete, entered his room and turned a "hand-spring" across the bed.

"Don't you wish you could do that?" asked the boy.

"I think I can," said Garfield, and placing his hands on the edge of the bed, turned quickly and neatly over.

Having had breakfast he drove to the depot to take the train for New York, in company with Secretary Blaine. The train was not yet due, so the two sat and chatted together pleasantly. In the railway office Guiteau, a slim, pale, cruel-looking character, was walking nervously back and forth. As the President entered, the nervousness of Guiteau increased. He stared out of the windows suddenly, walked spaces of six feet in short, quick steps, and then setting his

teeth, stepped toward Garfield's back, pulled a pistol, and, holding it steadily, fired.

Garfield turned to see whence the attack came, and the assassin cocked his revolver and fired again, with even greater deliberation than before. The wounded President fell, and Blaine rushed to grasp the assassin, who, turning quickly, escaped him, only to be caught by an officer standing near.

Presently Garfield regained consciousness, and opening his eyes, said: "Rockwell, I want you to send a message to Crete [a pet name for his wife Lucretia] and I will dictate it. Tell her I am seriously hurt—how seriously I can not say. I am myself and hope she will come to me soon. I send my love to her."

Picture the confused, bloody surroundings, and then say whether that was not a remarkable telegram.

He was driven rapidly to the White House in an ambulance; a military guard, with flashing bayonets, was thrown out to keep back the gathering crowds, and a message was sent to Mrs. Garfield at Elbernon.

The first telegram that carried the dread news to the outer world said: "The President has been shot; the assassin arrested."

People could not believe it. The day was too bright, society too much at peace for such shocking news. Ten minutes later the name of the assassin and the condition of the President were telegraphed to every spot in the Republic, and then all doubts were dispelled.

When Lincoln was shot the country was accustomed to bloodshed, death and terrible calamities. Frightful deeds were expected, for the people of one portion of the Union were arrayed in deadly conflict against those of the other, and many people had for years hoped Lincoln would be destroyed. But when President Garfield fell the sun was shining brightly, the country was at peace, sectional hatred was

slumbering, our hearts and feelings were trained to the softened ways of tranquility, and the future looked warm and glorious.

The shock, therefore, was all the greater, the deed more appalling.

Garfield lingered in great suffering. He inquired of the physicians concerning his chances and received the answer: "Your injuries are formidable, but you have a chance for recovery." "Well, then," said the patient, "I'll take that chance." He grew weaker and weaker—his system slowly eating away with the poison generated by the wound, and for days death was momentarily expected. At 1 o'clock in the morning of September 19, the President suddenly put his hand to his heart and cried in agony, "Oh, oh, Swaim!"

The physicians knew the end was near, and friends were hastily summoned. In half an hour the weary soul that had so patiently and bravely battled against pain and death took its eternal flight.

The whole world went into mourning, and the 50,000,000 of people in this Republic became a vast funeral procession. Garfield was buried at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 24th of September, amidst ceremonies of the most solemn and impressive character. The caparisoned horses which drew the hearse were led by the colored men who performed the same service at the funeral of Lincoln.

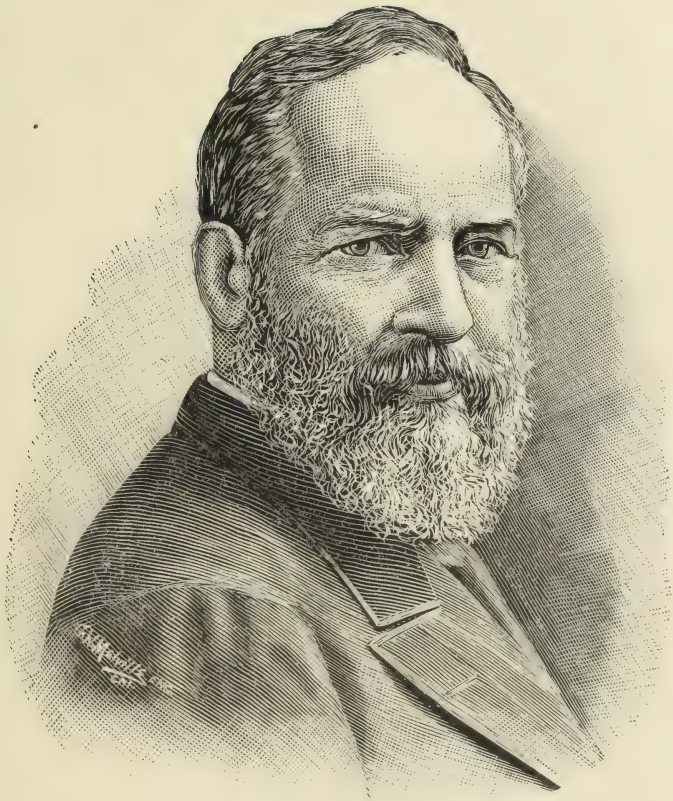
Chester A. Arthur, of New York, Vice-President, on receiving official news of Garfield's death, hastily summoned the justices of the New York Supreme Court in New York City. Justices Brady and Donahue responded, and in the presence of them and a few others Mr. Arthur took the oath of office as President of the United States, in the front parlor of his residence, at 2 o'clock in the morning of September 20.

Mr. Arthur entered the White House under embarrassing circumstances. He had not been conspicuously in public life, and but little was known of his abilities or characteristics.

He was entangled, too, in the New York political broil, and, therefore, unpopular in that regard with a large portion of the people. But he entered upon his duties in such an unostentatious manner, dealt with unpleasant problems so judiciously, treated the various factions with such uniform courtesy, and withal observed such a high degree of propriety and conservatism in everything that he did, that coldness, dissatisfaction and uneasiness were soon followed by good will, confidence and praise.

His administration is drawing to a close, and goes into the record as one of the most tranquil, respectable and prosperous in our history. Foreign affairs have been handled with dignity, domestic matters have been so guided as to escape friction, bitterness and disaster, and everything has been accomplished without jar or contention.

The country is generally prosperous, immigration is large, new settlements are pushing rapidly into the West, taxes have been taken from matches and other articles of domestic manufacture, the rate of first-class postage has been reduced one-third, the Star-route excesses have been entirely exterminated, postal facilities have been increased and perfected, civil service reform has been inaugurated, large land grants have been resumed for the benefit of settlers, pensions of one-armed, one-legged and otherwise disabled soldiers have been materially increased, and the general march of thrifty tranquility has been maintained.



J. A. Garfield

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONVENTION OF 1884

Almost a Solid North against a Solid South—The Enthusiastic Masses for Blaine—The Cool and Diplomatic Support of Arthur—Independents, Reformers and Some Genuine Republicans Unite on Edmunds—Ten Thousand People Called to Order by Dwight M. Sabin—His Address—J. R. Lynch Elected over Powell Clayton for Temporary Chairman—Vote by States—Lynch's Address—Lists of Officers and Committees—Resolutions in Regard to Labor, Representation in Future Conventions, Liquor Traffic and Foreign Ownership of Lands—Oath of Allegiance Defeated—John B. Henderson Chosen Permanent Chairman—His Address—Resolutions in Regard to Equal Suffrage—The Knights of Labor—Reports of Committee on Rules—The Minority Favor a Change in Representation—Eloquent Speeches in Opposition—It Is Defeated—Nomination of Joseph R. Hawley, of John A. Logan, of James G. Blaine, of Chester A. Arthur, of John Sherman and of Geo. F. Edmunds—Uproarious Demonstrations—The Balloting Begins—334½ for Blaine, 278 for Arthur—Blaine Gains Steadily and Is Nominated on the Fourth Ballot—Logan's Patriotic Telegram—The Ballot in Detail—Burleigh Moves, on Behalf of President Arthur, to Make the Nomination Unanimous—Presentation of John A. Logan for the Second Place—All the Speeches Are for One Man—The Ballot in Detail—779 for Logan, 7 for Foraker and 6 for Gresham—Enthusiastic Reception of the Nominees—Few Sores and Disappointments—A Strong Ticket.

The fourth national republican convention held in Chicago was as full of interest and characteristic features as any of its predecessors. It repeated to a certain extent, the spectacle of the first Democratic convention of 1860—a solid South against a solid North. The delegates of the South, mostly composed of federal officials, were naturally for

Chester A. Arthur, the reigning President, while the Northern delegates, directly from the people of the Republican States, were practically for James G. Blaine.

Although the Republican States had chosen but few administration delegates, those who favored the nomination of Arthur made a strong and respectable canvass in his behalf. They pointed to his clean, dignified and conservative administration, his abstinence from factional appointments, the friendly feeling of the business classes and the general prosperity of public affairs.

The adherents of Blaine represented the young, progressive blood of the party, the sentiment of the rural and Republican districts, the majorities in the Republican States, the unselfish enterprise of politics, the positive Americanism of the time, and the classes who never bolt, threaten or sulk, but always carry the Republican banners and vote the Republican ticket with hearty good will.

The Arthur forces were cool, adroit and diplomatic. They proposed to win an administration victory either with Arthur or some one who represented him. The followers of Blaine were numerous, intrepid and enthusiastic. They were for Blaine because they loved and admired the man, and wanted a President who would give the country a clear-cut, positive administration, typical of American progress and character.

The so-called reformers, the independents and a few who vote the Republican ticket on those rare occasions when they can dictate its nominees, united with a number of genuine Republicans on Geo. F. Edmunds. They did not recognize the rule or wish of the majority, but thought that by combining with factions as obstructionists, and holding the balance of power, they could defeat the popular choice and then compel the nomination of their favorite, thus securing the credit of making a President. These independents, meagre in numbers, instead of holding an independent convention, with which, of course, the Republicans would not have interfered,

journeyed to Chicago to attempt to control the proceedings of the convention of a party to which they did not claim to belong. Most of the Edmunds men, however, intended from the first, if their candidate should fail, to support the nominee, whoever he might be, heartily and faithfully, as they had always done.

At 12 o'clock of Tuesday, June 3, 1884, the convention was called to order in the exposition building by Dwight M. Sabin, of Minnesota, chairman of the Republican National Committee. Ten thousand persons were in the room, which was festooned with flags and banners from every State. The proceedings opened with prayer by Rev. Bristol, reading of the formal call and a brief address by Chairman Sabin. References by Mr. Sabin to Lincoln, Grant and Garfield, brought forth hearty applause.

Instantly, after the conclusion of the chairman's address, Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, moved to substitute the name of John R. Lynch, the colored congressman of Mississippi, for that of Powell Clayton, who had been chosen by the national committee for temporary chairman.

The motion was seconded by Silas B. Dutcher, of New York, and a demand was made for an individual roll-call.

W. W. Morrow, of California, J. H. Drummond, of Maine, John Stewart, of Pennsylvania, Ben. M. Prentiss, of Missouri, Clark E. Carr, of Illinois, J. M. Thurston, of Nebraska, and M. W. Benjamin, of Arkansas, spoke in favor of sustaining the recommendation of the national committee, which had invariably been done in the past, thereby becoming the common law of the party.

Geo. W. Curtis and Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, P. H. Winston, of North Carolina, W. N. Taft, of South Carolina, and W. G. Green, of Maryland, supported the motion to substitute Lynch for Clayton.

R. G. Horr moved a call of the roll of States instead of individuals, in order to save two hours of time. Chairman

Sabin declared the motion out of order. Evidences of disapproval being manifest, Sabin, in order to sustain his decision, read from the proceedings of the convention of 1880 where Geo. F. Hoar declared : "The chair supposes that in the absence of any rule the method of taking the question rests in the sound discretion of the chair, *subject, of course, to the order of the convention.*"

J. B. Foraker, of Ohio, then moved to call the roll by States, thus allowing the chairman of each State delegation to announce the vote thereof. Sabin refused to recognize or put the motion, thus violating the very authority he had just quoted to sustain his previous ruling against Mr. Horr.

The roll of individuals was therefore called, and resulted in electing Mr. Lynch by the following vote :

<i>States.</i>	<i>Lynch.</i>	<i>Clay- ton.</i>	<i>States</i>	<i>Lynch.</i>	<i>Clay- ton.</i>
Alabama.....	19	1	North Carolina.....	18	4
Arkansas.....	1	13	Ohio.....	23	23
California.....	1	15	Oregon.....	..	6
Colorado.....	..	6	Pennsylvania.....	15	44
Connecticut.....	6	6	Rhode Island.....	8	..
Delaware.....	1	5	South Carolina.....	18	..
Florida.....	7	1	Tennessee.....	21	3
Georgia.....	24	..	Texas.....	12	13
Illinois.....	16	28	Vermont.....	8	..
Indiana.....	10	20	Virginia.....	20	4
Iowa.....	3	23	West Virginia.....	..	12
Kansas.....	4	14	Wisconsin.....	12	10
Kentucky.....	20	6	<i>Territories.</i>		
Louisiana.....	13	5	Arizona.....	..	2
Maine.....	..	12	Dakota.....	..	2
Maryland.....	6	10	District of Columbia.....	1	1
Massachusetts.....	24	4	Idaho.....	2	..
Michigan.....	12	14	Montana.....	1	1
Minnesota.....	6	8	New Mexico.....	2	..
Mississippi.....	16	2	Utah.....	..	2
Missouri.....	15	17	Washington.....	1	1
Nebraska.....	2	8	Wyoming.....	2	..
Nevada.....	..	6			
New Hampshire.....	8	..	Total.....	431	387
New Jersey.....	3	10	Majority.....	44	
New York.....	45	27			

John R. Lynch was declared elected, and Powell Clayton, H. C. Lodge and W. N. Taft were appointed to conduct him to the chair. He made a creditable speech, saying, among other things:

“I am prepared, and I hope that every member of this convention is prepared, to return to his home with an unmis- tak-

able determination to give the candidates of this convention a loyal and hearty support, whoever they may be. I am satisfied in my own mind that when we go before the people of this country our action will be ratified, because the great heart of the American people will never consent that any political party gain the ascendancy in this government whose chief reliance for that support is a fraudulent ballot and violence at the polls. I am satisfied that the people of this country are too loyal ever to allow a man to be inaugurated President of the United States whose title to the position may be brought forth in fraud, and whose garments may be saturated with the innocent blood of hundreds of his countrymen.

The roll of States was called for officers, resulting as follows:

STATES.	VICE-PRESIDENTS.	SECRETARIES.
Alabama.....	Paul Strobach.	J. C. Duke.
Arkansas.....	S. H. Holland.	A. A. Tufts.
Connecticut.....	Fred Miles.	L. I. Munson.
Florida.....	J. G. Long.	.....
Illinois.....	J. I. Rinaker.	Chas. T. Strattan.
Indiana.....	J. C. Veatch.	Eugene G. Hay.
Iowa.....	T. M. C. Logan.	C. Manning.
Kansas.....	John G. Woods.	J. S. McDowell.
Kentucky.....	W. L. Hazelit.	Allen Allensworth.
Louisiana.....	R. F. Guichard.	Clifford Morgan.
Maine.....	J. R. Bodwell.	Austin Harris.
Maryland.....	J. McP. Scott.	William Coath.
Michigan.....	Geo. W. Webber.	S. C. Moffett.
Minnesota.....	A. Barto.	C. H. Graves.
Mississippi.....	R. F. Beck.	H. H. Kennon.
Missouri.....	B. M. Prentiss.	O. C. Hill.
Nebraska.....	E. L. Reed.	G. W. Burton.
Nevada.....	D. L. Lee.	C. S. Young.
New Hampshire.....	Chas. H. Sawyer.	Frank D. Currier.
New Jersey.....	John I. Blair.	Thomas B. Harned.
New York.....	Thomas Cornell.	Titus Sheard.
North Carolina.....	Thos. B. Keogh.	C. D. Upchurch.
Ohio.....	Edwin Cowles.	.....
Oregon.....	J. N. Dolph.	A. G. Hovey.
Rhode Island.....	D. G. Littlefield.	A. L. Chester.
South Carolina.....	Sam'l. Lee.	S. E. Smith.
Texas.....	M. W. Cuney.	J. J. Evans.
Vermont.....	Alonzo B. Valentine.	Truman C. Fletcher.
Virginia.....	L. S. Walker.	R. L. Mitchell.
Wisconsin.....	E. H. Brodhead.	Geo. B. Shaw.
Arizona.....	L. H. Goodrich.	A. H. Stebbins.
Dakota.....	J. L. Jolly.	W. E. Nelson.
Idaho.....	W. N. Shilling.	D. P. P. Pride.
Montana.....	Lee Mantle.	W. F. Sanders.
New Mexico.....	Eugene Romero.	W. H. H. Llewellyn.
Utah.....	Nathan Kimball.	James E. Gallagher.
Washington.....	John L. Wilson.	John L. Wilson.
Wyoming.....	James France.	James France.

The call of States resulted in appointing the following committees, after which adjournment was announced:

STATES.	CREDENTIALS.	RESOLUTIONS.	PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.	RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS
Alabama..	Isaac Heyman	C. C. Sheats	G. W. Braxdall	H. A. Carson
Arkansas..	Jacob Trieber	M. W. Benjamin	G. H. Thompson	L. Gregg
California	D. McClure.	Horace Davis	C. C. Davis	W. H. Parks
Colorado..	W. A. Hamill	S. H. Elbert	T. R. Bard	Alex. Gullett
Conn.....	E. S. Boss	J. L. Houston	S. E. Merwin	E. J. Hill
Delaware..	W. J. Stewart	W. Hastings	G. V. Massey	J. H. Hoffecker
Florida....	Dennis Egan	J. D. Colo	H. W. Chandler	W. G. Stuart
Georgia....	J. E. Bryant	R. R. Wright	W. W. Brown	W. D. Moore
Illinois....	Burton C. Cook	C. E. Carr	R. A. Halbert	L. C. Collins
Indiana....	J. H. Millette	J. H. Baker	G. B. Williams	Geo. G. Reilly
Iowa.....	N. W. Hubbard	H. S. Winslow	C. T. O. Mason	R. S. Benson
Kansas....	J. S. Merritt	G. R. Peck	J. W. Ady	E. C. Culp.
Kentucky..	J. W. Lewis	W. C. Goodloe	G. M. Thomas	Geo. Denny, Jr
Louisiana..	Geo. Drury	L. J. Souer	H. Dumas	W. B. Merchant
Maine.....	J. M. Haynes	A. P. Wiswell	A. F. Crockett	J. H. Drummond
Maryland..	J. P. Ensor	James Wallace	G. L. Wellington	T. S. Hodson
Mass.....	W. W. Crapo	H. C. Lodge	C. D. Wright	R. E. Bishop
Michigan..	E. C. Nichols	W. A. Underwood	S. T. Reed	G. W. Bell
Minnesota	R. B. Langdon	Liberty Hall	O. B. Gould	T. H. Armstrong
Miss.....	J. A. Galbraith	J. M. Bynum	T. Richardson	W. H. Allen
Missouri..	C. G. Burton	K. D. Cramer	J. B. A. Upton	Ira B. Hyde
Nebraska..	W. T. Scott	N. S. Harwood	J. H. McCall	C. P. Matthewson
Nevada....	M. D. Foley	J. H. Rand	C. C. Stevenson	J. A. Palmer
N. H.....	J. B. Clark	F. A. Currier	G. H. Stowell	H. B. Atherton
N. Jersey..	J. F. Fort	W. W. Phelps	Watts Cooke	J. J. Gardner
N. York....	E. H. Hobbs	Wm. Dowd	H. S. Burleigh	Geo. Chahoon
N. Carolina	J. E. O'Hara	E. A. White	W. W. Jenkins	John S. Leary
Ohio.....	M. A. Hannah	W. McKinley, Jr	S. Craighead	Alphonso Taft
Oregon....	O. N. Denny	W. J. McConnel	J. M. Swift	J. T. Apperson
Penn.....	B. F. Fisher	W. H. Jessup	W. R. Leeds	T. M. Bayne
R. Island..	G. P. Pomeroy	W. A. Steadman	J. C. Barrington	T. C. Peckham
S. Carolina	E. F. Blodgett	C. M. Wilder	J. M. Freeman	D. T. Corbin
Tennessee	A. M. Hughes, Jr	S. W. Hawkins	J. H. Smith	J. C. Napier
Texas.....	Alex. Berge	A. J. Rosenthal	M. R. Ferguson	Richard Allen
Vermont....	Harry Ballard	B. D. Harris	Fred. Billings	R. Proctor
Virginia..	J. D. Brady	W. C. Elam	A. A. Dodson	James A. Frazier
W. Va....	B. B. Dovener	M. C. C. Church	C. D. Thompson	W. M. O. Dawson
Wisconsin	J. H. Mead	C. Spensley	F. C. Winkler	C. M. Butt
Arizona....	C. Churchill	A. H. Stebbins	A. H. Stebbins	Clark Churchill
Dakota....	—	J. L. Jolly	W. E. Nelson	W. E. Nelson
Dist. of Col	F. B. Conger	P. H. Carson	P. H. Carson	Frank B. Conger
Idaho.....	D. P. P. Pride	W. N. Shilling	D. P. P. Pride	D. P. P. Pride
Montana..	—	W. F. Sanders	Lee Mantle	W. F. Sanders
N. Mexico	W. H. Llewellyn	E. Romero	E. Romero	W. H. Llewellyn
Utah.....	—	N. Kimball	N. Kimball	J. E. Gallagher
Wash'g'n	G. D. Hill	J. L. Wilson	G. D. Hill	John L. Wilson
Wyoming	James France	J. W. Meldrum	J. W. Meldrum	James France

At 11 o'clock on Wednesday morning the convention re-assembled, Divine favor being asked by Rev. J. H. Barrows.

Memorials relative to universal suffrage and the suppression of the liquor traffic were received and sent to the committee on resolutions without debate.

Washington Hastings, of Delaware, presented a resolution favoring "such an amendment of the federal Constitu-

tion as will enlarge the term of office of the President of the United States to six years, and render the incumbent ineligible to re-election."

Preston B. Plumb, of Kansas, offered a resolution declaring "that American land should belong only to those willing to assume the responsibilities of American citizenship."

Under the rules these resolutions were referred. S. W. Hawkins, of Tennessee, then sent up this resolve, at the same time moving a suspension of the rules for its immediate consideration:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be, and that no man should hold a seat here who is not ready so to agree.

Owing to the fact that the convention contained a number of delegates styling themselves independents, who would naturally have more rights in an independent than a Republican gathering, the resolution was greeted with some applause by the straight-outs. Edward L. Pierce, of Massachusetts, F. C. Winkler, of Wisconsin, and G. W. Curtis, of New York, opposed the resolution—not as a threat that they should not abide the action of the convention in good faith, but as men so high-minded and honorable that they did not need an iron-clad party rule to hold them to support the ticket.¹ George A. Knight, of California, said men high in the Republican party were openly avowing that they would not support the nominee of the convention unless he should be a certain man, and he thought the sooner such alleged Republicans could be driven physically where they already were in spirit, the better. He favored the resolution, and did not see what true Republican could vote against it.

Having discovered who opposed the resolution, Mr. Hawkins arose at this point and withdrew it.

¹ Notwithstanding his lofty speech, Mr. Curtis was one of the earliest bolters in the field.

Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, offered a resolution asking that the people might be permitted to vote on a proposition to prohibit the liquor traffic, which went to the committee on resolutions without debate.

George B. Williams, of Indiana, chairman of the committee on permanent organization, reported John B. Henderson, of Missouri, for permanent chairman, and confirming as the secretaries and vice-presidents, the names selected by the States and heretofore recorded. Mr. Henderson was escorted to the chair by Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, and George B. Williams, of Indiana. His references to the various candidates in his speech of acceptance were received with cheers, the mention of Blaine bringing forth the wildest demonstrations.

The secretary read a letter from A. H. Andrews & Co., Chicago furniture manufacturers, presenting a gavel to the chairman which had been made from pieces of wood from every State and territory in the Union, including Alaska, the handle of which was made from the old Charter Oak tree in Connecticut.

A. H. Stebbins, of Arizona, offered a resolution demanding that territorial officers be appointed from the territories they expected to govern; Wm. Johnston, of California, wanted a secretary of agriculture, to be made a cabinet officer, and Geo. F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, submitted a resolution favoring suffrage for women. These various resolves having been properly referred, the convention adjourned until 7:30 o'clock in the evening.

The committee on credentials not being ready to report, the evening session was devoted largely to addresses. The speakers were Richard J. Oglesby, of Illinois, Roswell G. Horr, of Michigan, and Frederick Douglass, of Washington. The speeches were witty and eloquent, and kept the great audience in good humor for a considerable period of time.

During the evening P. H. McLogan and Richard Powers, representing the Federated Trades of the United States, and M. J. Geary and P. J. Scannell, representing the Knights of Labor, appeared before the committee on resolutions and presented the case of the laboring classes. They found the committee favorable to their platform, the spirit of which was incorporated in the Republican platform.

The convention re-assembled at 10:50 o'clock on Thursday morning, and listened to a prayer by Bishop Fallows. The committee on credentials made a report admitting the Mahone delegates from Virginia, who favored the nomination of Arthur, as against the "Straight-out" Republican delegates, who were for Blaine; also amicably settling several minor contests. It had been expected that there would be a division of the convention on the question of admitting the Mahone delegation; nevertheless the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee on rules submitted two reports. That of the majority embraced rules similar to those of previous national conventions, except that rule 10, which will govern the manner of choosing delegates in 1888, is as follows:

10. The Republican National Committee shall be appointed to consist of one member from each State and Territory and the District of Columbia. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each State and Territory and the District of Columbia shall name through its chairman a person to act as a member of such committee, provided that no person shall be a member of the committee who is not eligible as a member of the electoral college. Said committee shall issue the call for the national convention six months at least before the time fixed for said meeting, and each Congressional district shall elect its delegates to the national convention in the same way as the nomination for a member of Congress is made in said district. And in the Territories the delegates to the convention shall be elected in the same way as the nomination of delegates to Congress is made. And said national committee shall prescribe the mode of electing delegates for the District of Columbia. And alternate delegates for each delegate to the national convention, to act in

case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same way and at the same time as the delegate is elected. Delegates-at-large for each State and their alternates shall be elected by State conventions in their respective States.

R. R. Bishop, of Massachusetts, submitted the minority report, which contained a provision to the effect that hereafter "Each State shall be entitled to four delegates-at-large, and to one additional delegate-at-large for each Representative-at-large, if any, elected in such State at the last preceding Presidential election. Each territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two delegates-at-large. Each Congressional district shall be entitled to one delegate and an additional delegate for every 10,000 votes, or a majority fraction thereof, cast for the Republican Presidential electoral ticket at the last preceding Presidential election."

Against this rule were made some of the most eloquent speeches of the convention by Wm. O. Bradley, of Kentucky; E. L. Sampson and Wm. H. West, of Ohio; William Warner and C. I. Filley, of Missouri; J. Y. Stone, of Iowa; John R. Lynch, of Mississippi; J. E. O'Hara, of North Carolina; and Powell Clayton, of Arkansas.

John D. Long, of Massachusetts, moved to allow the national committee to report upon the matter in 1888, but that also was so vigorously opposed that Mr. Bishop at last withdrew his motion on the minority report, leaving the representation for the next Republican National Convention like that of 1884—two for each territory, two for each Senator and two for each member of Congress, or 820 in all.

The platform was now reported by William McKinley, of Ohio, chairman of the committee on resolutions. Almost every plank of the document was received with cheers, and at the end of the reading it was adopted amidst applause, without debate or amendment.

On calling the roll of States the members of the national committee for the ensuing four years were announced and the convention adjourned.

On re-assembling at 7:30 o'clock Thursday evening, a call of the roll of States was at once begun for the presentation of candidates. The great building was crowded almost to suffocation. On reaching Connecticut Augustus H. Brandagee arose and presented Joseph R. Hawley.

At the call of Illinois, Shelby M. Cullom presented the name of John A. Logan, and was seconded by B. M. Prentiss, of Missouri. The roll-call then continued until Maine was reached, when Judge Wm. H. West, the blind orator of Ohio, was led to the platform by his son amidst resounding applause. Being aged and infirm, he spoke from his seat.

At the first mention of the name of Blaine by Judge West, the vast audience fell into the most extraordinary demonstration ever witnessed in a convention of this character. Hats, coats, handkerchiefs, umbrellas, flags, State shields and delegation banners filled the air; the decorations were snatched from the galleries and flung aloft to give more vehement expression to the wild frenzy of enthusiasm, while delegations marched shouting up and down the aisles. The shouts, screams and huzzas can only be likened to the tremendous roar of Niagara, or of an on-coming hurricane.

At the end of twenty-three minutes this tornado had passed over, and Cushman K. Davis, of Minnesota, seconded the nomination, as did also, briefly, William Cassius Goodloe, of Kentucky, Thomas C. Platt, of New York, and that hoary Republican, Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania.

The call of States was now continued. On reaching New York, Martin I. Townsend placed Chester A. Arthur in nomination, in a speech of considerable length and some personality.

H. H. Bingham, of Pennsylvania; John R. Lynch, of Mississippi; Patrick H. Winston, of North Carolina; and P. B. S. Pinchback, the handsome colored orator of Louisiana, seconded the nomination of Arthur in addresses of more than average merit.

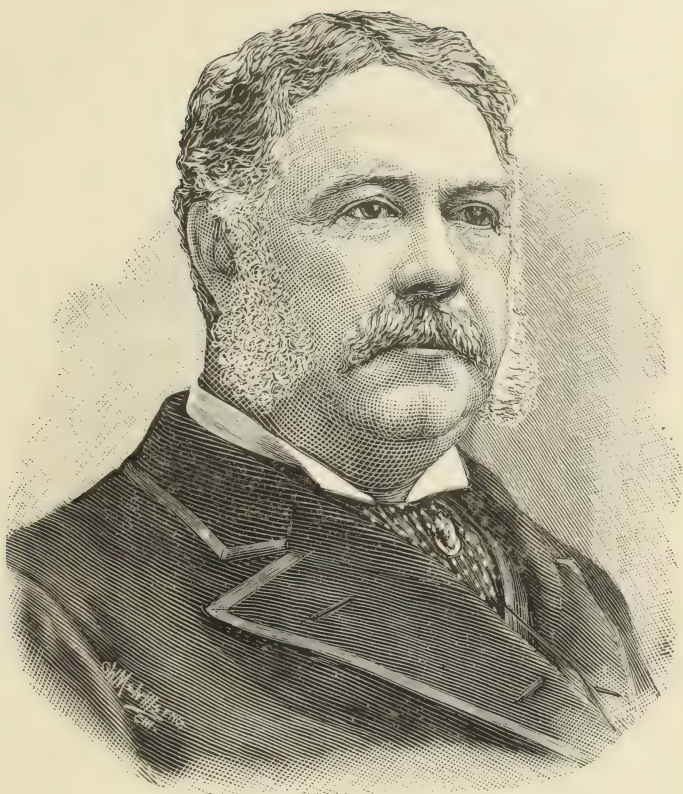
When the call of States reached Ohio, Judge J. B. Foraker addressed the convention in favor of John Sherman. At the mention of the name of Blaine, by Judge Foraker, the demonstrations were so emphatic that for several minutes the speaker was unable to proceed. W. H. Holt, of Kentucky (alternate for Walter Evans, commissioner of Internal Revenue) seconded the nomination of John Sherman, after which the roll-call continued to Vermont, when John D. Long, of Massachusetts, addressed the delegates in favor of Geo. F. Edmunds. Geo. Wm. Curtis, of New York, seconded his nomination, and closed the season of speech-making. Thereupon, at 1:30 o'clock on Friday morning the convention adjourned.

The delegates and their thousands of friends were permitted but little sleep during Thursday night. The Edmunds and Arthur forces were busy in attempts to combine on a compromise candidate in order to defeat Blaine. The Blaine men were alert and watchful. They grasped every advantage which the attempt at coalition exposed, and when morning dawned, expressed perfect confidence in victory, declaring that on the fourth ballot Blaine would be nominated.

When, therefore, at 11:20 o'clock, the convention was called to order, the delegates were eager for a test of strength. At the close of the prayer by Rev. Scudder, without further ado, Chairman Henderson ordered the roll of States to be called.

The vote of Arkansas, Florida and Louisiana was challenged, owing to the unexpected exhibit of Blaine support therein; otherwise each State voted through its chairman, with this result: Blaine, 334½; Arthur, 278; Edmunds, 93; Logan, 63½; Sherman, 30; Hawley, 13; Lincoln, 4; W. T. Sherman, 2; total, 818.

During the roll-call for the second ballot, the Arthur managers challenged the vote of every State showing a gain for Blaine, but without finding any errors. The result was:



C. A. Astor

Blaine, 349; Arthur, 276; Edmunds, 85; Logan, 61; Sherman, 28; Hawley, 13; Lincoln, 4; W. T. Sherman, 2; total, 818.

The third ballot was taken under about the same circumstances as the second, each accession to the Blaine column being stubbornly contested, but greeted with uproarious cheers. The result was: Blaine, 375; Arthur, 274; Edmunds, 69; Logan, 53; Sherman, 25; Hawley, 13; Lincoln, 8; W. T. Sherman, 2; total, 819.

The steady gain of the Blaine forces sent consternation through the ranks of the opposition. They must make an instant and desperate rally of some kind, or the next ballot would record their defeat. The Arthur-Edmunds-Sherman brigades therefore combined and moved an adjournment. If they could adjourn they hoped to unite on a "dark horse." The motion was put and declared lost by the chairman. Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, then demanded a call of the roll. Although the question had been decided—was *res adjudicata*—the Blaine men yielded, and the roll was called, resulting in a refusal to adjourn, 450 to 364.

A scene of the wildest enthusiasm followed the announcement of this vote. There was no possible form of physical demonstration to which the delegates did not resort in order to give expression to their joy. The Kansas delegation seized a banner on which was inscribed: "Kansas, 50,000 for the nominee, 75,000 for James G. Blaine—corn and wheat for the world," and forming a procession, marched around the aisles.

When order had been restored, J. B. Foraker, of Ohio, moved to suspend the rules and nominate Blaine by acclamation. This motion precipitated indescribable confusion. The Arthur-Edmunds men were determined there should be no vote upon it, so, to save time, Judge Foraker withdrew the motion.

The fourth roll-call began with interest and excitement drawn to the highest tense. When Illinois was called,

Shelby M. Cullom asked to read a dispatch¹ from John A. Logan, announcing his withdrawal as a candidate for the Presidency, but the Arthur-Edmunds faction objected and created such a noise and commotion that Senator Cullom could not have been heard had he attempted to read. They held that under the rules nothing could be done except cast the vote. Never before had any faction of a Republican convention attempted to prevent the withdrawal of a candidate upon the authority of the candidate himself.

The dispatch was not read, but Illinois wheeled into line with thirty-four votes for Blaine. Ohio followed with a solid vote for Blaine, and again was it necessary to suspend all proceedings while the convention shouted, danced and sung. Although the roll was only half called, it was known to all that *Blaine had been nominated*.

The third rally of the people for their favorite had been crowned with success, and it was useless to attempt to keep their delegates from demonstrations of delight.

Chairman Henderson made no attempt to control the convention, knowing that any effort in that direction would be as futile as essaying to quell a hurricane.

The conditions were peculiar. At heart about 700 of the delegates favored the nomination of Blaine from the start; but local entanglements, peculiar personal circumstances, the aspirations of "favorite sons" and obligations to the administration of Arthur, so tied the hands of more than 200 of them that they could not vote at once for their choice.

The remaining delegates were anti-Blaine men—independents, bolters and Edmunds men. The masses were also for Blaine. Chicago was swarming with his votaries from every quarter of the Union, and probably four-fifths of those in the exposition building worshiped the star of Maine.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 6, 1884.

¹ To S. M. Cullom, *President Illinois Delegation*: The Republicans of the States that must be relied on to elect the President having so strongly shown a preference for Mr. Blaine, I deem it my duty not to stand in the way of the people's choice, and recommend to my friends that they assist in his nomination.

JOHN A. LOGAN.

Therefore, whenever Blaine was mentioned, or any feature of the proceedings of the convention seemed to redound to his advantage, a deafening shout of approbation went up from 6,000 throats, or more.

No wonder then, that when Illinois and Ohio cast their votes for the favorite of the masses, a prolonged demonstration of joy, to be witnessed but once in a life-time, held sway for an indefinite period.

Long before the roll-call could be finished the myriad of telegraph wires that centered in the building had sent the news that Blaine was already sure of a majority, to every neighborhood in the United States.

So prolonged were the antics of the crowd, that before the end of the roll of States was reached, a member of the New York delegation had ample time to telegraph his candidate, Chester A. Arthur, that the die was cast, and to receive in reply a telegram from the President pledging his support to Blaine and requesting that New York State should move to make the nomination unanimous and at the same time promise a Republican majority in November for the national ticket.

A plumed helmet, made of flowers, suddenly appeared on the stage, cannon boomed and the throng on the outside that choked the streets for blocks, raised a huzza that rapidly spread throughout the city.

Nearly all the Arthur delegates—especially those from the South—joined with undisguised zest in the uproar, but the independents, so-called reformers and political milliners who went to Chicago to rule or ruin—to nominate their man or spill the milk—looked sour and sullen. But their numbers were small and their influence weak.

At last the people had tired themselves out. From sheer exhaustion, hoarse and panting, they settled themselves into a contented calm, and the secretary was able to continue the roll-call through to the end without interruption.

The four ballots resulted, respectively, as follows :

BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	FIRST BALLOT.								
	No. of Del.....	Arthur.....	Blaine.....	Edmunds.....	Logan.....	Sherman.....	Hawley.....	Lincoln.....	W. T. Sherman.
Alabama.....	20	17	1		1				
Arkansas.....	14	4	8	2					
California.....	16		16						
Colorado.....	6		6						
Connecticut.....	12						12		
Delaware.....	6	1	5						
Florida.....	8	7	1						
Georgia.....	24	24							
Illinois.....	44	1	3		40				
Indiana.....	30	9	18	1		2			
Iowa.....	26		26						
Kansas.....	18	4	12		1		1		
Kentucky.....	26	16	5½		2½	1		1	
Louisiana.....	16	10	2		3				
Maine.....	12		12						
Maryland.....	16	6	10						
Massachusetts.....	28	2	1	25					
Michigan.....	26	2	15	7					2
Minnesota.....	14	1	7	6					
Mississippi.....	18	17	1						
Missouri.....	32	10	5	6	10	1			
Nebraska.....	10	2	8						
Nevada.....	6		6						
New Hampshire.....	8	4		4					
New Jersey.....	18		9	6		1		2	
New York.....	72	31	28	12				1	
North Carolina.....	22	19	2		1				
Ohio.....	46		21			25			
Oregon.....	6		6						
Pennsylvania.....	60	11	47	1	1				
Rhode Island.....	8			8					
South Carolina.....	18	17	1						
Tennessee.....	24	16	7		1				
Texas.....	26	11	13		2				
Vermont.....	8			8					
Virginia.....	24	21	2		1				
West Virginia.....	12		12						
Wisconsin.....	22	6	10	6					
Arizona.....	2		2						
Dakota.....	2		2						
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1						
Idaho.....	2	2							
Montana.....	2		1	1					
New Mexico.....	2	2							
Utah.....	2	2							
Washington.....	2		2						
Wyoming.....	2	2							
Totals.....	820	278	334½	93	63½	30	13	4	2

AT CHICAGO, 1884.

SECOND BALLOT.						THIRD BALLOT.						FOURTH BALLOT.					
Arthur	Blaine	Edmunds	Logan	Sherman	Hawley	W. T. Sherman	Lincoln	Arthur	Blaine	Edmunds	Logan	Sherman	Hawley	W. T. Sherman	Lincoln	Arthur	Blaine
17	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	8
3	11	16	6	12	1	1	1	3	11	16	6	12	1	1	1	3	11
1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	1
24	3	40	2	1	1	1	1	24	3	40	2	1	1	1	1	24	3
1	18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	18
9	26	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	26	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	26
2	13	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	13	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	13
17	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	5
9	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	4
12	12	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12
4	12	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	12	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	12
3	1	24	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	24	1	1	1	1	1	3	1
4	15	5	1	1	1	1	1	4	15	5	1	1	1	1	1	4	15
1	7	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	1
10	7	5	8	1	1	1	1	10	7	5	8	1	1	1	1	10	7
2	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	8
5	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	6
9	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	3
31	9	6	1	2	1	1	1	31	9	6	1	2	1	1	1	31	9
18	28	12	1	1	1	1	1	18	28	12	1	1	1	1	1	18	28
3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
23	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	23	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	23	6
11	47	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	47	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	47
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17	1
16	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	16	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	16	7
11	13	2	1	1	1	1	1	11	13	2	1	1	1	1	1	11	13
21	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	21	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	21	2
6	12	5	1	1	1	1	1	6	12	5	1	1	1	1	1	6	12
2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
276	349	85	61	29	14	1	2	274	375	69	53	25	13	8	2	207	541

A summary of the several ballotings is as follows:

	First ..	Second	Third .	Fourth
Blaine.....	334½	349	375	541
Arthur	278	276	274	207
Edmunds.....	93	85	69	41
Logan	63½	61	53	7
Sherman.....	30	28	25	.....
Hawley.....	13	13	13	15
Lincoln.....	4	1	8	2
W. T. Sherman.....	2	2	2	.....
Total votes cast.....	818	815	819	813

When the tumult had subsided and the vote had been formally announced, H. G. Burleigh, of New York, mounted a chair and said, with apparent earnestness and sincerity:

Mr. President and Crother Republicans: In behalf of the President of the United States, and at his request, I move to make the nomination of James G. Blaine, of Maine, unanimous, and I promise for the friends of President Arthur, who are always loyal at the polls, and for old Northern New York, 20,000 Republican majority in the North, and I promise you all that we will do all we can for the ticket and the nominee, and we will show you in November next that New York is a Republican State. It elected James A. Garfield, and it will elect James G. Blaine, of Maine.

Preston B. Plumb, of Kansas, and D. M. Sabin, of Minnesota, seconded the motion of Mr. Burleigh, which was carried with a tremendous huzzah. The convention then adjourned until 8 o'clock in the evening.

On re-assembling prayer was offered by Rev. O'Reilly. The roll of States was called for the nomination of candidates for Vice-President. When Illinois was announced, Preston B. Plumb, of Kansas, nominated John A. Logan.

When Senator Plumb mentioned the name of the "Black Eagle of Illinois," the applause was simply terrific, and it was renewed again and again for several minutes.

The nomination was seconded by L. C. Houk, of Tennessee; J. W. Thurston, of Nebraska; Joseph W. Lee, of Pennsylvania; Roswell G. Horr, of Michigan; W. O. Bradley, of

Kentucky; John C. Dancy, of North Carolina; Samuel Lee, of South Carolina; Frank Morey, of Louisiana; and Frank S. Blair, of Virginia, who moved, "in behalf of 30,000 ex-confederate soldiers who had raised revolt against Democratic outrage," to make the nomination of Logan by acclamation, and unanimous.

The motion was carried with loud applause; but as there were a few dissenting votes, Illinois asked that the roll be called, which was done, resulting as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Votes	Logan.....	Gresham....	Foraker.....	STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. of Votes	Logan.....	Gresham....	Foraker.....
Alabama	20	20	...	...	New York.....	72	60	6	6
Arkansas.....	14	14	...	...	North Carolina.....	22	22	...	...
California.....	16	16	...	...	Ohio.....	46	46	...	...
Colorado.....	6	6	...	...	Oregon.....	6	6	...	...
Connecticut.....	12	5	...	...	Pennsylvania.....	60	59	...	...
Delaware.....	6	6	...	...	Rhode Island.....	8	8	...	...
Florida.....	8	8	...	...	South Carolina.....	18	18	...	...
Georgia.....	24	24	...	...	Tennessee.....	24	24	...	...
Illinois.....	44	44	...	...	Texas.....	26	26	...	...
Indiana.....	30	30	...	...	Vermont.....	8	8	...	...
Iowa.....	26	26	...	...	Virginia.....	24	24	...	...
Kansas.....	18	18	...	...	West Virginia.....	12	12	...	...
Kentucky.....	26	26	...	...	Wisconsin.....	22	19	...	...
Louisiana.....	16	16	...	...	Arizona.....	2	2	...	...
Maine.....	12	12	...	...	Dakota.....	2	2	...	...
Maryland.....	16	16	...	...	District of Columbia.....	2	2	...	...
Massachusetts.....	28	12	...	...	Idaho.....	2	2	...	...
Michigan.....	26	26	...	...	Montana.....	2	2	...	...
Minnesota.....	14	14	...	...	New Mexico.....	2	2	...	...
Mississippi.....	18	18	...	...	Utah.....	2	2	...	...
Missouri.....	32	30	...	...	Washington.....	2	2	...	...
Nebraska.....	10	10	...	...	Wyoming.....	2	2	...	...
Nevada.....	6	6	...	...			
New Hampshire.....	8	8	...	...	Total ¹	820	779	6	6
New Jersey.....	18	18	...	...			

After the announcement of the vote for Vice-President, the chair appointed the following committee to wait upon the nominees and inform them of the result of the work of the convention, after which adjournment *sine die* was announced:

¹ Absentees from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and one or two other States reduced the vote on Vice-President down to 792.

JOHN B. HENDERSON, Missouri. *Chairman.*

Alabama.....	George Turner	New Jersey.....	William Walter Phelps
Arkansas.....	Logan H. Roots	New York.....	Andrew D. White
California.....	Charles F. Crocker	North Carolina.....	Patrick H. Winston, Jr.
Colorado.....	S. H. Elbert	Ohio.....	John B. Foraker
Connecticut.....	Samuel Fessenden	Oregon.....	O. N. Denny
Delaware.....	Washington Hastings	Pennsylvania.....	Galusha A. Grow
Florida.....	W. G. Stewart	Rhode Island.....	Daniel G. Littlefield
Georgia.....	C. D. Forsyth	South Carolina.....	Samuel Lee
Illinois.....	George R. Davis	Tennessee.....	J. C. Napier
Indiana.....	John H. Baker	Texas.....	N. W. Cuney
Iowa.....	N. M. Hubbard	Vermont.....	Frederick Billings
Kansas.....	Henry E. Insley	Virginia.....	Samuel M. Yost
Kentucky.....	W. Cassius Goodloe	West Virginia.....	Arnold C. Sherr
Louisiana.....	W. B. Merchant	Wisconsin.....	Elisha W. Keyes
Maine.....	J. Manchester Haynes	Arizona.....	A. H. Stebbins
Maryland.....	J. McPherson Scott	Dakota.....	J. L. Jolly
Massachusetts.....	Jesse M. Gove	District of Columbia.....	Perry H. Carson
Michigan.....	Julius C. Burrows	Idaho.....	W. N. Shilling
Minnesota.....	Cushman K. Davis	Montana.....	Lee Mantle
Mississippi.....	John R. Lynch	New Mexico.....	W. H. H. Llewellyn
Missouri.....	Chauncey I. Filley	Utah.....	Nathan Kimball
Nebraska.....	Church Howe	Washington.....	George D. Hill
Nevada.....	M. D. Foley	Wyoming.....	J. W. Meldrum
New Hampshire.....	Edward H. Rollins		

CHAS. W. CLISBEE, Michigan, *Secretary.*

Never, in the history of the Republican party, has its nominees been greeted with more universal enthusiasm than instantly followed the choice of Blaine and Logan. Blaine was par-excellence the people's candidate. The place-hunters of politics had rallied against him, which added to his strength with the younger classes and the residents of the rural districts and Republican strongholds. Logan was the gallant and sturdy representative of the soldier-statesmen, and when the news flashed over the country that he had been chosen as one of the standard-bearers of the Republican party, the joy of the Boys in Blue knew no bounds. Bonfires burned, cannons boomed, processions marched, banners waved, mass-meetings gathered and political clubs formed in almost every city and hamlet in the Union on the very night of the nomination.

The work of no convention, except that of 1868, ever delighted such a large majority of the people and left so few disappointments and sores behind as that of 1884.

The wellfare of the nation, the general trend and policy of the government, protection of citizenship at home and

abroad, elevation and protection of labor and manufactures, ability to discern brains and character and invite them into public service, the progress of public morals and education, courage to defend the individuality of the Republic, foresight to comprehend the great future of this nation and the spirit to blaze out a path commensurate with her progress and prospects and lead her people into it—these are matters that concern the American masses, and for these problems they selected courageous and able leaders in Blaine and Logan—the “Plumed Knight” of Maine and the “Black Eagle” of Illinois. They are talented, experienced, warm-hearted, strong and spirited—great enough for the greatest emergency, faithful enough for the smallest details of government. It is an incomparable ticket, possessing all the qualities admired by true and liberal Americans.

CHAPTER XXIX.

FINANCES—NEW BANKING BASIS SUGGESTED.

Work for the Republicans—What the Democracy Bequeathed Us—Nations are Like Individuals—Our First Greenbacks—Democratic Opposition—The Strengthening Act—Chase's Letter—The Resumption Act—Democratic Record on Resumption—Detailed Account of John Sherman's Refunding and Resumption Operations—Opposition to his Ideas—Prediction of Failure—Unexpected Success—High National Credit—Fort's Bill—Decisions of the Courts on Greenbacks—Recent Re-affirmations—Proposed Anti-Greenback Amendments of the Constitution—Bland's Counterfeit Silver Dollar—A Wicked and Disastrous Financial Device—Free Coinage—“Double” Standards—The National Banking System—Its Stability and Safety—It Should be Retained—Gold Bullion a Basis for Circulation—Taxation of Banks—The Republican Party Alone Capable of Settling this Question.

It was claimed at the outset that the mission of the Republican party had not ended. It will therefore be interesting as

well as proper to examine some of the leading issues of the day, for the purpose of discovering what has been done—and what yet remains to be accomplished.

Undoubtedly no one can present a clearer or more creditable history of the financial doings of the Republican party than is contained in the tables showing the condition of the public debt, and the large income from indirect taxation which the government now enjoys.

When the Republican administration came into power under Lincoln, what did it find? An empty treasury, a disordered banking system, no money in any State of the Union that would purchase public lands or pay public debts and dues, the postoffice department an imperfect and costly public servant, Congress unable to pay the salaries of its own members, several States in arms against the government and seizing all the postage stamps, mail-bags, postal receipts, customs-income and public property in the rebellious section, and the great Democratic party, comprising one-third of the people of the quaking Republic, resorting to every known means to hamper and blockade the administration and dismember the Union.

Whatever, therefore, there is in the achievements and progress of the American Republic during the last two decades—the most remarkable in all her history—that is honorable or creditable, belongs in conception and consummation to the Republicans alone. The Democrats have had no lot or part in it, except as obstructionists, disturbers and destroyers.

Having been in power for several decades, the Democrats went out on March 4, 1861, leaving the country in the condition partially indicated. And leaving it thus, they laid down the scepter of power and swiftly grasped the sword of treason. The Republicans had no alternative but to create arms, means and money to save the Union. When an individual falls into financial distress, and is without reserve cash

to extricate himself, he is compelled to resort to paper credit or fail.

A nation is endowed with no divine fiat, no miraculous power to overcome difficulties, but must resort to the common methods that save individuals. Therefore, under section 8, of Article I, of the Constitution, the Congress provided for issuing paper money—greenbacks. The plan was suggested by the Republican cabinet minister, Salmon P. Chase, passed by a Republican Congress and signed by a Republican President, on February 25, 1862.¹

But it did not become a law without opposition.—George H. Pendleton, S. S. Cox, W. S. Holman, James A. Bayard, D. W. Voorhees, Clement L. Vallandigham, and other Democrats fought it desperately, and in the House only seven Democrats had the patriotism to vote for its passage. In the Senate the vote was proportionately the same.

The greenback was devised to sustain the Union and cripple the Rebellion. Hence those who opposed it must have desired to sustain the Rebellion, cripple the administration and weaken the Union. No other construction can be put upon the acts of the Democracy.²

In 1866, when an act was passed to contract the volume of greenbacks by retiring a certain portion from circulation, every Democrat but E. N. Hubbell, in both Houses, voted for the measure. In 1868, when a bill was passed suspending the act which provided for retiring and canceling greenbacks, the Democrats flopped and only twenty-four in the House voted to save paper as a circulating medium, and Andrew

¹ In July, 1861, \$60,000,000 of "demand notes" were issued, but they were superseded by the greenbacks eight months later.

² The reason the legal tender clause was put into the act at the suggestion of Secretary S. P. Chase, was because, as he wrote to Thaddeus Stevens, "*some persons and some institutions which refused to receive and pay*" out United States notes, thus *depreciated* them. These "persons" and "institutions" were of the Democratic faith, and their effort was to cripple the government in its war for the preservation of the Union."

Johnson refusing to sign the bill, it became a ^a law by limitation.

In March, 1868, when the act to strengthen the public credit was passed, providing "That * * * the faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin, or its equivalent, of all the obligations of the United States not bearing interest, known as United States notes, * * * and the United States also solemnly pledges its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin," *only one Democrat* in the House and *not one* in the Senate voted for it.

This pledge was intended to make the greenback dollar as good as the coin dollar. The Democrats couldn't take into their stomachs any measure that would be so highly beneficial to the business and commerce of the country and such a boon to the laboring classes, and therefore voted solidly (with the exception of Axtell, now a Republican) against it.

In 1875 a bill was passed providing that on and after January 1, 1879, specie payments should be resumed. Although specie payments had been suspended for about fourteen years, although the Democratic national convention of 1872 had demanded a "prompt return to specie payments" and in 1873 Senator Hamilton, of Maryland, had proposed an amendment of the Constitution prohibiting the government from "ever making anything but gold and silver a tender for the payment of debts, either public or private;" yet the Democracy resorted to every means to prevent the passage of the resumption act—gave the lie flatly to all their previous votes, acts and resolves, and attempted to prevent what they had always pretended to demand.

Not content with this, when the Bourbons of the entire Republic met at St. Louis in 1876, in national convention, and disposed of themselves to Samuel J. Tilden, they went still farther and adopted a long anti-resumption plank as a

part of their platform, ending thus: "*We denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we hereby demand its immediate repeal.*"

Two years later Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, presented an anti-resumption bill, but the Republicans severed its jugular vein in the Senate; and on the first day of January, 1879, as the original act provided—notwithstanding Democratic opposition, trickery, resolves, filibustering and denunciation—resumption of specie payments formally took place, ushering in an era of prosperity and financial solidity.

Nothing can be more instructive than the subjoined account of the resumption and refunding operations of President Hayes' secretary of the treasury, taken from Ben: Perley Poore's "Life and Public Services of John Sherman:"

On taking the office of the secretary of the treasury [March 4, 1877,] Mr. Sherman found in existence a contract between the government and a number of associated bankers in this country and Europe for the sale of \$300,000,000 of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds for refunding purposes. This contract had existed since August 12 of the previous year, and under it about \$90,000,000 had been sold.

He also found there were of redeemable bonds, bearing a rate of interest of 5 and 6 per cent., about seven hundred millions; and sound statesmanship demanded that they should be replaced as soon as practicable by bonds bearing a lower rate of interest.

To his views on this matter there was no opposition from any source. Mr. Sherman also found that under the resumption act, which had then been in existence more than two years, no steps had been taken with a view to the resumption of specie payments by the government, required by the terms of that act to take place on January 1, 1879.

So, on April 6 he addressed a letter to Rothschild & Sons, of the associated bankers, with whom the government had the contract for placing the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds, in which he stated that when their sales reached \$200,000,000, he proposed to withdraw them from the market, and that he desired to sell, for refunding purposes, the 4 per cent. bond. He also stated that he was authorized to sell, for resumption purposes, bonds similar to those sold for refunding, and that he desired to do so at the rate of \$30,000,000 a year.

At the time that letter was written the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds were below par in Europe, and were but very little above par at home. But the boldness of the policy which was here outlined, showing the firm faith which Mr. Sherman had in the credit of the country and his ability to secure a lower rate of interest, gave great confidence to the bankers and business men, and caused such a rise in the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds, that he was enabled to sell immediately \$2,000,000 for refunding purposes; and before the 1st of July the whole \$200,000,000 were taken, of which \$15,000,000 were applied to resumption purposes.

Such was the success of this policy, that Mr. Sherman was enabled on the 9th of June to obtain a contract for the sale, firm, of \$25,000,000 of the 4 per cent. bonds at par, of which \$5,000,000 could be applied to resumption purposes; with a provision, also, that the loan should be open to public subscription for a period of one month. Thus, in less than six months, Mr. Sherman had so raised the credit of the country that he was enabled to sell 4 per cent. bonds at par, and also to exact of the bankers who took the loan a condition that they should open it to the public, in order that all might share in the benefits likely to accrue from the purchases; and he had meanwhile secured at least \$20,000,000 for resumption purposes.

Books for subscription to this loan were opened throughout the country immediately. To the surprise of every one, before the close of the thirty days during which the loan was opened to the public at large, more than \$75,000,000 of bonds had been sold, of which \$25,000,000 were reserved for resumption purposes.

About the time this transaction was completed, Congress convened in special session. Among its first measures was the introduction, on one day, of no fewer than thirteen bills to repeal the resumption act. Bills were also introduced, almost without number, to restore the unlimited coinage of the silver dollar, then worth about eighty-five cents in gold. The agitation of these two measures so alarmed investors that subscriptions for the 4 per cent. bonds immediately ceased; and, despite every effort of Mr. Sherman, neither bankers nor other individuals could be induced to take the loan; which had then fallen or 3 per cent. below par; and it seemed for a while as if a call for 6 per cent. bonds, which had been made in advance, anticipating the sale of fours, would have to be paid from the cash in the treasury, and as if the hope of selling any more 4 per cent. bonds

for refunding, or of successfully resuming specie payments, would have to be abandoned.

In January the alarm concerning the public credit somewhat abated. On the 16th of that month Mr. Sherman, having concluded all the contracts for the sale of fours, gave notice that he would receive subscriptions from the public at large for the sale of these bonds; and he immediately brought to bear all resources and expedients within his power to popularize them and facilitate their sale.

A poster, advertising the loan, was sent to every postmaster, banker, and business firm, in the country. On the 28th of February, the bill authorizing the coinage of the silver dollar became a law over the veto of the President; but it was shorn largely of its power for evil by authorizing the coinage only upon governmental account, the government securing the difference between the bullion value of the gold and silver dollar. This would, for a time, render the coinage harmless. Consequently, subscriptions began again to be received; but Congress still agitated the repeal of the resumption act, and the doubt and distrust arising from this agitation kept the credit of the country at such a low ebb that the sale of the 4 per cent. bonds could be made only with difficulty.

On March the 19th, Mr. Sherman was required to appear before the finance committee of the Senate, where he was sharply questioned as to the condition of the treasury, the action he had already taken, and the action that he proposed in regard to securing a fund for the redemption of the legal tender notes. Following this, on April 1, he was summoned before the committee on banking and currency of the House, and there subjected to a searching inquiry concerning the whole matter. He clearly showed to them the existing condition of the treasury, and did not hesitate to say that he proposed to increase the coin reserve by the sale of bonds of some description or other, as authorized by law, to the amount of \$50,000,000. He assured them that he could do it, and that the gold could be obtained and placed in the treasury before the period fixed for resumption in specie to take effect. He also demonstrated to them that with the \$50,000,000 added to the amount already accumulated, the treasury would be stronger than the Bank of England when it resumed in 1819, or had been since, although that bank had meanwhile maintained resumption; that it would be stronger in its reserves than either the Bank of France or the Imperial Bank of Germany.

Mr. Sherman, four days later, invited several bankers and prominent men in New York to meet him in that city for the purpose of negotiating a sale of bonds for resumption purposes. It was the unanimous opinion of the bankers present that no sale of 4 per cent. bonds for this purpose could be effected. A representative of the national banks stated that he thought an arrangement could be made by which the banks might take \$50,000,000 of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds, to be paid for on the 1st of January, the government to receive whatever the banks could get for the bonds; but they would give no guarantee that they would sell a single bond.

Receiving no better offer from the national banks, Mr. Sherman invited the members of the Rothschild syndicate to make an offer. He received from them a proposition to take \$50,000,000 of the bonds at $100\frac{1}{2}$; and this was accepted.

From that day resumption was assured. Further efforts to repeal the law were abandoned, and the business of the country commenced to adjust itself on the assured basis of specie payments on and after January 1, 1879.

The 1st of January came; the New York sub-treasury opened, but no one appeared to demand coin for his legal-tender notes. The celebrated financier, who, a few months before, had said that he would give \$50,000 to be at the head of the line on that New Year's day, could have had the whole line to himself for nothing. At the close of the day the government actually held more coin than it did in the morning.

But, while the country was standing on tiptoe awaiting the result of the resumption policy, Mr. Sherman had not for a moment abated his efforts in refunding; and on the 1st day of January, the day on which resumption went into effect, he issued a circular, again offering to the public the 4 per cents; offering to receive subscriptions at all the sub-treasury offices, and inviting all the national banks to become depositaries for this purpose, and all the banks and bankers to aid him in their sale.

The premium on gold having disappeared with resumption, American investors could now purchase 4 per cents without the loss of the premium which they had heretofore suffered; and the grand triumph of resumption brought the credit of the country to such a condition that the sales of 4 per cents during the month of January were more than \$150,000,000, against \$25,000,000 during the preceding month. Many national banks, which had heretofore stood aloof and rendered no aid in placing the loan, came forward and asked to be designated as depositaries, also invited and urged their

customers to subscribe, and the loan thus became distributed among small investors throughout the whole country.

Successful resumption had brought the credit of the country to such a high standard that refunding was comparatively easy, and Mr. Sherman rapidly exchanged high for low-interest bonds, thus saving, annually, heavy sums to the taxpayers, and confining the public debt more largely to the people of America.

In April, 1878, J. Frank Fort, Republican, introduced a bill, which passed both houses, and is now law, prohibiting any further retirement of greenbacks.

The hostile influence and spirit of the Democracy against the greenback and the financial operations of the government, have not been confined to Congress, conventions, speeches and newspapers; they have invaded the highest sanctuary of the Western Hemisphere and recorded their acts in the decisions of the justices of the United States Supreme Court. In 1869, in the case of *Hepburn vs. Griswold*, involving the constitutionality of the legal tender clause, as relating to contracts made prior to its adoption, the Democratic Supreme Court judges—Chase, Nelson, Clifford, Grier and Field—decided that the legal tender act “is inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution;” and that it is prohibited by the Constitution; while the Republican judges—Miller, Swayne and Davis—dissented, and held the “very decided opinion that Congress acted within the scope of its authority,” and declared the law to be constitutional.

That is known as the legal tender decision of 1869, and was not made by a full court. Subsequently, with a full bench, the Supreme Court made, in the cases of *Knox vs. Lee* and *Parker vs. Davis*, what is known as the legal tender decision of 1871—the Republican justices, forming a majority of the court, holding the legal tender acts of Congress “constitutional, as applied to contracts made either before or after their passage,” thus overruling the former decision in

Hepburn *vs.* Griswold; while the Democratic judges, Chase, Nelson, Clifford and Field, dissented.

But the United States Supreme Court finally went further. The case of *Augustus D. Julliard vs. Thomas S. Greenman*, brought before the Supreme Court on a writ of error from the United States Circuit Court for the Southern district of New York, was decided March 3, 1884. The question presented by the case, as stated by the court, is: "Whether the notes of the United States, issued in time of war under an act of Congress declaring them to be legal tender in payment of private debts, and afterwards in peace redeemed and paid for in gold coin at the Treasury, and then re-issued under the act of 1878, can, under the Constitution of the United States, be a legal tender in the payment of such debts." The court was unanimously of the opinion that the case could not be distinguished in principle from the cases theretofore decided and reported, and all the justices except Field, who adhered to the views expressed in his dissenting opinions in previous cases, were of the opinion that they were rightly decided.¹

The Democrats, who had coquetted fondly with the fiat-money greenbackers and demanded the instant repeal of the resumption act, were thrown into spasms by this decision. T. F. Bayard, of Delaware, and other Democratic members of Congress, promptly introduced resolutions of amendment to the Constitution providing that hereafter Congress shall have power to make no money except gold and silver a legal tender for public or private debts.²

¹ The opinion of the court concludes thus:

We are irresistibly impelled to the conclusion that the impressing upon the Treasury notes of the United States the quality of being a legal tender in payment of private debts is an appropriate means, conducive and plainly adapted to the execution of undoubted powers of Congress, and consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and therefore within the meaning of that instrument, necessary and proper for the carrying into execution of the powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States.

² Senator Garland exempted war periods from the operation of his amendment.

In 1877 Richard P. Bland, Democrat, of Missouri, introduced in the House a bill providing for the free coinage of silver dollars of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains (then worth about 92 cents, but occasionally since valued at only 88 cents,) at the rate of not less than *two millions* nor more than *four millions* per month. Although the free coinage clause was eliminated, President Hayes promptly vetoed the measure, which was practically one to set the government up in the counterfeiting business on a vast scale; but the Democrats rallied as in war times, and, with the aid of a few Republicans, passed the bill over his head.

Under that act an obnoxious dollar, not actually worth its face in any spot on the globe, shunned by all foreign brokers, hated by bankers and despised by commerce, has been steadily put forth at the rate of *two millions* or more a month for six years. It is the drift-wood of commerce, an indigestible lump in the great financial system of the country. Therefore, as the mints could not cease putting it out, and the people did not want it, the government was compelled to provide extra vault-room for it and pay men to watch it night and day, until the light-weight dollar has become a public burden. Bills have been introduced providing for additional vault-room in the Mississippi Valley in which to store the "buz-zard dollars," as they are called, but no relief, either from the coinage or the overflowing cellars, has yet been afforded.

At the present moment these shrunken dollars are driving our gold to Europe—a deplorable and dangerous circumstance.

Amongst the free-trade, free fraud, free whisky and other free notions of the Democrats that the Republicans have had to fight, is the fanciful idea of free coinage of silver. And another favorite "idea" of the financial tinkers is the "double-standard"—that is, that both gold and silver shall be the standard of value in money.

Gold, silver, paper, wood, leather, copper, nickel, or other substance, can be used for money, but only one of them, of intrinsic value, can be a standard. A double-standard for anything is no less preposterous than a quintuple or decennial-standard. There can be but one standard yard-stick; if we have two of different lengths, one of them, certainly, must be a fraud and a cheat.

The national banking act, with its various amendments, was one of the wisest measures ever conceived by the Republicans. The Democrats had repeatedly disturbed the finances of the country by their nefarious banking laws, and when Lincoln entered the White House every man was compelled to carry a pocket-detective and keep his lists of collapsed banks constantly revised or be cheated by sharpers who would pay him money that was good the day before but not on the day of payment.

National bank bills are good everywhere. They will buy land, pay taxes and discharge every conceivable obligation, public and private, except duties on imports and interest on public debt.

If a bank collapses, all its bill-holders are sure to be paid in full, because the government always holds United States bonds sufficient for that purpose, previously purchased and deposited at Washington by the bank. To insure stability, national banks are prohibited from loaning money on bond and mortgage, or engaging in those wild real estate speculations that have wrecked so many financial institutions.

Instead of being a rich monopoly, as the Democrats allege, the national banking system has been subjected to such a rigid rule of federal taxation,¹ in addition to the high local taxation, from which the certified and published transactions of each bank prevent an escape, that many institutions have

¹ It may be stated that for several years an average of 250 national banks have been unable to pay dividends.

either voluntarily gone into liquidation or reduced their circulation, or paid no dividends.

It will be impossible to supersede this system with any other that will be equally safe and simple. And yet the Democrats in Congress have attempted to prevent enacting laws for re-issuing national bank charters for the reason that it is their settled policy to oppose, and, if possible, destroy anything, no matter how wise and beneficial, that the Republicans have invented or espoused.

But they have not accomplished their design, nor has the work of the Republican party in this regard ended.

The duties of parents do not cease, but begin, with the birth of their children. They must nourish, guard and protect them to manhood. There is danger, in the rapid payment of the public debt now going on, of entirely wiping out the present basis of national banking before anything safe and adequate to take its place can be adopted.

In this regard many suggestions are brought forward. Some would have municipal, county and State bonds take the place of government securities as a basis for bank circulation. That would not do. We have seen too much repudiation, "scaling" and "adjusting" of these debts to adopt them for such a sacred and universal purpose.

Others would have a general bank circulation based on real estate. Such a system would result in greater frauds and more numerous losses than the other, owing to the incessant and heavy fluctuations of landed property, and the amount of worthless lands on which conscienceless financiers would succeed in starting banks.

But there is a basis in every respect equal to that of government bonds, to-wit: GOLD BULLION. It is, when of standard fineness, worth a certain amount by weight everywhere in the world. It could be purchased, after having been tested and stamped at the federal mints, and deposited at Washington in the same manner as bonds are now purchased and depos-

ited, and for every \$1,000 of gold the government could allow, perhaps, \$975 of circulation to issue. Or, may be, to more thoroughly guard against all possible losses and expenses in case any bank should fail, only \$950 of notes to \$1,000 of bullion value would be allowed to issue.

Such a basis would be as safe and simple for this people as the present basis of bonds, but not so profitable for the banks, because bullion, unlike federal securities, draws no interest. To offset this feature the government taxation of banks would require to be reduced—perhaps not wholly lifted, for whatever derives benefits or special powers and advantages from the sovereignty of a State or nation, ought in equity, to be compelled to make some material return to that sovereignty for the advantages so derived. But, with gold bullion for a basis, the banks should be given at least the benefit that accrues from lost circulation, which now goes to the government.

Having provided for the perpetuation of our present beneficial banking system, with none of its safeguards or elements of stability diminished, our national debt may be gradually wiped out and taxation reduced.

The Republican party is alone capable and willing to do this; and with Democratic opposition removed, all that is desirable in this direction would soon be accomplished.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE TARIFF—ENGLAND AND THE SOUTH.

Object of a Tariff—Free-Trade in Colleges—England Wants Free-Trade—She Also Favored Secession—Natural Condition of Great Britain—She Has People and Factories, but no Food or Raw Material—The United States Has People, Food and Raw Material and Wants Factories—The South in Slave Times—The South of To Day—She Wanted Free-Trade Then—She Wants Protection Now—The Democracy Her Chief Enemy—History Repeats Itself—The Khedive and the Mamelukes—Inequalities of the Present Tariff—England's Early Oppression of America—Cruel Penalties Against Colonial Enterprise—Effects of the Revolution—Again Crippled By British Masters—Clamor for a New Constitution—It is Framed—The First Tariff Bill at once Enacted—General Rejoicing—Tariff of 1846—Delight of England and the Slave-holders—Unpatriotic Agents in Our Midst—How England Built Up Her Prowess—A Pound of Wool Makes as Much Cloth Here as in England—How Can England, 3,000 Miles Distant, Compete With Us—By Paving Low Wages—Constitutionality of the Tariff—Right of Self-Protection in Peace or War—Free-Traders' Plan of Gradual Starvation.

A judicious tariff not only affords a revenue for the liquidation of public expenditures, but at the same time tends to build up the material condition of the skilled working classes and their employers, and contributes to the general welfare and prosperity of the country. That it does so is not a mere accident or "incident." The tariff was and ought to be designed to do that very thing.

Because the tariff tends to strengthen and build up must be the reason a majority of the Democratic politicians oppose it; for with the exceptions of building up the State-

rights theory, slavery, secession, Rebellion, an enormous public debt, a polluted ballot and a mountain of political outrages in the South, they have been principally engaged in tearing down. They are now mining and sapping at the tariff, simply because it is a part of their general programme of opposition to the policy of the Republican party, and because the sound of free-trade is in consonance with their party cry of free whisky, free tobacco, free-coinage, free fraud and free riots on election day.

The abstract principles of free-trade are generally taught in our leading schools and colleges, because they are harmonious and beautiful when lifted above the hard, practical affairs of human life, and because college professors, removed from the world and able to get their salaries without testing the inexorable laws of trade and commerce, are too generally impractical men.

The United States now has a tariff that brings in a large revenue and at the same time protects home industries. That any law which we can conceive will do these two things, would seem to be all the argument required in its favor.

It certainly must be a remarkable enactment that at once pours money into our treasury and defends our manufacturers and artisans from the inroads of the older countries of the world, swarming with the offspring of time and poverty, and backed by the accumulations of centuries.

It would also seem that the tariff laws need no other support than the fact that they are opposed by a majority of the Democracy of this country and the people of Great Britain. When the late Rebellion broke out Great Britain and the ruling spirits of the Democracy were then, as now, on the same side—both actively favored secession.

If protection is as ruinous to the poor as the free-trade Democrats claim, is it not strange that an immigrant stream

of over a half-million a year should be pouring upon us from the old world?

England has several agents in the United States who are paid to clamor for free-trade. In one sense it might be said that a person who accepts bribes from another country to work against the interests of his own, is guilty of treason. England desires us to engraft free-trade upon our commercial policy, at the same time boasting that whenever we shall adopt it, she will "close up the last of our cotton factories in two years."

Great Britain essayed to help the Democracy destroy our glorious Union of States; now the Democracy is helping Great Britain to destroy the cotton factories in our midst and paralyze our industrial condition generally. What a party for the poor man!

The tariff helps the United States and injures England. Therefore England clamors for free-trade, because, *per contra*, that would help her and hurt the United States.

What an incongruity for the Irish to vote, at the behests of England, the free-trade Democratic ticket!

A few sentences will suffice to show the totally different positions of England and the United States. The island of Great Britain is small, old and thickly peopled. Outside of coal and iron she has no raw materials worth comparing with her enormous consumption. Cotton, wool, corn, meat, wheat, timbers, silk, sugar, silver, gold, copper, dyes, tobacco, rice, and food articles generally, must be brought largely or wholly from foreign countries to feed her people and her factories.

What principle, then, should govern her commerce? That of free-trade, most assuredly; for if she had a general tariff it would add to the cost of food articles, and of raw materials used in her thousand factories, which, added to the fees of transporting those raw materials one way and the manufactured articles the other, would operate with heavy disaster upon master and workman alike.

Now let us examine the condition of the United States in these respects. She has a vast territory, much of which, in addition to that of her neighbors, is unsettled. Her hills are covered with extensive forests of valuable woods; within her bowels slumber the greatest coal, iron, copper, silver, gold and granite mines in the world; in the South are produced cotton, rice, tobacco and sugar in enormous quantities; on her Western plains roam numberless herds of cattle; from her broad prairies are gathered wheat and corn enough for 200,000,000 of souls; her Northern hills and valleys send to the seaboard ship-load after ship-load of beef and pork; in short, America imports no food articles, and is required to purchase abroad only insignificant quantities of raw materials for her manufactures.

What principle should govern the commerce of such a country? That of a protective tariff, beyond any question. Yes, *protective tariff*. No patriotic American should be afraid of that term, or ever flee before the yells of the uncivilized Democracy.

England wants free-trade because, not wishing to buy manufactured articles but making them herself, a tariff would only put an embargo on raw material, of which she is in perpetual need. She wants other countries to adopt the free-trade policy because their tariff is simply an embargo on *her* manufactured articles, of which she always has an abundance to sell, and on the sale of which her life depends.

America wants protection because, having an abundance of raw materials for her own tables and factories, she will be most prosperous when her people are turning those raw materials into finished articles in such quantities as will not only supply the home demand, but leave a surplus for export.

If the principle of free-trade is now appropriate for England, as seems well established, then, her natural condition and products being the very opposite of those of America,

there can be no other conclusion than that we must have protection.

For two centuries the South was the chief champion in America of the principle, or vagary, of free-trade. Her position then had some elements of soundness. She had nearly 4,000,000 slaves to till the soil—raise cotton, sugar, rice and tobacco *for export*. She had no cotton or woolen mills, not many refineries, and but few tobacco factories. As she was producing and selling raw materials and nothing else, and buying only manufactured articles, her condition would be most prosperous under the policy of free-trade because then there would be no embargo on either what she sold or what she bought.

But the North, having no slave-labor, was engaged largely in manufacturing, and wanted protection. Hence, on this point, the North and the South were always at loggerheads.

But what is the condition of things in the South now? Slavery has been abolished; blacks and whites are working side by side for hire; the blacks begin to have wants and ambitions as to dress and home comforts that they were never permitted to know in bondage, and cotton mills, rice mills, tobacco factories, iron mills, blast furnaces, sugar refineries and other industries are struggling upward for the purpose of consuming the products brought from Southern soil by free labor.

Under these changed conditions, what are the Southern journals, capitalists and laborers now demanding? *Protection*. And, except among a few moss-back Bourbons who apparently would rather starve than espouse a Republican principle, that demand is emphatic and general.

In ante-bellum days, with slave-labor, the Southern planters could afford to pay the freight on their cotton to the mills of New England and Great Britain, pay the wages and profits required to manufacture it into cloth in those sections, and pay the transportation charges on the

finished goods back to the South. But they wanted free-trade, so there should be no other charges than those enumerated.

Now, when the labor required to produce cotton, sugar, rice and tobacco costs money, slavery having been abolished, the Southerners can not afford to pay all these outside and foreign charges; but, if they would be prosperous, they must support their surplus population, increase their home consumption by turning the products of their soil and forests into finished articles in their own midst. This they desire to do; hence, aside from their pestiferous politicians, who still cling to the theories that prevailed in slave days, they stand shoulder to shoulder with the Republican North, and demand protection.

Why then, should they not stand by their purses, their country, their homes and their plantations by voting the Republican ticket?

But the Democracy of the North, true to its ancient record of weakness, imbecility and enmity to prosperity, strikes the South with an iron hand by clamoring for free-trade with a mealy mouth.

The South demands, and, if she shall ever become prosperous, must have a retention of the tariff. It is the leading policy of the Democracy, notwithstanding any temporary hedging they may do during a Presidential campaign in order to get votes under false pretenses, to inaugurate a reign of free-trade whenever they shall have the power. The people of the South know this and earnestly protest against it; and if it were not for the influence of their intense partisanship and hatred in the abstract of the Republican party, the white Democrats of that unfortunate section would vote as one man for the Republican candidates for President and Congressmen, in order to preserve and protect their industrial interests.

Col. Wm. H. Smallwood, secretary of the New Orleans Produce Exchange, a gentleman hoary-headed in his Democracy, said to the writer recently that he had no doubt his party, if it could secure control of the federal administration, would "abolish the tariff and wipe out the young industrial interests of the South."

History repeats itself. The Khedive of Egypt invited the proud but turbulent Mamelukes to a great feast. Not without some distrust of their ancient enemy, they accepted the invitation and gathered in numbers at the banquet. When they had reached the innermost courts and alleys of the palace, the Khedive's warriors fell upon them with sudden fury from secret window, convenient cellar or overhanging balcony, nor slackened the cowardly butchery until the last one had bitten the dust.

The Democrats of the North now invite the South to help elevate them to a great political feast of postoffices, collectorships and federal nests galore. If this invitation shall be accepted, and if the plan by any unaccountable misfortune shall succeed, the poor manufacturers and planters of the South will, like the Mamelukes, be assailed by the free-trade Zulus of the North and exterminated without mercy.

If we had not a large public debt to liquidate, numerous new postal routes to establish and maintain, new custom-houses to erect throughout the North, South and West, and a navy to create, rivers and harbors to improve, and numerous other growing expenses incident to an expanding country to meet from the proceeds of the tariff, the tariff ought nevertheless to be maintained by the Republican party for the benefit of the prostrate but struggling South, if not for the benefit of the factories, producers and factory-men of other sections of the Union.

As there can be no perfect laws, so, undoubtedly there are some inequalities and incongruities in the present tariff regu

lations; but that fact does not carry us to the conclusion that there should be no tariff whatever. The question of whether raw materials should be generally protected in a country like this, is open to debate.

Perhaps whatever comes from the soil, and is and can be produced in considerable quantities, as cotton, wool, sugar, grains, etc., should be protected, because they depend for their growth upon the labor of each recurring year. But whether such other raw materials as iron ore, lumber, coal, etc., which can not be periodically produced by labor but are merely held in trust and store by nature, should be protected, is doubtful.

To protect lumber destroys our forests more rapidly, because it tends to keep out the lumber of neighboring provinces; and perhaps the same argument applies to coal and ores.

Inequalities and incongruities may be remedied, but destruction will follow the political party that shall strangle our country with free-trade.

The value and efficiency of the protective principle is recognized by the countries of Europe, England for 200 years leading them all. The spies and traitors who, in our own house, are attacking the commercial policy of the United States and poisoning the public with the sophistries and falsehoods of the free-trade theory, are paid with British gold. Let us see, therefore, how England has been solicitous for our welfare in the past. A few sentences will be quoted from "Gee on Trade," a standard British publication of 1750:

Manufactures in our American colonies should be discouraged, prohibited. We ought always to keep a watchful eye over our colonies, *to restrain them from setting up any of the manufactures which are carried on in Great Britain;* and any such attempt should be crushed in the beginning. Our colonies are much in the same state as Ireland was in, when they began the woollen manufacture, *and as their number increase, will fall upon manufactures for clothing themselves,* if due care be not taken to find employment for them in

raising such productions as may enable them to furnish themselves with all the necessaries from us. As they will have the providing rough material to themselves, so shall we have the manufacture of them. If encouragement be given for raising hemp, flax, etc., doubtless they will soon begin to manufacture, *if not prevented*. Therefore, to *stop the progress of any such manufacture*, it is proposed that no weaver have liberty to set up any looms, without at first registering at an office kept for that purpose; that all slitting mills and engines for drawing wire or weaving stockings, *be put down*; that all Negroes be prohibited from weaving either linen or woolen, or spinning or combing of wool, or working at any manufacture of iron, further than making into pig or bar iron; that they also be prohibited from manufacturing hats, stockings or leather of any kind. This limitation will not abridge the planters of any liberties they now enjoy—on the contrary, it will turn their industry to promoting and raising these rough materials. If we examine into the circumstances of the inhabitants of our plantations, and our own, it will appear that *not one-fourth of their product redounds to their own profit, for out of all that comes here, they only carry back clothing and other commodities for their families*, all of which is of the merchandise and manufacture of this kingdom. All these advantages we receive by the plantations, *besides the mortgages on the planters' estates, and the high interest they pay us, which is very considerable*.

This is but a mild account, by Gee, of the mere policy of Great Britain. The actual facts are even more cruel and offensive. In order to keep down the enterprise and industry of the American colonies, the House of Commons, in 1731, called upon the Board of Trade and Plantations to make a report "with respect to any laws made, manufactures set up, or trade carried on in the colonies, *detrimental to the trade, navigation and manufactures of Great Britain*." The manufactures most injurious to the trade and manufactures of the parent country were those of wool, flax, iron, paper, hats and leather.

Hats, it appeared, had been made in considerable quantities, and even exported to foreign countries. An act was therefore passed in 1732 forbidding hats or felts to be exported from the colonies, or even "to be loaded on a horse,

cart or other carriage *for transportation from one colony to another.*" And in 1750 a law was passed which prohibited "the erection or continuance of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making steel in the colonies, under penalty of £200."

Every such mill, engine, forge or furnace was declared to be a *common nuisance*, which the governors of the provinces, on information, were bound to abate, under penalty of £500, within thirty days.

The Revolution disturbed commercial relations generally, and destroyed those that, greatly to our detriment, had subsisted between the colonies and Great Britain. But peace brought with it the former difficulties, and not less burdensome oppression by the British. Congress had no power to lay a tariff, and the several States levied such duties against the old world and against each other as would best subserve their various interests.

England then prohibited our trade with the West Indies, and by a merciless enforcement of her general navigation acts our commerce was nearly destroyed. Our manufactures were paralyzed and our markets flooded with English goods, while the feeble stream of coin that had circulated among our citizens passed rapidly into the pockets of British masters and merchants.

The outlook was indeed gloomy. The merchants and factorymen began to clamor for some change in the Articles of Confederation that would enable Congress to lay a protective duty. This clamor increased in earnestness and vehemence until the present Constitution was framed and adopted by the States.

As soon as a quorum of the House of Representatives was formed under the new Constitution, James Madison brought forward the subject of duties. Petitions were pouring in from the merchants, tradesmen, mechanics and manu-

facturers in all parts of the Union, and in response to their earnest demands, Congress set to work at once and framed the first general impost law recorded in the history of the American Republic. It was signed by George Washington and became a law on July 4, 1789.

Its passage was greeted by public rejoicings in the leading communities, and from that day the condition of American workmen began to improve. Our various industries have continued to grow and strengthen, except such as were throttled by the low tariff of 1846, until the present time.

The tariff of 1846 was conceived and forced through Congress by the Democrats, actively aided by the paid agents of Great Britain. It proved to be one of the disastrous blows of the 19th century to the general prosperity of the Republic. In the House it passed by a vote of 114 to 95, and all but one (a Whig of Alabama) of the affirmative voters were Democrats.

The news of that desperate attack on the industries of America was received in England with hardly less general rejoicing than had greeted the first tariff act in this country. The Manchester organ of the manufacturers gleefully declared:

The *Independence* packet ship, which has so often brought important intelligence from the United States, has arrived in port, *bringing the best piece of news she has ever conveyed to this country*, namely, that of the passage of the new and liberal tariff duties on imports founded on Mr. Walker's report, through the American House of Representatives by a majority of 114 to 95 votes.

Like proclamations of rejoicing went out in all the papers of the United Kingdom. Said a leading Liverpool journal: "The inevitable effect will be to increase the value of the American market to the British manufacturer, whilst it will *arrest the progress of the people of the Eastern States in manufacturing skill.*"

But, mingled with the shouts of jollification sent up by the Britishers and the slave-holding Democracy, arose a wail of distress from all the manufacturing centers, North and South, in the Union. Factories closed, failures increased, wages declined and even the prices of raw cotton and other natural products were depressed by the period of general suffering that ensued.

Now again, in the year of our Lord 1884, do we find the agents of Great Britain, clamorously aided by the Democratic party of the North, engaged in systematic and persistent efforts to strike a vital spot of our industries with the palsy of free-trade. But the South is not this time in the treason. For the first time in the history of the Republican party do we see the whites of the South divided and a large portion of them making common cause with the Republicans for one of the fundamental principles of growth and prosperity in a producing country.

The preceding paragraphs must make clear the vast benefits England has derived in the past and would derive again from free-trade with the United States. In proportion as she would be benefited, we should be prostrated and injured. The utter lack of mercy with which, in earlier years, she attempted to crush out all forms of industrial progress in America, must also be plain. Who, then, being a patriotic citizen of the United States, can espouse the cause of free-trade?

Treason is generally understood to be rebellion against, or affording aid and comfort to the armed enemies of, one's country. It is punishable with death. But he who actively aids a foreign country to establish for its benefit a policy that is detrimental or ruinous to his own, is guilty of a form of treason less startling in its outer garments, it is true, but not less dangerous and destructive in its effects.

Minnesota and Nebraska have but few manufactures. A certain percentage of their people, therefore, have been car-

ried up into the clouds by the sophisms of free-trade. They desire to sell their wheat, corn and flour at tariff prices in the Eastern and Middle States, and to purchase their fabrics and wares at free-trade rates of Great Britain. Of course, this can not be done.

Their falacious argument may be fairly met by this statement by William W. Eaton, United States Senator from Connecticut:

New England manufacturers buy and consume every year \$80,000,000 worth of cotton from the South, and \$50,000,000 of breadstuffs from the West. Is it not for the general welfare that the South and West should retain that market? But they would lose it if New England manufactories should be closed. Would that promote the general welfare?

I want to say to those members who are talking about robbery, and plunder, and corruption, and thievery, that there is not a single article that goes South which is not 50 per cent. cheaper than it was fifteen years ago. No matter how wrong protection is, the fact remains it has cheapened everything under God's heaven that man, woman or child uses.

It is probable that not even the laborer is more benefited than the farmer by the tariff. The cost of nails, glass, iron in its various forms, agricultural machinery, hats, clothing, etc., are much cheaper now than they were in the days of low tariff, while the farmer receives from 50 to 300 per cent. more for his meat, butter, grain, cheese and farm products. It is not necessary to state this fact to the farmers, they all know it.

No intelligent agriculturalist, therefore, favors free-trade; and when Nebraska and Minnesota begin the erection of factories, as they soon will, they will become staunch supporters of a judicious tariff, but will receive hardly greater benefit from it than they now do.

The late Peter Cooper, a heavy manufacturer and one of the foremost friends of the laboring men of his time, in discussing the demand of England for free-trade in America, declared: "We might as well permit our enemies to direct the movements of our armies in time of war, as to permit

them to direct or control our manufactures and other industries in time of peace."

Great Britain built up her commercial prowess and certain branches of manufacturing by means of the most oppressive and iniquitous system of restriction ever known. Her old navigation laws are familiar to all. In early times she observed that Continental nations were manufacturing woolen fabrics in great quantities and growing rich, although purchasing their wool in England.

Thereupon the English enacted interdictory laws against the exportation of wools, declaring the penalty of death against certain violations of them. At the same time she invited the Lombards, who were skilled weavers, over to make cloth in England.

It was also made a penal offense for a corpse to be buried in a coffin not lined with wool.

What was the result? Every stone of wool grown in England was made into cloth or otherwise consumed at home, and the business of manufacturing woolen cloths became extensive and prosperous, though at tremendous cost.

Upon all fabrics and wares manufactured in the United States are paid various taxes, and also taxes upon the factories themselves.

Laborers are employed to build those factories, to transport the raw material, to manufacture that material, to produce it, and in various ways, directly and indirectly, to store, handle and sell the finished goods; and all the money paid to the workmen or for raw material and finished articles, goes to our friends and neighbors—*is kept at home*. This can not be true when we purchase in Great Britain. We then drain our purses for the benefit of British masters and merchants.

America is compelled to support a certain number of factories. Should they be located in America or Great Britain?

A pound of cotton or wool will produce just as much and just as good cloth in the United States as in England. By what means, then, can England buy our cotton, transport it in her own ships to English factories, manufacture it into fabrics and ship it back and sell it to us at the same rate as is charged for home-made articles?

By an oppressive system of low wages. There can be no escape from this conclusion. Taxes and insurance are lower in England than America, it is true, but these are insignificant items, having little or no effect upon wages.

To do what we have just mentioned, the cost of transporting the cotton from America to England, the seaman's wages, the ship-company's profits and the cost of sending the fabrics back to America in a similar manner, must all be taken out of the salaries of the operatives. What wonder, then, that dissatisfaction and poverty are widespread in the manufacturing districts of Great Britain? What wonder that thousands leave the "bright little tight little island" for America every year?

A large number of Democratic statesmen, so-called, hold that Congress has no authority to lay a tariff that will "protect" or build up our manufacturing interests. This sophistical argument is precisely like that used by Judge Black and President Buchanan in 1860, when they invited secession by declaring that Congress had no power of self-preservation, no means of self-defense.

Congress has the power, unquestionably, to do whatever tends to promote the well-being of the nation; and especially rightful authority to protect the people from foreign enemies *as well in times of peace as times of war*. A nation, like an individual, has a right to protect itself against a peaceful thief as well as against an armed and aggressive foe.

But the question of the constitutionality of a protective tariff does not rest merely on sound logic and common sense. The convention that gave us the Constitution itself was called

chiefly for the very purpose of establishing power which did not exist in the Articles of Confederation, namely, to lay a general protective tariff.

By the treaty of Paris, England had withdrawn her armies and war-ships, but the assaults of her tradesmen and manufacturers were even more disastrous than had been those of her armies. Her tradesmen were successful where her armies had failed. A new Constitution was framed, therefore, for the purpose of resisting the new form of attack invented by our British foes. To claim, then, that it is unconstitutional to do the very thing the Constitution was framed to do, is too preposterous for serious debate. It is worthy of its source—the free-trade Democracy.

Even the most hair-brained free-trader declares he would not have free-trade come on “at once, but gradually.” What does he admit by this? That the business interests must certainly suffer by the inauguration of his policy of free-trade, but that if it can be brought on “gradually,” those interests will probably not be entirely destroyed.

In other words, to deprive a workman at once of food and drink will result fatally; while, by bringing him down step by step from abundance to scarcity, he will at last be able to actually drag himself along for years on bread and water, or, if he die, he will die so slowly that the result can not be called instant and cold-blooded murder, but simply death from starvation.

If a thing is good, why not have it at once? There are those who, like the “gradual” free-traders, believe that in amputating a dog’s tail, it inflicts less pain to cut off an inch at a time every ten days than to sever the entire appendage at once. But the dog *loses his tail nevertheless*. The result is the same by either method. So with free-trade, “gradual” or abrupt.

Therefore, as long as our raw materials are abundant and our population on the increase, a curse will fall on the party

that shall inaugurate a system of absolute free-trade in America, whether precipitately or gradually.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SECTIONALISM—SOUTHERN SENTIMENT.

Difference Between the Solid South and the Solid North—"The Republic of Republics"—The North, Not the South, Guilty of Treason—Defense, Not Assault, is Crime—Southern Utterances—"The Confederacy Still Exists and Jeff. Davis is Still Our President"—Hatred of the Union—Soldiers' Pensions—The South Complains of Their Payment—Jeff. Davis Speaks—The "Lost Cause" Still Right—How to Teach Treason to Children—Is There Any Danger in Keeping the South Out of Power Yet Longer—Material Condition of the Late Slave States—Captain Gillespie's Wish—Excursion Tickets for Southern Democrats—Sentiment of the North—Not Reciprocated by the South—What the Cotton States Might Be—Opportunities for Profitable Investment—Why They Are Unoccupied—Transfiguration of Atlanta and Chattanooga.

For twenty-five years one of the favorite charges against the Republican party has been that it is "sectional." If the charge is true, then the Democratic party is also sectional. One represents the solid South, and the other the solid North. History tells us plainly what the country was under the rule of Southern sectionalists, and the growth and progress of to-day show with equal plainness what it is under the rule of Northern sectionalists.

Whenever the solid North shall go out of Washington, the solid South will go in. Before making such a change, should we not find out whether the Southern Democrat is the same old Democrat we saw go out in 1860?

Southern journals and orators, headed by Jefferson Davis, continue to declare that the late war settled no principles, "but merely demonstrated that the South was weaker than the

North; and, as Judah P. Benjamin said, that "the movement was *simply premature*."

"The Republic of Republics," the most elaborate and vehement of all the works justifying the principles of secession and nullification, recently published and occupying a prominent place in all Southern libraries, believes that the Rebellion did not save the Union, but "rather insured its ultimate destruction." It repeats Burke's warning to Great Britain, predicts the destruction of the Republic and says the idea that "naked majorities of all the States acting as a unit shall rule, is a factitious and fraudulent change," brought about "by perversion, fraud and perjured usurpation."

This book also declares the remarkable doctrine that no citizen owes any allegiance to the United States, only to the State in which he resides; that Davis and Lee were not and could not be guilty of treason against the United States, because there is no such thing, and that "the treason clause of the Constitution is just as applicable to a citizen fighting for the *Union* against a *State*, as it for fighting any other assailant" of that State.

Having established, by declaration, adjectives and exclamation-points, that Davis and his followers were not and could not be guilty of treason, Chapter IV of this remarkable volume is devoted to proving that the crime of treason was perpetrated by the North in defending the Union when it was fired upon by the South. Its more exact definition, however, is, that whoever clings to the Union in a State that secedes, is guilty of treason, and the citizens of States which do not secede but attempt to prevent the secession of other States, "are guilty of a federal crime but little less atrocious than treason."

Applied to every-day affairs, this doctrine would attach the crime of murder to the person killed and to any one who attempted to prevent the killing, as well as to the constable, jurymen, prosecuting attorney or judge who might be called

upon to try the assassin, rather than to the party actually guilty of the homicide.

The "Republic of Republics" does not recognize the Union, and only uses the word when quoted, thus, "union." It repeats over and over that "the States are sovereign; that the United States has no authority or control over them;" that the Union is merely "the *agency, subordinate to* and without control over the State;" and that this "agency can be held so long as it is used for the defense and safety of the State, and no longer."

On the fly-leaves are printed the commendations and indorsements of the leading Southern newspapers and statesmen, all Democrats of course; so that no one can deny or be deceived in regard to the instincts and purposes of the Democracy of to-day. This, the last volume on the subject of Democratic principles, is fuller of secession and nullification than any that ever preceded it, notwithstanding almost twenty years have elapsed since treason, nullification and secession surrendered their bloody sword to Grant, liberty and the Union, at Appomattox.

Four years ago Democratic processions marched behind rebel flags and the stars and bars are now frequently seen on buildings in the South. In 1880 rebel flags headed Democratic processions as far north as Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Robert Toombs, of Georgia, advised his people to support Hancock, saying:

WE CAN NOT PUT IN ONE OF OUR OWN MEN THIS TIME, AND HAVE TO TAKE A 'YANK.' That being the case, let us take one who is less 'blue-bellied' than most of them. *You may depend upon it, sir, that 'Yank' or no 'Yank,' if elected,* the OLD BOYS OF THE SOUTH WILL SEE THAT HANCOCK DOES THE FAIR THING BY THEM. IN OTHER WORDS, HE WILL RUN THE MACHINE TO SUIT THEM, OR THEY WILL RUN THE THING THEMSELVES. THEY ARE NOT GOING TO BE PLAYED WITH ANY LONGER.

At a great Bourbon meeting at Kizer Hill, Alabama, a Confederate general said, among other things:

The CONFEDERACY STILL EXISTS, my friends, and JEFF. DAVIS, THE BEST FRIEND WE EVER HAD, IS YET OUR PRESIDENT AND DEVOTED TO OUR INTERESTS; and if Hancock is elected (and we have no doubt he will be) YOU WILL BE PAID FOR ALL THE PROPERTY YOU HAVE LOST THROUGH RADICAL RULE; and you must stand by the great Democratic party, for A SOLID SOUTH WILL NOW GIVE US ENTIRE CONTROL OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT, AND WE CAN REDRESS ALL OUR WRONGS.

On the 22d of February, 1884, a colossal statue of Robert E. Lee was unveiled at New Orleans. On the following day the *Morning Star* of that city said:

A statue is an open book which may be read by as many thousands at once as can see it, and, therefore, we rejoice that one of the *grandest pages of all the history of all the human race* stands unfolded to the gaze of millions above the beautiful column that towers from the center of Tivoli Circle.

The Southern newspapers, except those of three or four of the larger cities, which hold extensive business relations and enjoy the credit of the North, teem to-day with the same sentiments. For instance, the Meridian (Mississippi) *Mercury* of February 8, 1884, says:

The honest truth is, there is no great love for the United States government as it is and has been among the more respectable and intelligent classes of Southern people. * * The ruling classes have discussed the government as it was and is, and only liars or fools will admit that the government of the United States is satisfactory or lovable, or that they do love it. That's honest. The condition of it, *since the injection of the amendments into it, is a lie, a snare and a delusion.*

The ruling classes of the South hate tyranny; and the government of the United States, since the war, is a tyranny—a grinding tyranny—that has ground all love for the *old concern*, as it was once in them, entirely out of them, and made it *naturally and justly hateful*. * * We will instance just one intolerable tyranny: That government they seem to require us to love and respect, and esteem it a culpable want of

loyalty if we don't, is squandering millions annually on fraudulent pensions, while our maimed soldiers gain a subsistence as they can, but still have to contribute to the pension fund for the other side of the fight.

In the first place, it is a small amount the soldiers of the South contribute to the pension fund of the North. In fact, comparatively speaking, it is a small amount the entire Democracy of the South contribute to the pensions of Union soldiers. Official figures show that the great revenues of the government come from the Northern, Western and Eastern States, not from the South. The rich, not the poor, pay taxes. The South is poor and there is no direct taxation. In the second place, it is right for the South to help pay the debts and wipe out the heritages of the late war. If one individual commits an assault on another, and the result is damage to both, the assaulting party must not only stand his own loss, but pay also the damages suffered by the other. If a careless or malicious driver comes in to collision with a vehicle standing still in its rightful place, and both carriages are demolished, the person responsible for the collision must suffer his own damages and make good those sustained by the other party.

On the 9th of March, 1884, Jefferson Davis addressed a joint meeting of the two branches of the Mississippi legislature. Participants in the Yazoo and other massacres were present. "President" Davis was welcomed by music and a snatch of poetry, composed for the occasion and conspicuous for its secession sentiment. He said, among other things:

I have been reproached for not asking pardon; but pardon comes after repentance, and [with emphasis] *I have never repented*. Remembering, as I must, all which has been suffered, all which has been lost, disappointed hopes and crushed aspirations, yet I deliberately say, if it were to do over again, *I would again do just as I did in 1861*. No one is the arbiter of his own fate. The people of the Confederate States did more in proportion to their numbers and means than was ever achieved by any in the world's history. * * * Never question or teach your children to desecrate the memory of the dead by admitting that their brothers were wrong in

the effort to maintain the sovereignty, freedom and independence which was their inalienable birthright. Remembering that the coming generations are the children of the historic mothers whose devotion to our cause in its darkest hour sustained the strong and strengthened the weak, I can not believe that the cause for which our sacrifices were made *can ever be lost*. The South, disenthralled, will take hold of the helm and steer the ship of State safely into port.

This speech, which was more unpatriotic and unrepentant than the newspapers reported, was greeted with "vociferous applause," and afforded refreshing reading in Mississippi for several weeks. It was published and republished approvingly throughout the South.

The injunction of Mr. Davis to teach the young that the South—that treason—was right and the North wrong, is carried out with earnestness and persistency. And, although the calm pages of history contain nothing corroborative, the rising generation of the Cotton States are taught to believe their fathers fought and fell for "a great principle of right which is yet destined to triumph."

That "great principle"—the State-sovereignty theory—is no nearer right now than it was when it took up arms against the country in 1861. It is worshiped now as it was then, and by the same people. It is true that it can no longer be exercised in the work of forcibly extending slavery, but no other opportunities for carrying it into effect are ever lost; nor, as far as one can see, was the number of its advocates diminished by the abolition of slavery and the result of the Rebellion.

That "great principle," carried into practical effect, means that the child is only bound to obey its parents when the parental mandates are agreeable; that whenever the order of the commanding general is distasteful to a private, that private may defy and disobey the order and declare it null and void.

But few sane or patriotic men, certainly no business man, would put the followers of such a theory into full control of

the government. Will it be dangerous to keep them from the throne of supreme power until they shall have been educated to submit to what they contemptuously call "naked majorities," and have learned that the Union of the States is greater than sectional whims; the government greater than any of its provinces or districts, and that it has innate power sufficient to enforce its own laws and regulations as against any disgruntled or disloyal State?

Undoubtedly the people of the South believe they are in some manner injuring and fretting the North by their bitter expressions, their defiance of federal power and their disfranchisement of black Republicans. This is one of their greatest errors. The fact is, they are crippling themselves without putting any check on the progress of the North. Let us see if this is not so.

The South is a century behind the North. She has comparatively few railways and those are largely owned by Northern capitalists. Her manufactures are small and weak, though Northern capital and enterprise are beginning to enliven a few trade-centers here and there. The majority of her States have repeatedly been in a deplorable financial condition—semi-bankrupt, in fact; her public schools have not been and most of them are not now worthy of the name; she hardly makes a pretense of punishing crime and administering justice impartially; her election laws are, in several States, the ordinances of fraud and barbarism and her elections the most disgraceful exhibitions of force, deception, forgery, intimidation, violence, tumult and butchery known to civilized nations—travesties in every respect; her newspapers are few, narrow, partisan and but little patronized outside of a half-dozen chief centers; the illiteracy of her white people is on the increase; bloody feuds and duels are common and her libraries are few, small and sectional.

These are facts indisputably proved by the federal census and other authoritative reports. The number of books pub-

lished in the North in one year exceeds all the South has ever produced. All the great publishing houses, magazines, histories and periodicals belong to the North. The inventors, philosophers, investigators, authors, eminent scientists, engineers, educators and lecturers belong largely to the North, and the wealth, credit, enterprise and standing of the nation come from the same section. Is not the South, then, following an erroneous policy?

Not long ago C. D. Gillespie, a captain in the confederate service and more recently district attorney of Hinds county, Mississippi, came for the first time north of Mason and Dixon's line. As he passed by busy factories, roaring cities, large farm-houses, swarming schools, rich fields and sleek stock, he exclaimed: "Oh! if my people could only see this Northern country and meet its inhabitants hand to hand, I would give all I possess!"

No one could fail to note the impression the scenes made upon him—a man of fine talents and liberal education and a former slave-holder. He was willing to make personal sacrifices in order to let his people see how different the results of talking politics, hunting Negroes and cultivating "chivalry" are from those of that steady business energy, broad liberality, general desire for enlightenment and resistless spirit of progress which drive on the North at the head of all civilized nations in growth, resources and happiness.

If Congress could appropriate from the public funds enough to purchase excursion tickets to the North for every one of the million Democratic voters in the solid South, and the large-hearted Republicans of the North could take their Southern brethren by the hand and show them their public schools, their colleges, their gigantic factories, their boundless resources, their well-fenced and well-stocked farms, their numerous public libraries, their great railway systems, their splendid homes, their general thrift, wealth and commercial power and their peaceable elections, it would do much

to correct the prejudices, extirpate the hatred and arouse the wholesome ambition of the South.

Northern newspapers and statesmen speak with kindness and solicitude for the South. They earnestly desire harmony between the two sections, and the friends of the Mississippi improvement, of a tariff to succor infant industries, of the jetties that are building up the ocean commerce of New Orleans, of the measures to control and prevent yellow fever and of the bills to improve public schools at national expense, are mostly Northern Republicans.

The real business men of the South do not indorse the present condition of things in their section; but for many generations the principal occupation of the slave-masters was raising Negroes and statesmen—a business they are still loth to abandon—and hence that section is swarming with professional politicians who do little but drink whisky, kill Negroes, hate the North and control the politics of the country.

Very recently immigration societies have been organized in New Orleans and one or two other points in the Cotton States. Heretofore the Southerners have opposed immigration, boasting their great superiority over the North and disdain to mingle with “the vermin from the rookeries of Europe.” They still claim to be superior to the remainder of the world, but are willing to tolerate the presence of Northern and European business men and workmen, *provided*, always, that these “carpet-baggers,” as all settlers from outside are termed, vote the Democratic ticket or abstain entirely from “interfering” in politics and make no attempt to mingle socially with the self-sanctified natives.

Dr. Fred O. Barrett, until recently editor of the *Southern Republican*, of Mississippi, says: “The Southerners think they are superior to Northerners, and consider it a condescension to speak or associate with them. When they talk with a Northern Republican on the streets they feel ashamed,

and if a prominent Democratic citizen comes along they want to apologize to him for being seen with a Northerner."

Page after page might be written concerning the treatment Northern business men receive at the South, and how about 75 per cent. of them are compelled, after a disastrous and unhappy experience, to return to "God's country." A single instance will illustrate the whole subject.

A. W. Rice, of Minnesota, was a very strong Democrat. His Democracy was so strong, in fact, that his sympathies rather leaned toward the South. Not long since, as Minnesota is hopelessly Republican, he removed to Tennessee. Although he abstained from political action, and was a Democrat of Democrats, nevertheless he was a "Yank."

About one year ago his daughter, a beautiful child of fifteen, died. Although the fact was well known, not a person in Cowan called on the afflicted family, and when, with the aid of a Mrs. Doud, the child was prepared for burial, the authorities refused to permit her to be buried in the local cemetery!

The Cowan furnace corporation at once laid out some lots on the site of Gen. Thomas' camp during the Rebellion, and Lucia Rice, refused a resting-place in the neighborhood cemetery because her father was a Northerner, received the first interment in the new burial plat.

These things, although unpleasant, are of no great consequence to the North, but they are disastrous to the South.

The Gulf and Atlantic States produce cotton, tobacco, rice and sugar in great quantities. Their mountains contain coal and iron, and their forests an abundance of timber not surpassed in quality by the forest-products of the North. Meat comes almost inexhaustibly from Texas, and fish from the rivers and ocean, while grains are cheaper than in Boston and New York.

In the South, homes for workmen are less costly than in the North, because the climate is less vigorous; clothing and

food, for the same reason, are more inexpensive; the amount of fuel required is very small; the days are longer and hence illumination costs but little; factories do not require artificial heating to any extent; there is no long battle with winter—in short, every condition is favorable in the South for prosperous manufacturing.

Why then, is there but little immigration of either people or capital into that section? Because of the inexcusable barbarity of Southern politics; the lack of safety for human life; the disordered condition of public finances; the dishonesty of public officials; the indignities heaped upon “carpet-baggers,” as all new settlers are termed; the lack of tolerance, educational facilities, cordiality, social freedom and good will.

If, in that section, any but a Democrat could vote in safety and have his vote counted; if Northerners could settle there without meeting ostracism and scorn; if officials would honestly administer public affairs; if taxes could be faithfully applied to the purposes for which they were collected, people of education, capital and enterprise would flock to the South, willing to forego the benefits of schools, newspapers, libraries, and other modern conveniences common to the North, until they themselves could help build them up.

Until that time shall come, the growth of the South will be slow, although, after personal investigation, the writer does not hesitate to declare that no other section of the Union offers better opportunities for profitable investments. That time has come in Atlanta, Chattanooga and two or three other places in the Cotton States, and see how, almost like magic, they are forging ahead in enlightenment, wealth and commercial power.

Would to God the people of all the South—“bright, warm, sunny South”—could also lay aside their hatred of the North and their rancor toward Republican administrations, fling away that uncontrollable ambition to dominate over every-

thing and everybody by any means whatsoever; accept their free and equal position in the Union as better than that of any petty slave empire in the world out of it, and turn from their disappointments and Negro-butcheries to the noble and honorable business of making their country what her natural advantages entitle her to be—the Italy of the Western Hemisphere—prosperous, tranquil, progressive, enlightened, free and happy.

This may be done, but never by the methods now employed. It will be done when Northern men feel that they can go into the South in peace and safety with their capital, their families *and their politics*.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE NEGRO—IS HIS CONDITION HOPELESS?

Race Animosity Not Disappearing—Effect of Commercial Intercourse—Social Privileges Not Conferrable by Statute—Absurdity of Color Distinction—Wherein the Negro is and is not Obnoxious—Deprivation of Semi-public Rights and Privileges—Disfranchisement—The Government Stultified by Its Failure to Protect its own Citizens—The Colored People Disheartened—A Table of Significant Figures—Proscription and Degradation of Laborers—How Accomplished—Wages and Manner of Payment—Tricks of the Courts and Other Officers—Why the Negroes can be Held in Unlawful Bondage—Victims of Circumstances—Will the North ever Help Them—If not, Their Condition is Hopeless.

Race animosity is not disappearing from the South. In the cities of Memphis, Chattanooga, Atlanta, New Orleans and a few other compact communities of comparative thrift, the determined hatred of the blacks that was universal at the close of the war and after the adoption of the XIV amendment, may be slowly wearing away. Business interests and intercourse alone are responsible for this cheerful change,

as most of the newspapers, books, politicians and historical works of that section teach exactly the opposite. In the "upper" and interior counties, however, in those remote districts not reached by the force of current events and the influence of progress, that hatred seems, if possible, to be growing in wickedness and intensity.

Except as to whether they will work or starve, raise children or not, and suffer all manner of wrongs without even the right to seek redress, the freedmen are freedmen only in name in the interior counties of Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia, Louisiana and the Carolinas, in fact in certain portions of most of the old slave States. They are, except in the respects mentioned, subject to greater indignities and more hateful persecutions than characterized the days of hereditary servitude.

The social degradation in which the whites are determined the blacks shall ever be maintained is hardly a proper subject for discussion. Social relations are and should be mostly a matter of choice between individuals. They can not be defined and enforced by law. No social privileges can be conferred by statute upon blacks that never have been and never can be conferred by acts and courts upon whites. The proposition is absurd, and whenever an attempt is made to carry it into material effect, the disappointments of the blacks and the resentment of the whites are increased, race conflicts multiplied and the general concerns of both races rendered more deplorable.

Nevertheless it is impossible to defend the distinctions made by the whites against the blacks in the South in their social and personal intercourse on account of color alone. Such a distinction is even more absurd than the proposition just considered, and not less detrimental to the general prosperity of the community in which it is practiced.

But the color of the skin is not the true reason for much of this race proscription; it is merely a guide by which the proscription is carried on and made more thorough.

If the Southern Democrats were not starving for office, and if the Negroes could not vote, there would be little trouble between the whites and the blacks. The allegation of Southern whites that the Negro is "impudent" and "obnoxious" is false. Whoever has traveled through the late slave States has seen that the Negro is not only generally grateful and polite, but is good enough to be intrusted with the care and development of the children of the aristocratic Democracy; that as maid, waiter, attendant and companion for the ladies, the African blood is not "obnoxious;" that it is good enough for all the privacies of the sick chamber of master and mistress; in short, that in all the every-day doings of life, white and black mingle freely and good-naturedly together.

Even more: African blood is not so "obnoxious" but that the proud Democrat who now scorns to see a peaceable old Negro go to the polls and vote the Republican ticket, in the tyrannous and licentious days of slavery found frequent delight in those secret relations often sustained only by force or through intimidation on the part of the master which resulted in sprinkling the South with half-white children.

Is not the cry that the Negro is "obnoxious," after two centuries of such relationship, rather hypocritical and unavailing?

Colored people are deprived of certain privileges that are not of a social but of a public and semi-public nature, such as entrance to restaurants, sleeping-cars, hotels, theaters, ball-rooms, steamboats and bar-rooms. Indeed, the only good thing the Southern Democrats have ever been known to do for the colored people in their various schemes of proscription, is to deny them the privilege of getting drunk in their so-called "first-class" bar-rooms and saloons. If the frantic efforts to maintain perfect race distinction were ever carried to a

superlative absurdity, it is where the keeper of a groggery disdains to allow a person of African blood to be poisoned at his bar at the regular rates!

In many cities of the South a colored person is not allowed to purchase even a glass of soda-water in the drug-stores and restaurants, nor to enter the churches except to take a seat in a certain remote section "set apart for niggers." If the African goes to Heaven it is hardly probable the Lord will follow the bigoted example of his children on earth and give him a back seat up in the gallery. God is no respecter of persons.

If Africans are permitted on a steamboat, they must ride in "Texas," a place above "prepared" for them. If they enter a theater with first class tickets, they are similarly served, while they are allowed no privileges in sleeping-cars, parlor-cars, etc., etc., even after paying regular rates.

But there is a desperate system of proscription and discrimination of another character directed against the blacks that calls for correction at any cost, if there is any meaning to the foundation principles of our Republican government. Reference is had to the political disfranchisement by false counting and other frauds, intimidation, deprivation of labor and trust, and by the assaults and murders without number to which colored voters have been subjected.

Every government has the indestructible prerogative to confer upon its subjects certain civil rights. It may also define and enumerate those rights; punish infractions of them and provide adequate protection for the fullest enjoyment of all civil and inalienable privileges and immunities. Having enumerated and defined the various attributes of citizenship, that government which does not afford ample protection of them in every instance, or punishment of their infraction, fails to accomplish the objects for which all governments are formed. In several of the old slave States of the South, the highest and dearest prerogatives of citizenship

are not enjoyed, and can not be even forcibly grasped by the Negroes.

A greater disgrace than this could hardly be named. When a government is founded upon the theory that its forms and life depend wholly upon the free exercise of the elective franchise, and yet a large share of its citizens are not only deprived of the exercise of that sacred privilege, but are left helpless and without remedies in the hands of their enemies, that government stands stultified before itself and a failure before the world. Under such circumstances the blessings of freedom which it holds out to all mankind, turn to ashes on the lips of its own subjects.

Under these circumstances the Negroes are becoming disheartened. They declare they have been "abandoned" by the Republican party.

"What's to be gained," they plead in Louisiana, "when, after making a bloody fight and winning a victory, we get let down by Republican administrations as we were in 1877?"

Acting under the highest of all authorities, the instinct of self-preservation, the poor Negroes are now hiding instead of voting on election days. A few election figures from official sources will show the truth of this statement, as applied to the States where the greatest outrages have been committed, where large numbers of colored Republicans have been slaughtered, where protection is most needed and least afforded, and where fair play would insure Republican triumphs at every election :

STATES.	1872.		1876.		1880.		No. Colord' voters U.S. census 1880
	Grant.	Greeley.	Hayes.	Tilden.	Garfield.	Hancock	
Ala.....	90,282	79,444	68,708	102,989	56,221	91,185	118,423
Georgia..	62,550	76,356	50,446	130,688	54,086	102,470	143,471
La.....	71,663	57,029	75,315	70,508	38,637	65,067	107,977
Miss.....	82,175	47,288	52,605	112,173	34,854	75,750	130,278
S. C.....	72,290	22,703	91,870	90,896	58,071	112,312	118,889
Va.....	93,468	91,654	95,558	139,670	84,020	128,586	128,257
Total ..	472,428	374,474	434,502	646,324	325,889	575,370	747,295
Average..	78,438	62,412	72,417	107,720	54,314	95,895	124,549

If these are not significant figures, the people of the North will never see any.

The most casual observer must discover in them many dangers for the future. The blacks, finding themselves unprotected by the Republicans and disfranchised by the Democrats, will gradually cease political activity, and finally drop it altogether, thus making the South more hopelessly solid than ever, choking down Republicanism in that great section where of right and by reason of the necessities of the case it should be strongest. Hereditary physical bondage will then be succeeded by political thralldom less cruel to the body, to be sure, but not less degrading to the soul, not less repugnant to the principles and spirit of freedom, nor less dangerous to the body politic.

If the colored man in the South were only deprived of the ordinary social privileges, his civil rights, so-called, and the free exercise of the elective franchise, his condition would still be tolerable, though humiliating and unjust. But in many sections the worst features of his enforced degradation are those pertaining to the relations between labor and capital.

The pay and mode of labor on some of the sugar plantations may be described thus: During the entire summer season the blacks receive fifty cents per day wages and five pounds of salt pork and a peck of meal per week as "rations." The pork is worth fifty cents, the meal fifteen cents, and the wages \$3, a total of \$3.65 per week.¹ But the laborer is not paid weekly. He is generally hired from January to January, and a goodly portion of his wages is always kept back for the purpose of bulldozing him; and for every day or half-day that he does not work, he is fined twenty cents for his rations. Thus, rations having been issued on Saturday, if rain should

¹ In winter, during sugar-making season, the laborers about the mills receive one dollar per day for twelve hours' work, and fifty cents for "night-watch," so-called. The mills, when once started, are not allowed to stop until all the cane has been disposed of, which necessitates night work. Each set of laborers is therefore compelled to work all day and half the night.

begin falling on Monday and continue through the week to such an extent as to make out-door labor unadvisable, each workman would, although serving by the year, lose his week's wages and \$1.20 in addition for sixty-five cents' worth of rations. By such means, and by refusing to pay him any of his dues if he quits work before January, and by a system of store orders, the planters manage to keep the blacks at work upon almost the same terms as in the days of slavery.

Thomas T. Fortune, the colored editor and orator, in his testimony before the committee of the United States Senate in April, 1884, said: "The average daily rate of wages of farm labor in the South is nearer fifty than seventy-five cents, out of which the laborer must feed and clothe his family. He seldom pays rent, and seldom sees a cent of currency. He is paid in store orders which can not be negotiated, and takes his farm on shares. One of the greatest hardships of the colored farm laborer in the South is the system of store orders and of share labor."

The whites, except in rare instances, will not sell land to Negroes, because a colored man who owns his own farm is no longer a slave.

But otherwise than this nearly every form and attribute of hereditary bondage exists in many parts of the South.

White overseers are in charge now as then; the blacks are forced to work whether or not they are ill or desire a holiday. If they do not "turn out" on time in the morning the overseer rides to their cabins on horseback, bursts in the door, and with club and pistol, drives them out.

Every overseer and every white man carries at least one revolver, and, on the plantations, clubs and other weapons. If a colored man "talks back" or attempts any argument with a white, he is promptly knocked down. If he attempts to defend himself, he is no less promptly shot.

Colored men are not allowed to have arms. If one is caught with weapons he is arrested and thrown into jail, and

in some localities, his back-pay is confiscated by the planter. The freedmen are thus kept completely terrorized and, consequently, under subjugation as absolute as that of lawful serfdom.

The world is familiar with the recent exodus of Negroes from the South. Thousands and thousands of them fled, leaving behind old friends and associations and whatever they could not conveniently carry of their worldly possessions.

Nothing whatever transpires without a reason. There was a reason for the Negro emeute, and it must have been a grave one. The blacks are patient under the wrongs and scourges inflicted by the whites, and however, by pettifoggery and throwing dust, the real reason for the exodus may be beclouded, the fact still remains that the blacks had been so harshly and unjustly dealt with that they could no longer remain with their employers and former masters, and therefore fled in fright and confusion among strangers.

In most localities the judicial officers and civil authorities are composed exclusively of white Democrats. The foundation principle of equity with them is, "keep down the niggers." It is, therefore, difficult—generally absolutely impossible—for a colored man ever to begin a suit against a white man, and if, as a mock show of fairness, he is allowed to proceed, his defeat is inevitable.

Having no arms, no mode of defense, no courts, no property, no laws save those turned against him, no source of pardon from unjust and illegal punishments, no throne before which to petition for redress of material grievances and no friends but those luke-warm and inactive by reason of distance and for want of proper information, the lot of the freedman, aside from the political indignities heaped upon him, is not much less than a long draught of gall and wormwood.

This kind of oppression is far more serious in its results than the deprivation of social privileges or civil rights.

Nothing so circumscribes a man's life as physical want, nothing so prostrates a nation as compulsory poverty. To withhold rightful privileges may be a temporary humiliation, but to enforce changeless want entails a life-time of groveling and dwarfs the soul as well as the body.

The blacks are ambitious, and would, if they could be once rescued from the pillory, start on a creditable upward course. Their thralldom is not owing to a want of intelligence or honorable ambition, but to circumstances.

Generations of degradation, in which ignorance was "bred in and in" with ignorance, the heart hardened by tyrannous brutality and the soul withered by the galling chains of utter hopelessness and helplessness, were suddenly succeeded by a technical freedom that only rendered the masters still more determined in the methods necessary to retain supremacy.

Therefore, not equipped for freedom and independence, without the feeblest means of coping with their former masters, the change in law brought little or no change of conditions in fact to the blacks. The transition was simply from lawful to unlawful bondage. At first they were like persons born in a prison—strangers to the sweets of liberty; and in that condition, as far as could be done by robbery, tyranny and brutality, have they been kept since 1863. Gradually they learn the meaning of freedom; slowly the germ of ambition unfolds itself in their dwarfed natures; steadily the light of intelligence grows whiter and brighter in their souls; yet around a large portion of the poor creatures the master has built a Chinese wall which they are unable to scale without help from the outside.

Shall that succor ever be extended? At the interview between the colored citizens and the members of the United States Senate in 1873, in Louisiana, Mr. Ingraham declared, while pleading for his race:

There have been over 5,000 men murdered in this State since 1865 for no other cause on God's green earth than their

attachment to the Republican party. They have been hunted through field and flood and shot down for no other reason.

Undoubtedly the government has no clear authority to step in and guard each individual Republican from the knives and bullets of the Democrats. The disgrace is that such authority has not been created; for it is a principle as old as it is just, that no person owes allegiance to a government that is either unable or unwilling to protect him—at least in performing the duties which his allegiance and citizenship imply.

If the apathy of the Republican North shall continue, the future of 4,000,000 blacks in the South will be without light or hope. And when summoned with the nations of the earth before the bar of God, we shall be held responsible for the consequences of our dereliction toward the black race.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SOUTHERN ELECTION METHODS—FRAUD, CRIME AND BLOOD.

The Just Fate of Rebels—What the North asked—What She Received—No Cessation of Hostilities—The Ku-Klux Klan—It Consisted of 550,000 oath-bound Assassins—Its Doings in Tennessee—Its Texas Butcheries too Numerous to Be Kept in Account—Its Operations in Louisiana, the Carolinas and Alabama—Northern Teachers Driven Away—Election Diabolism in Louisiana—Frightful Massacre in 1866—Gen. P. H. Sheridan's Startling Report in 1875—Forty-two Hundred Fifty-six Killed and Wounded Republicans—Judge Woods States a Case—Grant Describes the Coushatta Murders—A List of the Slain By Parishes—An Appalling Record—The Double-barreled Ballot-box—How It Is Managed—A Blood-saving Invention—The Carolinas—*Fac Simile* of Tissue Ballots—Mr. Miller Explains Their Use—Mississippi—The Chisolm Massacre—Villainies of the "Shoe-string District"—Dishonesty of the Court—The Killing of J. P. Matthews—A Cold-blooded and Shocking Murder—Testimony at the Investigation—The "Tailhold Club"—Its Duties—Wheeler Rewarded—Acquitted by Blasphemous Jurors—Assassination of Young Real—Mrs. Chisolm's Bitter Rebuke of the Party.

The Rebellion was the greatest crime of modern times. Responsibility for it and the consequences of it existed somewhere. If in individuals, they deserved the gibbet; if in the South as a belligerent nation, the federal government acquired the rights of a conqueror and might have saddled the expenses of the conflict upon the rebels and kept them in subjugation for its payment and for their good behavior. That, according to the law of nations, was what they deserved; that, had Prussia been dealing with them, is what they would have suffered.

Instead, however, we only asked that the rebels allow the black man to vote as an equal of the reconstructed traitor. Have the rebels been grateful for this mercy? Have they been peaceable? Have they been honest? No. They at once resumed the arms with which they fought the North and began slaughtering Union men, Republicans and blacks.

This was for the avowed purpose of gaining by domestic turbulence and bloodshed what they had failed to accomplish by open war.

As the census-taker never describes the processes of conception and gestation, but merely records the number of births, with sex, color and nativity, so shall we merely give a quick view of results of Southern political methods.

Undoubtedly the most formidable organization of midnight assassins ever banded together in any country was the Democratic Ku-Klux Klan of the Cotton States. Its oaths, purposes and doings are perhaps wholly unparalled.

General N. B. Forrest, said to have been at one time at the head of the order, testified that in 1868 it numbered 40,000 men in Tennessee and 550,000 in other parts of the South. All were armed, and most of them masked and mounted. They were variously known as Ku-Klux, White Brotherhood, Invisible Circle, Pale Faces, The Invisible Empire, Knights of the White Camelia, Red-Shirts, Regulators, etc.

On March 10, 1871, a committee of the Senate reported on the condition of affairs in South Carolina. The facts disclosed were so shocking that Grant sent a message to Congress advising prompt legislation. "An act to enforce the XIV amendment and for other purposes" was at once passed and approved, and a resolution was adopted ordering an investigation into the doings of the Democracy in all the Southern States.

The report of this committee, with the testimony taken, fills more than a dozen octavo volumes, averaging over 600 pages each. And, although it was very difficult to secure

wholly truthful testimony, owing to the fact that the members of the organization, being either murderers or under oath to commit murder, would not testify freely, the disclosures far exceeded the belief of the North. Only three or four extracts from the report will be required to show the character of the organization:

Tennessee.—The murders and outrages which have been perpetrated in many counties of middle and west Tennessee, during the past few months, have been so numerous, and of such an aggravated character, as almost baffles investigation. In these counties a reign of terror exists, which is so absolute in its nature, that the best of citizens are unable or unwilling to give free expression to their opinions.

The terror inspired by the secret organization known as the Ku-Klux Klan is so great that the officers of the law are powerless to execute its provisions, to discharge their duties, or to bring the guilty perpetrators of these outrages to the punishment they deserve. To have voted for Brownlow, or the Republican ticket, or to be a radical, is the greatest of crimes. Your committee believe that during the past six months, the murders, to say nothing of other outrages, would average one a day, or one for every twenty-four hours.

Texas.—General Reynolds, as commander of the Fifth Military district, says:

“Armed organizations, generally known as the Ku-Klux Klans, exist, independently or in concert with other armed bands, in many parts of Texas, but are most numerous, bold and aggressive east of the Trinity River.

“The precise objects of the organizations can not be readily explained, but seem, in this State, to be to disarm, rob, and in many cases, murder Union men and Negroes, and, as occasion may offer, murder United States officers and soldiers; also to intimidate every one who knows anything of the organization, but who will not join it.

“In several counties men have been indicated by name from the speaker’s stand at Democratic meetings as those selected for murder. The men thus pointed out have no course left them but to leave their homes or be murdered on the first convenient opportunity.

“The murder of Negroes is so common as to render it impossible to keep accurate account of them.”

Louisiana.—Over 2,000 persons were killed, wounded, and otherwise injured in that State within a few weeks prior to the Presidential election; that half the State was overrun by vi-

olence. Midnight raids, secret murders and open riot kept the people in constant terror until the Republicans surrendered all claims, and then the election was carried by the Democracy. The parish of Orleans contained 29,910 voters—15,020 black. In the spring of 1868 that parish gave 13,927 Republican votes; in the fall of 1868 it gave Grant 1,178, a falling off of 12,795 votes. Riots prevailed for weeks, sweeping the city of New Orleans and filling it with scenes of blood, and Ku-Klux notices were scattered through the city warning the colored men not to vote. In Caddo there were 2,987 Republicans. In the spring of 1868 they carried the parish; in the fall they gave Grant one vote. Here also there were bloody riots.

But the most remarkable case is that of St. Landry, a planting parish on the river Teche. Here the Republicans had a registered majority of 1,071 votes. In the spring of 1868 they carried the parish by 678; in the fall they gave Grant no votes—*not one!* while the Democrats cast 4,787, the full vote of the parish, for Seymour and Blair.

Here occurred one of the bloodiest riots on record, in which the Ku-Klux killed and wounded over 200 Republicans, hunting and chasing them for two days and nights through fields and swamps. Thirteen captives were taken from the jail and shot. A pile of twenty-five dead bodies was found half-buried in the woods. Having conquered the Republicans, killed and driven off the white leaders, the Ku-Klux captured the masses, marked them with badges of red flannel, enrolled them in clubs, led them to the polls, made them vote the Democratic ticket, and then gave them certificates of the fact.

In about 10,000 cases the Ku-Klux stopped short of killing their victims. Two or three brief extracts from the report of the committee relative to the least aggravated cases will, to some extent, illustrate the methods and purposes of the Klan.

Samuel F. White, aged fifty-four, born in the South and a man of intelligence and standing, in reply to the question of whether he had been visited by Ku-Klux, said;

They came and surrounded the house in the night. I was asleep. They took a pillow-slip and slipped it over my head and led me into the yard. They asked me my principles; and I told them. They said, "That was what we thought you were." They asked if I was a Union man or a

Democrat. I told them I had always been a Union man. They said they thought so. They carried me off seventy-five or eighty yards from the house. They said, "Here is a limb," and they asked me whether I would rather be shot, hung or whipped. I told them if it had to be one, I would have to take a whipping. They ordered me to run; I told them I did not wish to do that. Then they commenced on me.

They whipped him almost to death.

John Genoble, also a native of the South, was taken from his bed, stripped and beaten to helplessness with hickory withes. Having nearly killed him, the chief said: "If you will agree to go to the court-house and get on the steps and there declare yourself a Democrat, and say that you have quit this partyism or this radicalism, we will let you go; but if you do not, we will come back and kill you." Mr. Genoble testified: "Of course, I did it."

Rev. A. W. Cummings gave the committee a list of 227 persons that he personally knew had been whipped, maimed or killed. He said that thousands of blacks and many whites slept in the woods for months in order to escape the Democratic butchers.

Two of the board of school directors of Monroe county, Alabama, who voted in favor of imposing a school-tax, were warned by the Ku-Klux to leave the board, and in pursuance of that notice one of them did resign. About the same time all the teachers on the east side of the Tombigbee River, in that county, were notified by them to close their schools, and did so, twenty-six schools being thus interrupted. They went in a body at night and gave these warnings to the teachers.

Among those called upon was Miss Sarah A. Allen, a lady sent by a missionary society from Geneseo, Illinois, and engaged in teaching one of the free schools. Eighty Ku-Klux came at 12 o'clock on a certain Monday night, after she had retired, entered her room and told her she must close her school on Wednesday; that if they came again she would

not get off so easily. She obeyed, it is hardly necessary to record.

But it is useless to proceed. One hundred volumes might be filled with testimony and recitations of this and of a far more bloody character concerning the doings of the Ku-Klux-Klans. Its members still live and compose what are now termed "clubs." Their organization is perpetual and their meetings secret. They "manage" the Democratic party in the South.

LOUISIANA POLITICAL DIABOLISM.

Northern people have heard most, perhaps, about the villainies of politics in Louisiana. This is not because they are worse, but because the peculiar contests that have grown out of them, the large number of federal employes in the custom-house at New Orleans, and the repeated efforts at investigation by leading Republicans, have called public attention to them to a greater extent.

Following is an extract from the report of the first massacre of Republicans in Louisiana, made to the Philadelphia Convention of Loyal Men:

On the 30th of July, 1866, in pursuance of a proclamation of Rufus N. Howell, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, the convention of loyal men, which, under the protection of the United States troops, met and framed the organic law under which the civil government of Louisiana was formed, and which adjourned subject to the call of the President, was again convened. The rebel press denounced the convention in the most abusive language, and the mayor of the city declared his intention to disperse it if it should attempt to meet within the limits of New Orleans.

At 12 o'clock of the night before, the police were assembled at the station-houses and armed with large navy revolvers. The convention met at 12 o'clock at noon, in Convention Hall, at the corner of Dryades and Canal streets. A large number of Union men were assembled—peaceful, unarmed citizens—in front of the building. At 1 o'clock, at a signal of the ringing of bells, the police, joined by hundreds of armed rebel soldiers in citizens' dress, attacked the people in front of the building.

The street was soon cleared. Nothing was left but pools of blood and the mangled bodies of the slain. They then made a dash into the hall of the convention.

Without any attempt at arrest, without encountering any act or word of provocation, the police officers, with their Union-hating band of rebel soldiers, opened fire with their revolvers upon their helpless victims. Volley succeeded volley. No mercy was shown. White handkerchiefs were waved, as flags of truce, in vain. A deaf ear was turned to every plea. The work of butchery was continued until every Union man in the room was either killed or wounded, excepting the very few who miraculously escaped.

While this scene was being enacted in the hall, bands of murderers were equally active in the streets, for several squares around the building. Every colored man and every known Union man was shot down. The bodies of the slain were mutilated in the most brutal way.

It is a part of the history of this butchery, which Gen. Sherman termed a "premeditated massacre," that the grand jury was brought before the court on the following day and instructed to find bills of indictment against the surviving members of the convention and spectators, *charging them with murder*, upon the principle that whosoever engages in unlawful proceedings from which death ensues to a human being, is guilty of murder. The judge held that the convention had no right to meet; therefore, that as the police had killed many men on the day of its meeting, the survivors were guilty of all the murder that had been done by those who attacked them!

If there is any real patriot who thinks he is willing to vote to put the Democratic party again in power, let him read a little undisputed evidence of undenied facts, like the report of P. H. Sheridan to W. W. Belknap, secretary of war, made at New Orleans on January 10, 1875. He said:

Since the year 1866 nearly 3,500 persons, a great majority of whom were colored men, have been killed and wounded in this State. In 1868 the official record shows that 1,884 were killed and wounded. From 1868 to the present time no official investigation has been made, and the civil authorities in all but a few cases have been unable to arrest, convict and punish the perpetrators. Consequently there are no correct records to be consulted for information. There is ample evidence, however, to show that more than 1,200 persons have been

killed and wounded during this time on account of their political sentiments.

Frightful massacres have occurred in the parishes of Bossier, Caddo, Catahoula, Saint Bernard, Saint Landry, Grant and Orleans. The general character of the massacres in the above-named parishes is so well known that it is unnecessary to describe them.

On the 8th of February, 1875, Gen. Sheridan wrote to Geo. F. Hoar, chairman of the Congressional committee, as follows:

DEAR SIR:—In response to inquiries of the Congressional committee as to the number of persons killed and wounded in this State since 1866, *on account of their political opinions*, I have to state that the number reported to date is as follows:

Killed.....	2,141
Wounded.....	2,115
Total.....	4,256

The black deeds of feudal days, that have shocked the successive readers of history for 1,000 years, are tame and childlike when compared with the awful crimes of the Louisiana Democracy. Volumes would be required to recite even the salient atrocities of all of them, but one or two additional instances, in which the facts have never been denied, will, to some extent, indicate their nature.

As history records, there was a conflict between Kellogg and Nicholls, both claiming to have been elected governor. The United States Senate committee on privileges and elections reported in February, 1873, that Kellogg, although holding the office of governor, was not elected, because he had been cheated out of 20,000 votes, while Nicholls' title to the office was based on fraud and was in defiance of the wishes of the people. The organization of butchers known as the White League then began to forcibly displace the Republican officials in the various parishes, particularly the appointees of Gov. Kellogg; "and," said President Grant in his special message of January 13, 1875, "on the 13th of April, in an effort of that kind, a butchery of citizens was com-

mitted at Colfax, which, in blood-thirstiness and barbarity, is hardly surpassed by any acts of savage warfare."

This case came into court under the title of the "United States *vs.* Cruikshank and others," in March, 1874. Judge Woods, before whom the trial was had, in charging the jury, said: "In the case on trial there are many facts not in controversy. I proceed to state some of them in the presence and hearing of counsel on both sides; and if I state as a conceded fact any matter that is disputed, they can correct me."

After stating the origin of the difficulty, which grew out of an attempt of white persons to drive the parish judge and sheriff, appointees of Kellogg, from office, and their attempted protection by colored persons, which led to some fighting in which quite a number of Negroes were killed, the judge further related:

Most of those who were not killed were taken prisoners. Fifteen or sixteen of the blacks had lifted the boards and taken refuge under the floor of the court-house. They were all captured. About thirty-seven men were taken prisoners; the number is not definitely fixed. They were kept under guard until dark. They were led out, two by two, and shot. Most of the men were shot to death. A few were wounded, not mortally, and by pretending to be dead were afterward, during the night, able to make their escape. Among them was the Levi Nelson named in the indictment.

The dead bodies of the Negroes killed in this affair were left unburied until Tuesday, April 15, when they were buried by a deputy marshal and an officer of the militia from New Orleans. These persons found fifty-nine dead bodies. They showed pistol shot wounds, the great majority in the head, and most of them in the back of the head. In addition to the fifty-nine dead bodies found, some charred remains of dead bodies were discovered near the court-house. Six dead bodies were found under a warehouse, all shot in the head but one or two, which were shot in the breast.

The only white men injured from the beginning of these troubles to their close were Hadnot and Harris. The court-house and its contents were entirely consumed.

There is no evidence that any one in the crowd of whites bore any lawful warrant for the arrest of any of the blacks. There is no evidence that either Nash or Cazabat, after the

affair, ever demanded their offices, to which they had set up claim, but Register continued to act as parish judge, and Shaw as sheriff.

These are facts in this case, as I understand them to be admitted.

General Grant describes another case, which adds proof to the statement that men are killed on account of their political beliefs and not on account of their color. He said:

Several Northern young men of capital and enterprise had started the flourishing little town of Coushatta. Some of them were Republicans and office-holders under Kellogg. *Therefore they were doomed to death.* Six of them were seized (August, 1874) and carried away from their homes and murdered in cold blood. No one has been punished, and the conservative press of the State denounced all efforts to that end and boldly justified the crime.

These six were not Negroes. They were white men of education, property and respectability; *but they were Republicans.* They could carry on business, build up a town and give credit to the chivalrous Democracy of Coushatta, but to vote or hold office as Republicans was death.

The subjoined table was compiled from the reports of killings in Louisiana as detailed in "Ex. Doc. No. 30, 44th Congress," second session, printed January 4, 1877:

Parishes.	Killed.	Wounded.	Parishes.	Killed.	Wounded.
Ascension.....	3		Rapides ¹	22	
Assumption.....	1		Red River ¹	44	
Avoyelles.....	22		Richland ¹	3	
Bossier.....	300	12	St. Bernard ¹	13	
Bienville.....	28	60	St. Helena	11	
Caddo.....	300	250	St. James.....	8	
Calcasieu.....	3		St. Landry.....	466	300
Caldwell.....	2		St. John Baptist ¹	11	
Carroll.....	4		St. Mary ¹	6	
Catahoula.....	80	17	St. Martin.....	26	8
Claborne.....	12	51	St. Tammany ¹	6	
De Soto.....	105	22	Tangiparba.....	2	
E. Baton Rouge.....	7	12	Texas.....	38	
Franklin.....	200	300	Terrebonne.....	24	3
Grant.....	155	100	Vermillion.....	7	3
Iberia.....	9	2	Webster.....	6	
Natchitoches ¹	37		W. Feliciana.....	14	9
Orleans.....	221		Winn.....	42	23
Ouachita ¹	39				
Plaquemines.....	1				
Point Coupee.....	4				
			Total ³	2,282	1,322

¹ Incomplete lists.

² This exceeds the report of killed made by P. H. Sheridan by 141.

It can not be iterated too frequently or too emphatically, that the Africans are not slaughtered by the Southern Democracy for the sole reason that they are Africans, but principally for the reason that they are equal citizens and Republicans. No Negro who was or pretended to be a Democrat, was ever injured, molested, annoyed or humiliated by the Democracy of the South.

Negroes are butchered only at election time.

All the whites killed at election time are Republicans.

Negroes do not kill Negroes, nor Republicans kill Republicans.

Recently, owing to the fact that the colored Republicans, not being encouraged or protected by their party or their government at the North, have been inactive, and that trickery and fraud have been found to be preferable to outright butchery, killings have begun to grow less.

This is owing to the use, in many parishes, of election machinery less horrifying to the public, less destructive to life and less burdensome to the Democrats, but not less effective or less certain in results.

One method is this: Several days before election the Democratic officers of election secure samples of each party's tickets and knowing how many voters there are in each precinct, have, we will say, 1,600 Republican and 2,300 Democratic ballots printed, folded and placed properly in a ballot-box prepared for that purpose. They then rest from all campaign labors, cause it to be announced that the blacks will be "permitted" to hold political meetings, and that a free election and a fair count have been determined upon. They then begin to stake money on the result, placing wagers at any odds, whenever "takers" can be found.

When the day of election arrives, an empty ballot-box is carried to the polling-place and exhibited. Perhaps a well-known Republican Negro is placed inside the window to receive ballots and drop them into the box, and so the pro-

gramme goes on, everybody voting in freedom and peace, while the Democratic election officers are drinking whisky and playing cards on the inside.

As soon as the hour for closing the poll is reached, the usual announcement is made, the window is closed, the box into which the Negro has been dropping tickets all day is hustled away, the prepared box is put in its place and then, with an ostentatious flourish of honesty and fairness, the officers invite the citizens to come in and witness the count and note that no cheating is practiced !

The enumeration goes on gayly, the Democrats condescend to be pleasant to the blacks, everything is outwardly lovely, and finally the result, privately, secretly and fraudulently arrived at ten days before, is announced officially and publicly: "Sixteen hundred for the Republican and 2,300 for the Democratic candidates!"

The Democrats have won their bets, given the "poltroon radicals" the lie by permitting a peaceable election, elected their men and killed no colored voters, although a count of the ballots in the other, the regular box, would have shown 2,300 for the Republicans and 1,600 for the Democrats. Who says there is no progress in the South?

Another device that the Louisiana Democrats have used to advantage, is incorporated in the laws of the State. It consists of a provision declaring that the secretary of State shall furnish the paper on which to print all the ballots for both parties. Since that statute was enacted, the secretaries have never failed to provide an abundance of paper for the Democrats at an early day; but some of them have found it convenient to be "out of stock" when Republicans made application, according to law, for a supply. In this manner all the Republicans of one of the most populous parishes in Louisiana have been without a vote, utterly disfranchised by the cupidity of a single Democratic officer whose duties are merely ministerial.

If there is any nation or class of people in the world that would be held justifiable in rebellion, it is the black race of the Southern States—especially of a parish in which every Republican may be disfranchised by the unpunished tricks of a single political rascal.

THE CAROLINAS.

In the Carolinas all the methods of other Southern States are in use by the Democrats; but with them the tissue-ballot is the favorite device for overturning legally constituted majorities without resort to killing. A single illustration, brought forward in the argument of Sam. H. Miller, of Pennsylvania, in the contested election case of *Mackey vs. O'Connor*, from South Carolina, will give an insight into the iniquities of the entire system. He said:

In order that this House may understand exactly what is established by the evidence, I ask their attention to the facts as shown in the record. At Hope Engine-house poll, in the city of Charleston, the poll-list kept by the Democratic managers of election, the list kept by the Democratic United States supervisor, and the list kept by the Republican United States supervisor, substantially agreed. One of them stated that 1,218 men had voted, and two of them stated that 1,214 men had voted—a difference of only four votes in a poll of either 1,218 or 1,214.

No person had access to or control of the ballot-box at that poll during the day of election except the Democratic managers. At the close of the poll, and when the ballots were counted, it was found that there were 2,289 ballots in the box, or 1,071 more ballots than there were voters all told.

It was also found that there were 1,683 Democratic ballots in that box—465 more Democratic ballots than there were voters all told, Republican and Democratic. It is in evidence in this case, the proof being put in by Mr. Dibble himself, assisting the attorney of Mr. O'Connor in Orangeburg county, that the Republican tickets, owing to the peculiar appearance of the back of the ticket, which resembles a playing card, could be recognized across the street. To show that I am correct in what I state, I want to show to the House the Republican ticket which was voted in that whole district. [Exhibiting a ticket, which is attached to the next page.]

There is no man with eyes who could not distinguish this ticket as far as he could see it. That was the Republican

ticket that was voted. The Democratic ticket voted in that box was this. [Exhibiting a ticket.] That is the "little joker" or the tissue ballot which does duty in South Carolina. They have a wonderful way down there of always having two Democratic tickets, one narrower than the other. [Exhibiting two tickets, which are here attached.]

I will explain the object; and I want my Democratic friends of the North to watch so that in close districts of the North they may undertake to practice this and see how we in the North will stand it. They fold the smaller of these tickets in this way, [illustrating] then fold the other ticket in that way, putting the little one inside, thus; and a bystander can not tell that there is more than one ticket. When the managers come to draw out the tickets, in order that every one of them may count, they stir them up and then these inside tickets fall out thus. [Illustrating.] Do you see?

In accordance with the law of South Carolina, when an excess of ballots is found in the box, it is the duty of one of the managers to draw out such excess. One of them was accordingly blindfolded; and in drawing out this excess of 1,071 he drew out every Republican ballot but five. And when Mr. O'Connor placed that man upon the stand he had the brazen impudence to swear that he *felt for the Republican tickets*, and that the reason those five were not drawn out was *because he could not find them*.

At the close of the polls, after this purification, the Democratic precinct managers returned that poll as 1,200 for O'Connor and 5 for Mackey.

In the district in question tissue-ballots were used in sixty-one precincts. If Mackey's vote had been counted as cast, his majority would have been 9,427 instead of 879, as counted by the Democratic managers after the excess of 6,289 fraudulent ballots had been drawn out.

In 1880 the Democrats declared in their national platform that "the right to a free ballot is a right preservative of all rights, and *must and shall be maintained* in every part of the United States." Colossal and shameless hypocrisy!

MISSISSIPPI.

Mississippi is red with the blood of Republicans. Yazoo, Meridian, DeKalb, Copiah, Rio and the Chisolm massacre are household words. The latter, which was advised by the foremost Democrats of Mississippi, shocked the reading world, though it was by no means an uncommon butchery for that section. That Judge Chisolm was a native Southerner, and that the legislators, justices, sheriffs and other Democratic officials who put him to death, also shot his sweet young daughter and tender son, rendered the crime conspicuous.

If there is a man in the Northern States who can read the volume entitled "The Chisolm Massacre," and on the following day vote the Democratic ticket with a quiet conscience, hell will be but an elysium for his hardened soul.

Where Republicans are too numerous, elections are carried without much bloodshed.

The commissioners of election in the "Shoe-string District," in 1880, threw out the following majorities for John R. Lynch, in order to elect James R. Chalmers, Democrat, to Congress:

In Warren county, Lynch's rejected majority.....	2,009
In Rodney precinct of Jefferson county, Lynch's rejected majority.....	152
In Issaquena county, Lynch's rejected majority.....	670
In Adams county, Lynch's rejected majority.....	284
In Bolivar county, Lynch's rejected majority.....	632
In Washington county, Lynch's rejected majority...	204
In Coahoma county, Lynch's rejected majority.....	238
Making a total of.....	4,189

The reason assigned for "rejecting the nigger vote" was that in Warren county and Rodney precinct of Jefferson county, printer's dashes were used on the *face* of the tickets which the electors voted in good faith, and concerning which Charles Winkley, a practical printer *who was called as a witness by Mr. Chalmers himself, swears:* "The dashes used are such as any printer of taste would either *put in* or *leave out* according as he wanted to lengthen or shorten the ticket to suit the paper or otherwise."

The Mississippi Democrats enacted a law which prohibits the printing of any devices or marks of distinguishment on ballots. The object of this was to prevent the Republicans from marking their ballots by the use of pictures of Lincoln, Grant and the American flag—devices by which those Negroes who could not read, might always distinguish the Republican tickets. The left-hand ballot following was the one thrown out, though any honest man will say that the huge exclamation point after the word “ticket” on the right-hand, or Democrat ballot, was as much a “device” as the four little dashes on the other ticket:

Republican National Ticket.

For President,

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

— o —

For Vice President,

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

— — —

For Electors for President and Vice President,

HON. WILLIAM R. SPEARS,

HON. R. W. FLOURNOY,

DR. J. M. BYNUM,

HON. J. T. SETTLE,

CAPT. M. K. MISTER, JR.,

DR. R. H. MONTGOMERY,

JUDGE R. H. CUNY,

HON. CHARLES W. CLARKE.

— o —

For Member of the House of Representatives from the 6th Congressional District,

JOHN R. LYNCH.

Democratic-Conservative

TICKET!

For President,

Winfield Scott Hancock.

For Vice-President,

William H. English.

For Electors for President and Vice-President,

F. G. BARRY,

C. P. NEILSON,

C. B. MITCHELL,

THOMAS SPIGHT,

WILLIAM PRICE,

WILLIAM H. LUSE,

ROBERT N. MILLER,

JOSEPH HIRSH.

For Member of the House of Representatives from the 6th Congressional District,

JAMES R. CHALMERS.

The supreme court of Mississippi, with dishonesty that might be more easily condoned in partisan election officers, threw out 2,000 Republican tickets like the above because they contained dashes between the lines, notwithstanding the expert printer called by Chalmers himself swore that those dashes were "such as any printer of taste would put in or leave out, according as he wanted to lengthen or shorten the ticket to suit the paper or otherwise."

The blacks are so numerous in the "Shoe-String District" that this method was considered preferable to that of killing enough to carry the election. The fraud, however, was more gross and inexcusable than some of the Democrats in the House could indorse, and fifty-three of them refused to vote for its consummation, and Lynch was given his seat. In the foregoing tickets the hyphen between "Democratic" and "Conservative," and between "Vice" and "President," and the exclamation-point after "ticket," on the Democratic ballot, is as much a "device" or "distinguishing-mark" as the dash-lines on the Republican or left-hand ballot.

The peaceable citizens of the North have but little real knowledge of the doings of the Democracy of the South. The blacks dare not and can not, while the whites will not, report the lawlessness of the interior to the outer world.

The last butchery to come to public notice was that at Hazelhurst, in Copiah county. In that county resided the Matthews brothers, natives of Mississippi. They were warm-hearted, generous, energetic and philanthropic men—the richest in the county. They built school-houses and churches, carried on an extensive business, loaned money to their neighbors and generally aided those in distress.

But they were Republicans. That, in the minds of the Democrats, wiped out all their good qualities.

Whenever a member of the Matthews family was a candidate for office he could not only poll the entire Negro vote, but that of a large number of whites. Last fall, after hav-

ing been out of politics for some time, J. P. Matthews was somewhat active in organizing the Independent campaign, his brother being a candidate for a county office.

It should be stated that throughout the South local Democratic clubs have taken the place of the Ku-Klux and other oath-bound klans. At Hazelhurst, where two of the brothers resided, the organization of the Democrats which "regulates" everything, is known by the refined title of the "Tail-hold Club." The business of this club is to kill and whip Negroes, carry elections and "settle" any differences its members may at any time have with a Republican, white or black.

The "Tail-hold Club" held a meeting and passed a resolution to the effect that J. P. Matthews "is hereby *ordered* to abstain from political activity in Copiah county." They also warned Mr. Matthews that he must not vote on election day. This resolution was carried to his house by a mounted mob.

At the same time it was resolved by the "Tail-holds," that, as Matthews was a consistent Republican and very influential in his opposition to the Democrats, it would be well to prepare for his taking-off in case he should not obey the resolution. Three persons were therefore appointed for the task. They cast lots and to one E. B. Wheeler, a friend and debtor of Matthews, fell the lot to do the killing.

Early on the morning of November 7, the day of election, Matthews went to the polls. Wheeler was present and said to Matthews: "You better not vote." The reply was: "Oh, I have the right to cast my ballot and I guess I'll do it." Instantly Wheeler leveled his shot gun and, firing from the rear, nearly blew off Matthews' head with a heavy charge of buck-shot.

All the officers of the election were armed, and armed and mounted men were scattered about the village for the purpose of preventing the Negroes from voting.

A committee of the United States Senate, consisting of George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, Wm. P. Frye, of Maine,

Angus Cameron, of Wisconsin, Eli Saulsbury, of Delaware, and B. F. Jonas, of Louisiana, investigated the Copiah outrages in February, 1884. The writer was present at every session of the committee and mingled freely with the Copiah assassins. They were a depraved and desperate-looking lot. Only a few extracts from the testimony will be presented. Mary Matthews, a beautiful girl of nineteen testified:

The morning of the murder I was sitting on the porch. I heard a shot at the town-house. I knew then what it was. I told mother, and started for the place; the door was locked. A man told me I could not go in. I told him that no one had a right to keep me out, but they took hold of me and led me down the street. I tried to get away, and then we met my uncle. Together we went back. The man at the door told me I had better go home, but my uncle forced the door. It was as I feared—father was lying on the floor.

"Dead?" asked Senator Frye.

"Dead," hopelessly replied the young girl.

"What did you do then?" he asked.

"I took my father home," and then the poor girl broke down.

Mrs. J. P. Matthews, nearly broken-hearted, testified:

We shall never go back to Hazelhurst, although I have lived there all my life; we do not think that it is safe. I took the resolutions of the mob from the messenger ordering my husband not to vote. But my husband said it was his privilege and his right, and he should do so unless they killed him before. Wheeler, the murderer, was a frequent visitor at our house. He had been there to tea a fortnight before. There was never any difficulty between my husband and any of his neighbors, and he went into society.

After the murder the mob came to our yard and held a general rejoicing. They threatened to kill the Negro who dug the vault for the burial, and he was obliged to leave Hazelhurst.

My husband helped to support all the churches. He helped those in distress, no matter who they were.

Frank M. Sessions testified as to the meeting held to warn the Matthews family to keep out of politics as follows:

After the resolutions were adopted Mr. Bailey made a speech saying that he had gone into Beat 3 to stump the

county, but found he could do more electioneering in the saddle than on the stump, and he had found *the most convincing argument to be a pistol*, which he drew from his pocket. The speaker said his friend Wheeler was the best electioneer he had ever seen. Wheeler's arguments always convince. Mr. Bailey in his speech said that if the Democrats who had gone off to the Independent party would come back they ought to be received kindly. But if they would not, what shall be done? A voice in the crowd cried: "Kill 'em off." "No," said Bailey, "I can not *advise* that, *but I believe you will kill them without advice.*" The speech was greeted with applause.

H. Matthews, brother of the murdered man, was sworn and testified:

He had resided in Copiah all his life and was a candidate at the election on November 7. He considered the voting population, as to color, about equal, but thought the colored people had a small majority. He believed the Independents had fifty majority in the county, but the Democrats carried the election. The respective parties canvassed the counties together. There were several slight disturbances after the canvass and clubs were organized by Democrats who went armed and mounted. They murdered some, whipped others and put ropes around the necks of still others, but did not hang them. On the day before the election he saw an armed mob at Hazelhurst. They sent a message to his brother, warning him not to vote there. A few days before the election the colored church was burned.

The mob carried a cannon all over the county and fired it occasionally. Armed bands notified the Matthews family that, if trouble occurred later, he would be held responsible. Some of the men in the mob owed him and his brother for goods and had run away to avoid payment.

The armed mob riding over the county before the election declared that they would carry the election with shot-guns, if necessary, or with the knife. The witness gave the names of a number of persons in the armed mob, among them J. L. Meade, chairman of the Democratic committee of Copiah county. The witness mentioned the killing of Frank Sage and the shooting of his wife; the whipping of Henry Potter; the assaults on David, Bill and Solomon Smith, and other assaults on colored men by armed mobs. A few colored people voted on election day; others went to the polls but feared to vote. Only three or four colored men in the county, he thought, were Democrats. The witness made a statement concerning the efforts of his brother, himself and other po-

litical friends to have the county officials take some action to check the outrages, and finally applied to the governor, but nothing was done.

Among the witnesses who testified at this investigation, was Mrs. Frank Hayes, who bore the scars of the shots inflicted by the "peaceable, conservative and law-abiding" citizens¹ of Copiah, because her husband had received Republican or Independent votes. Her husband, who, though shot four months previously by the "Tail-hold Club," was unable to walk to the stand without aid, and several colored men who bore bullet-marks, wounds on their heads and other scars, also testified. Their testimony disclosed a terrible state of affairs in Mississippi. Colored people slept in the swamps for days and weeks to escape the Democrats.

Immediately after Wheeler assassinated Matthews, the Democrats, with a brass band, assembled in the court-house and passed a series of resolutions, among which were the following :

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting it is necessary to the safety of society and the welfare of all races and classes in this county that the Matthews family shall keep out of politics in Copiah county.

Resolved further, That from henceforth no man or set of men shall organize the Negro race against the whites in this county, and, if it shall be attempted in the future, we hereby give notice that *it shall be at the peril of the person or persons attempting so to do.*

Resolved, That we do hereby pledge ourselves, *each to the other, our lives and fortunes and our sacred honor*, that we will, all and individually, from henceforth, *hold ourselves in readiness to enforce the foregoing resolutions*, and to meet at any time upon the call of the chairman of this meeting.

Resolved, That a committee of twenty-four from each supervisor's district be appointed by the chair to present a copy of these resolutions to the brothers and sons of the late J. P. Matthews, and that the same be published in the Copiah *Signal* and the Crystal Spring *Meteor*.

¹ All the Democratic witnesses swore that the mobs which killed Matthews, burned houses, and killed and tortured Negroes, were composed entirely of the "conservative, peaceable and law-abiding citizens of Copiah."

After the election the *Copiah*, edited by J. L. Meade, chairman of the Democratic County Committee and of the meeting which adopted the foregoing resolutions, headed an article on the result in large letters—"COPIAH SHAKES HANDS WITH YAZOO."

The public will understand what that meant, as Yazoo is one of the bloodiest places in Mississippi.

At the first meeting of the common council of Hazelhurst, Wheeler, his hands still red with human blood, *was unanimously elected marshal of the place "as a reward for gallantly performing his duty."*

That clearly demonstrates what honors are in store for Southern Democrats who assassinate Republicans¹.

Matthews was assassinated in the morning of November 7, 1883. At dusk that evening the "Tail-hold Club" gathered in the yard of the Matthews residence and held a brutal jollification.

A crime hardly less wicked than the killing of Matthews was the trial of Wheeler in May, 1884, for the murder. The jury, picked for the purpose, brought in a prompt verdict of "not guilty." Knowing the indignation such a judgment would be sure to call down upon them, they adopted, with brazen blasphemy, a resolution calling on the Almighty to bear witness that their "error" was "one of the head, not of the heart." The truth is that the jury did not dare find Wheeler guilty. The community demanded his acquittal, of which fact the judge and the jury were fully cognizant.

Young Real, who testified before the Hoar committee against Wheeler and the bloody "Tail-hold Club," told the writer at that time that if he should be permitted to live he could not continue in business in Hazelhurst. He remained

¹ Before the Senate investigating committee J. T. Dameron, a merchant, testified that he saw "Ras" Wheeler in a street car in Jackson on the 13th or 14th of February. Wheeler was talking in a low tone. He said: "Yes, old Hoar is coming down here on an investigation committee. If I get a crack at him I will kill him, too. I killed Print Matthews, or rather *it was the Democratic party that did it*. If it had not been for politics, I would not have done it; *but it was politics that did it.*"

in New Orleans for a few days while his mother attempted to mollify the blood-thirsty Democracy. Soon after, the gloomy prophecy he made in the rooms of the investigating committee returned to the writer like a shudder, as the telegraph brought the news that bright-eyed, ruddy-cheeked, pleasant young Real had returned to Hazelhurst and been brutally murdered by the Democratic avengers.

The election methods of the Democratic party in Alabama, Florida and other Southern States being similar to those described under the head of Louisiana, the Carolinas and Mississippi, it is not necessary to refer to them in detail.

That part of the country south of Mason and Dixon's line is not in any sense a Republic.

It having been announced that a subscription for the benefit of Mrs. J. P. Matthews, had been started, the widow of Judge Chisolm wrote to the Washington *National Republican* a stinging rebuke of the pusillanimity of the federal government:

I see by editorial notice you receive small contributions for the wife of the murdered Matthews of Copiah county, Mississippi. Will you do me the kindness to accept the inclosed? It is but a mite—would it were more. My heart bleeds at the recollection of my own experience in Mississippi. At the close of that dreadful April Sabbath, before me lay, within a space of a few feet, Johnnie, our dear son, with his little hand shot off and his young heart shot out; Cornelia, our girl baby, bleeding literally from head to feet, exhausted, and with none to bind her wounds; my husband, truly the image of his God, murdered by those exulting

"In cowardice so mean, in infamy so vast,
That hell gives in and devils stand aghast."

My husband said to me: "*My death will not go un-avenged nor be in vain. The Republican party is too loyal to every principle of freedom. They of the North will rouse them from their lethargy, and make it impossible that such crimes can be re-enacted. My death will effect more than thus far living I could do.*" When I have prayed at the feet of justice, kneeling into the very dust of entreaty, remembering his words, I have begged for legal retribution for the sake of the living Republicans of the South, and I have

been soothingly told, "They dare no more to do such crime." They waited not till the blood of my beloved had ceased to voice the Lord's question to Cain till in the same shameless State they made Henry Gully, the murderer of my daughter, a member of the legislature. The murder of Vance, and at various times and places of many poor Negroes, have scarcely been recorded. Now the brave Matthews' uneasy sleep in a bloody grave takes down another committee. No loyal Southerner, whether child, maiden, or of glorious manhood, is protected in life under his own flag. Were such crimes permitted in other lands, the American Congress would be the first, by unanimous vote, to utter protest against "Man's inhumanity to man."

EMILY S. M. CHISOLM.

Would to God the dark record of the Democratic party for the last fifty years might be written across the face of the sun, so that all mankind could see how mighty have been its sins and crimes.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

OUR DUTY TO THE SOUTH.

The Preceding Chapter a Mere Index to the Truth—Disfranchised States—Has the South a Republican Form of Government—If Fraud Changes the Control of Congress or the Politics of the Presidency, Is not the Nation Defrauded and Practically Disfranchised—How the Democrats Manacled the Government and Gave a *Carte Blanche* to Fraud and Riot—What a Republican Congress Can Do—Two Other Remedies—Arms and Ammunition for the Negroes—Lambs Never Attack Wolves—The Freedman is the Child and Ward of the Republican Party—That Party Will be Held Responsible for His Wrongs and Sufferings and His Ultimate Destiny—Let Us Rally as of Old.

The preceding chapter is a mere index to the atrocities of the South. Of the property destroyed, houses burned, ballot-boxes outraged, Republicans scourged and killed, courts overturned and riots precipitated, there is no complete record; but from the coroners' returns and the reports of in-

vestigating committees, we know that over 12,000 persons have been killed or seriously wounded in the late slave States since 1866 on account of their politics alone.

The assassination of Republicans has continued during a period of eighteen years. Is not that long enough? Are the Democrats not now glutted with blood? Murder is less common than it was ten years ago, we must admit; but it is still resorted to without hesitancy for the purpose of carrying elections wherever whipping, burning, intimidation and the more recent methods of force and fraud seem likely to fail.

What has been the practical effect of this? The partial or complete disfranchisement of several States. If from two-fifths to three-fifths of the electors of a State are either prevented from casting their ballots or their ballots are nullified after they have been cast, has that State a Republican form of government? Is it ruled by a free, popular majority, as the Constitution contemplates?

If the several States thus disfranchised fraudulently return such a number of Democratic Congressmen, as, added to those of the same party chosen in other States, places the control of Congress in the hands of the Democrats, when otherwise it would have been controlled by the Republicans, is the national government Republican, as contemplated by the Constitution?

Is it governed by popular majorities? Does it represent the people?

If the fraud of nine or ten States results in giving the Presidency or the control of Congress to a political party which could not otherwise have been successful, are not the people of the entire Union cheated, defrauded and practically disfranchised? If so, may they not act, if they have the courage, for their own disenthralment?

Has the time arrived when a fraud shall be as effective as a majority? Shall twenty-eight States, representing the

wealth, power and population of the American Republic, stand before the world disfranchised and emasculated by the fraud of ten States?

The Constitution says no; civilization says no; equity and natural law say no.

But circumstances alter cases. There may be times when it is difficult to do right; that is, difficult to accomplish the exact thing that right demands should be done. Here is one of those cases. The Democratic House of Representatives, in 1879, tacked a rider to the army appropriation bill declaring that no part of the army could be used "to keep the peace at the polls on election day," and threatened that unless the Republicans should consent to the passage of it, no appropriations would be made. This measure was framed in the direct interest of the Southern Democrats, whose violence and bloodshed at the polls had made Southern politics a reproach to civilization. In debating the bill Matt H. Carpenter said:

What look has this bill on its face? The President of the United States may use the money appropriated to clothe, equip, transport and compensate troops to keep the peace everywhere in the nation on 364 days of the year, but one day in the year riot shall have full sway; one day in the year the administrative police force of this nation shall be manacled. It is said every dog shall have its day, and the Democratic Senators have made up their minds that riot shall have its day, and that that day shall be election day. All the unruly elements of society, all desperadoes and scoundrels have notice that election day is to be their carnival; and the national power shall not be permitted to oppose or resist them. Why will our Democratic friends insist here that, on that one day of the year, no military force shall be called out or used to put down riot and rebellion and the confusion and violence that may exist at the polls for the purpose of breaking up or controlling an election? Why, with all the charity a Christian can have for a Christian, there is not a child ten years old that would not answer, "Because they do not wish to have peaceable elections." There can be no other answer.

The bill passed and is a conspicuous part of the statutes of the present day. Thus, the federal authorities are powerless to protect the Negroes, while the election officers, judges, juries, returning-boards and all other legal machinery of the Southern States are in the hands of the Democrats. This leaves the freedmen without remedy and without hope as equal citizens of the United States, and so they must remain until the Republicans shall have effective majorities in both Houses of Congress.

If that time shall come, a little moral courage will suffice to make existing remedies effective.

The Constitution declares that "the United States shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government." This implies the existence of both the power and the means to carry that guaranty into effect. Congress is the sole judge of the means as well as of the occasion for their exercise.

If a State departs from a republican form of government, it falls under the control of Congress. That body may then transform it into a territory for the purpose of bringing it back to the forms if not the spirit of Republicanism; or, under certain circumstances, for the same purpose, the President may declare martial law within its borders.

The former course would certainly deprive the turbulent States of their representatives in Congress; and, once brought to that condition, they should be held in it until there seemed to be no doubt whatever that every citizen, black or white, Democrat or Republican, could go freely and unmolested to the polls, cast his ballot with equal freedom and be sure that its full effect would be recorded and felt in the general result.

But is it probable there is courage enough left in the Republican party to undertake anything like this? If Chancellor Bismarck should wantonly slaughter 12,000 of our pigs, or the wine-merchants of France should destroy 12,000 hampers of the American raw spirits used in making "fine French

wines," the Republic would soon be in an uproar, and Congress would fall to discussing war-measures.

If Congress shall take no action, and elections shall continue in the South as in the past, the poor blacks must seek other remedies. What may they be? (1) Either the Negroes must waive all their rights of citizenship and abstain from voting or taking any active part whatever in politics; or, (2) every colored voter in the South must be equipped with the best arms and ammunition of modern times for self-defense.

We have seen how the general government has been so manacled by Democratic legislation that it can not protect the Negro while he is voting, nor his ballot after it has been cast; and the State election officers, being wholly in the hands of the Democrats, will permit no Republican, should he receive a majority of the votes at any election, to reap the fruits of his victory. Therefore, under the present circumstances, whether the blacks shall vote or abstain wholly from political action, the result will be the same to them, except that by maintaining absolute quiet they will escape the bludgeon and the bullet.

As to the second plan, if one is able to come to any conclusion from hypotheses in which all the facts are undisputed and notorious, he must believe that if every colored voter in the South were provided with the best Winchester repeating rifle, and 100 rounds of ammunition before each election, the reign of terror, fraud, intimidation and bloodshed would disappear as if by magic from that section.

If the Negroes were thus armed, Southern elections would be as peaceable as those of the North, for the Democrats would understand that if they should precipitate any violence, or shoot any Republicans, they would be met blow for blow and life for life.

Can it be worse for a colored Republican to go armed to the polls in order to cast his ballot than for white Democrats

to stand all day at the polls armed to prevent him from casting it?

It is idle hypocrisy for those Democrats who feel no pangs when a hundred Republican Negroes are shot like dogs during a single campaign, to affect expressions of horror at this proposition, for they know the blacks are never the aggressors, and that, when unmolested, they are as peaceable as even the best classes of whites. The acting Vice-President of the United States, standing on the reeking soil of Louisiana in May, 1873, declared boldly that whenever the freed-men were attacked, they should shoot and kill in self-defense, adding:

There is no war of races, of which I hear so much, in this suggestion. It is the innocent man defending himself against the wrong-doer. * * Talk to me about a war of races in the South by the aggressions of the colored man! You might have convinced me in the North of that, but you never can after what I have seen of the colored men themselves in Louisiana. I will believe that such a danger is to be apprehended when and not until you have satisfied me that the lambs on the farms in Wisconsin have banded together to devour the wolves in the forest.

Who believes the Negroes are the aggressors in such cases? Who believes the poor freedmen (knowing better than can ever be known in the North that a conflict between themselves and the white Democracy will have but one result) would deliberately bring on a struggle that could only end in their own slaughter? No well-informed, intelligent person pretends to believe it. It is not believable; it is not the fact.

The colored citizen of this Republic is the child and ward of the Republican party. There can be no dispute about that. If he shall be starved and neglected—physically, morally and politically—and finally abandoned by that party, we could not complain if we should see him taken in, cared for and put to service, if not formally adopted, by the Democrats.

Whoever is responsible for causes is responsible for consequences.

The Negro was bred and born like a bird in a cage. The Republicans took him from the cage, with no knowledge how to live out of it, and turned him loose without food, education, home, tools, land or understanding of individual responsibility, in the midst of a furious storm of prejudice and oppression and pursued by the most relentless foes that ever beset any human pathway.

Having done this, shall we not be held responsible at the bar of our own consciences and before the civilized world for the present condition, the numberless woes and the ultimate destiny of the freedman? There can be no escape from this conclusion.

If the Republican administrations are without power, and the Republican party as an organization is without the patriotism or desire to extend aid, encouragement, sympathy and protection to the colored citizens of the South, then individuals should act, as they did in the eventful days of Abolitionism.

At the coming election there does not deserve to be a single Democratic Congressman elected in the Northern States. The people who love Republicanism, freedom and fairness should rise as one man and vote the Republican ticket. Then the next Congress could take such steps as the deplorable condition of the South demands—refuse to admit representatives elected only by means of fraud and bloodshed; establish a system of education for the prostrate States, or proceed to give them a Republican form of government. And, when such a course shall be entered upon, there should be no retreat or relaxation until civil equality and safety shall be as perfect and universal in the South as it now is in the North.

CHAPTER XXXV.

WHO CAN SUPPORT THE DEMOCRACY?

Foreign-born Citizens Should Be Republicans—Laborers Despised and Maligned by the Aristocratic Democrats—Sentiments of Some of Their Leaders—No Honest Irishman Can Be an Honest Democrat—Results of the Republican Free-Homestead Law—Soldiers Can Not Vote the Democratic Ticket and Keep Their Record Consistent—No Reason for Turning the Government Over to the Democracy.

All mankind has been, directly and indirectly, benefited by the achievements of the Republican party, yet, strange to say, the only class that has stood firmly by it, as a class, is the Negro race. Next to the blacks stand the Union soldiers of the late Rebellion.

In 1856, 1860, 1864 and, to some extent, in 1868, foreign-born citizens flocked around the Republican ticket because its nominees represented free labor. Laborers have never been poorly paid, nor farmers compelled to accept paltry returns from their lands since the Negroes of the South were set free and the government was taken in hand by the Republican party.

The slavery of the South saddled the free whites of the North with low wages and a certain degradation that would otherwise have been impossible. The Republican party wiped out the incubus of slave labor, but now many of our foreign-born citizens, forgetting the past, are voting the Democratic ticket.

Every farmer, laborer, scholar, manufacturer, professional man, Union soldier, artisan, patriot, naturalized citizen, colored man, young man, moralist and Christian—particularly

laborers, naturalized citizens and soldiers—can vote for none but the Republican ticket, if they wish to vote for their own interests.

The laborer should be a Republican because the Democratic party, no matter what it may profess for the sake of catching his vote, is now, as it has been, his enemy. The Democrats not only lived and fattened on slave labor in the South, but despised and maligned the free labor of the North. Alex. H. Stephens called our Northern workmen "the bog-trotters of Ireland." Governor McDuffie, in one of his messages to the legislature of South Carolina, declared: "Slavery is the corner-stone of the Republic, and that the *laboring population, bleached or unbleached, is a dangerous element in the body politic.*"

Southern Democrats would not permit immigration into their section, and uttered hundreds of sentences like McDuffie's, one member of Congress affirming that whenever his party should become strong enough, it "*would enslave all laborers, white and black; they were fit for nothing else.*"

The author of the "Life of Stonewall Jackson," a Virginia Democrat, in describing those who fought in the Union army said:

Of the rank and file I knew but little. Some companies seemed to be of a decent agricultural or mechanical complexion; but by far the greater part were the most unsavory looking wretches I ever beheld. The Irish were the next best. Then came the genuine Dutch, *about as cleanly and intellectual as the overgrown sows of "der Vaterland"*—*this motley crew of jail-birds, malefactors, released convicts and Dutch-Yankee vermin, from the cellars and rookeries of Europe and the North.*

The Muscogee (Alabama) *Herald* thus sets forth very clearly the old Democratic estimate of those who labor:

Free society! we sicken of the name. What is it but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small fisted farmers and moon-struck theorists? All the Northern, and especially the New England States, are devoid of society fitted for well-bred gentlemen. The prevalent class one meets

with is that of *mechanics struggling to be genteel and small farmers who do their own drudgery*; and yet who are hardly fit for association with a Southern gentleman's body-servant. This is your free society.

These expressions might be multiplied almost indefinitely. How can any naturalized citizen vote the Democratic ticket? Certainly no Irishman can support that party without stultifying himself. Great Britain, like the Democracy, has been the champion of oppression. She sided with secession, she urges on the Democratic dogma of free-trade. Free-trade means nourishment and commercial strength for the English, and harder times for laborers, artisans and producers in America. Can the Irish vote to thus change things about? Can any laborer vote for the champions of such a policy?

What started the great stream of immigrants from Europe, settled and enriched the Western States, sent railroads into the wilderness and gave the nation a mighty impetus? The free-homestead law, signed by the immortal Lincoln and drafted and passed by a Republican Congress, after having been killed time and again while the Democrats were in power.

No Union soldier can vote the Democratic ticket and have a consistent record.

If it was right to throttle secession, put down the Rebellion and save the Union in 1861, it is right to-day. That right can not be maintained and preserved and the acts done in its behalf defended except by keeping the government in the hands of those who saved it until those who attempted its destruction shall have passed away.

Those who fought to suppress the Rebellion and maintain an undivided Union were patriots or murderers. If they were patriots *then*, they are patriots *now*. If they were murderers *then*, they are murderers *now*. If, therefore, they shall use the ballot-box *now* to place the government under the control of those from whose grasp they saved it with bayonets *then*, the glories and splendors of the past will be

wiped out, and they will appear before the world as self-confessed murderers.

These are plain terms, but the facts can not be stated in any other words without conveying the same meaning.

In short, what valid reason can be urged why any patriotic and honest citizen of the United States should vote the Democratic ticket? What valid reason is there for placing the control of the government in the hands of the Democracy?

The people want no change; the business men want no change; the manufacturers of the South, struggling to keep their Democratic representatives on the right track in regard to the tariff, want no change. If all the office-seekers were either provided for or removed from the country, the industrial, professional, producing, manufacturing, farming and commercial classes would be unanimously in favor of retaining the Republican party in power.

That party saved the Union, wiped out slavery, gave free lands to settlers, liberal pensions to soldiers, civil and equal rights to the freedmen, good money to every State in the Union, the best banking system in the world, a tariff policy that fosters manufacturing and protects artisans and producers, cheap postage and perfect postal facilities, money that will buy land anywhere and everywhere, and forms of taxation that are least burdensome to the poor.

Against all these things the Democratic party has interposed its persistent objection and opposition. Who then, can vote the Democratic ticket?

CHAPTER XXXVI.

LIVES OF REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTS.

Abraham Lincoln—Ulysses S. Grant—Rutherford Birchard Hayes—James Abram Garfield—Chester Allan Arthur—The Republican Candidates for 1884—James Gillespie Blaine—John Alexander Logan.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

While the war of the Revolution was still raging, probably during the year 1780, Abraham Lincoln left the Shenandoah Valley, in Virginia, and settled in the wilds of Kentucky. Two years later, while at work in the field, he was shot dead by the Indians, who were at that time exceedingly cruel and blood-thirsty. He left a widow and five children, one of whom was Thomas Lincoln, then four years of age.

The early life of Thomas Lincoln was one of extreme hardship, of which no account was ever kept. He was the poorest of the poor, and wrought like a slave for his scanty livelihood. At the age of twenty-eight he built a log cabin and married Nancy Hanks, like himself a child of poverty and hardship, but a woman of superior mind and lovely Christian temper. The second child of Thomas and Lucy Lincoln was Abraham, who stands enrolled below no mortal name in the history of the world.

He was born in Hardin county, Kentucky, on February 12, 1809. His father was very, very poor, and the region in which he lived afforded but scant opportunities for education or advancement of any kind. At the age of seven he was permitted to attend school for a short time, but as his only text-book was a dilapidated copy of Dilworth's Speller, the benefits of his schooling were limited.

When he was in his eighth year his father, tired of the utterly hopeless struggle which crushed the energies of the poorer white settlers of the slave States, disposed of his little homestead, and gathering his homely household goods upon a raft, started for Spencer county, Indiana. The journey was a continuous battle with swamps, bridgeless streams and forests; but the family were plucky, and after literally chopping a road into Spencer county, they at last arrived at a suitable location, three miles from any human habitation. Here they reared a log cabin and fell bravely to the precarious task of obtaining proper sustenance for the body.

The mother of Abraham, a woman of piety and some education, taught her boy to read and write, and studiously encouraged his taste for books. When he was ten years of age she died. She was a noble woman, of whom Lincoln always said: "All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my angel-mother; blessings on her memory."

Two years later his father married again, and the step-mother proved kind and tender to Abraham. When he was twelve years of age a Mr. Crawford opened a school in a cabin not far from the Lincoln homestead, for the benefit of the settlers. Young Lincoln was one of his scholars, and studied arithmetic and one or two other common branches.

"The Pocket," as that portion of the wilderness was then called, contained but few books; yet the entire supply was, by various means, allowed to pass through young Lincoln's hands. In this way he became familiar with Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Life of Clay*, *Weem's* and *Ramsay's Life of Washington*, *Æsop's Fables* and several other volumes of similar character.

At the age of nineteen he made a trip to New Orleans down the Ohio and Mississippi, in company with the son of the owner of a flat-boat, who intrusted to his care a valuable cargo. Attacked in the night by a gang of thieves, the young men defended the property bravely and effectively, driving

back the plunderers. They then put down the stream, saving the cargo harmless from the depredators. The journey back to Indiana was accomplished mostly on foot.

. In 1830 Lincoln's father resolved on another removal, and early in the spring emigrated to Decatur, Illinois. There his son assisted him in raising a new dwelling, breaking ground for a crop of corn and splitting rails with which to fence it in. The following winter was severe, and required the utmost exertions of Abraham, now a stalwart man of twenty-one, and his father to keep the family in food, most of which they obtained by hunting and trapping.

During the year Abraham went to Springfield, where he was employed in building a large flat-boat. In this he took a herd of swine to New Orleans, conducting the venture with such success that on his return his employers placed him in charge of a store and mill. In this position he was so thoroughly honest and accommodating that customers and friends multiplied rapidly and he earned and was known by the name "Honest Abe." While clerking there he borrowed an English grammar, subscribed for the *Louisville Journal*, joined a local debating club, and devoted his leisure hours to the acquirement of information.

In 1832 the Black Hawk war broke out in Northern Illinois and Southern Wisconsin. Volunteers were called for and Lincoln promptly enlisted. There were two candidates for captain of the Springfield company—Lincoln and Kirkpatrick. The order was given that each man should take his stand by the side of his candidate and in a few moments nearly the entire band was found clustered around Lincoln. That, he said, was the proudest hour of his life. During that memorable campaign Zachary Taylor was colonel and Abraham Lincoln captain—two of the most improbable candidates for the Presidency that could have been fixed upon.

After his return from the war he was nominated for the legislature; and, though polling almost every vote in his pre-

cinct, he was defeated. Soon after he was made postmaster of New Salem by Andrew Jackson. His postoffice was his hat, in which the few letters of the time were carried, ready for delivery whenever he chanced to meet his patrons.

In 1834 he was again a candidate for the legislature and was elected. He made an able, though quiet legislator. In the meantime he studied surveying and in the employ of the government earned what he considered a large sum of money. John T. Stuart, of Springfield, advised Lincoln to study law, at the same time offering to loan him the necessary books. Lincoln, now twenty-six years of age, walked to Springfield, packed the books closely together, carried them on his back to New Salem, and began his legal studies.

He was admitted to the bar in 1836 and in April, the following year, moved permanently to Springfield and began the practice of his profession as the partner of Mr. Stuart. He at once took high rank as an able pleader and honorable adviser. He was twice re-elected to the legislature, where he first met Stephen A. Douglas.

In 1840 he refused to be a candidate for re-election; in 1844 he canvassed the State for Henry Clay and in 1846 he was elected to Congress and took his seat in March, 1847, the only Whig member from Illinois. During the single term Lincoln sat in the House many very important questions were before it for discussion, among others the Mexican war, abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the right of petition, a bill modifying the tariff, the Pacheco case and abolishment of the franking privilege. On these and other matters he voted with his party when he thought his party was right; otherwise he took an independent position. He prepared a bill providing that no person born in the District of Columbia should be held as a slave, but it was defeated.

In 1848 Lincoln was a delegate in the Whig National Convention that nominated Zachary Taylor for President, and

canvassed Illinois in his favor. The next year he was the candidate of the Whig party for United States Senator, but was defeated, the Democrats then being at the height of their power in Illinois. He devoted himself assiduously to his profession until 1854, when the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, opening the territories to slavery, sent him to the hustings.

James Shields, colleague of Douglas in the Senate, had supported the Nebraska bill. His term was about to expire, and Lincoln worked to secure the election of an anti-Nebraska legislature, and succeeded. There were two candidates for the senatorship against the Democrats, Lincoln and Lyman Trumbull. Although Trumbull was of Democratic antecedents, he was considered a patriotic man, and Lincoln generously withdrew in his favor and urged his friends to support him. Trumbull was elected.

In 1856 Lincoln was a leading candidate before the Philadelphia convention for Vice-President. Although he received 110 votes on the informal ballot, he was defeated by Wm. L. Dayton.

In 1858, the term of Douglas being about to expire, the Republicans of Illinois nominated Lincoln as their candidate for United States Senator to succeed him. It was during this canvass that the famous Lincoln-Douglas debate, referred to elsewhere in this volume, took place, attracting the attention of the nation. Douglas was a splendid debater, holding men with a strange and powerful magnetism. Lincoln was good-natured, cool, unsurpassed at repartee, kindly, honest, earnest and right. Douglas frequently won the most popular applause, but Lincoln left an impression that could never be forgotten.

Although the Republicans had a popular majority in the State, the system of gerrymandering districts gave Douglas a slight majority in the legislature. That debate made Lin-

coln President.¹ After that his services as a political orator were in general demand, and his New York and Cincinnati addresses were considered the greatest of the time. They were unanswerable.

As is set forth in other pages, Lincoln received the Republican nomination for the Presidency in May, 1860, and the election on the following November, the popular vote standing: Lincoln, 1,857,610; Douglas, 1,291,574; Breckenridge, 850,082; Bell, 646,124. His election was the signal for rebellion and disunion, preparations for which had been going on for years by the Southern leaders.

On the 11th of February, 1861, Lincoln left Springfield for Washington. His journey was one of triumph until he reached Maryland, where he narrowly escaped assassination. He took the oath of office and delivered the great inaugural (preserved in full elsewhere) that showed the Southern Democrats to be radically and wickedly wrong, on March 4.

Lincoln found the credit of the government impaired, the navy scattered, not a dozen ships left in condition to guard the coast; the major portion of the government small-arms and cannon in the hands of the seceders; forts, arsenals, mints and vessels seized by the insurrectionists; the troops of our regular army disarmed and sent home by slow, devious routes as paroled prisoners, and the garrisons in Charleston Harbor starving. The attempt to revictual Fort Sumter

¹ Jeriah Bonham claims, in his "Recollections of Fifty Years," that an editorial published by him in the *Illinois Gazette* on November 8, 1858, was the first mention of Lincoln's name in connection with the Presidency. It was headed, "Abraham Lincoln for President in 1860," and ended thus:

What man now fills the full measure of public expectation as the statesman of to-day and the near future as does Abraham Lincoln? And in writing our preference for him we believe we but express the wish of a majority of the people that he should be the standard-bearer of the Republican party for the Presidency in 1860. In the next campaign of 1860 the principles are already sharply defined. These will be—as they have been in our State canvass—slavery and slavery extension on the one hand, and freedom and free territory on the other. Douglas will lead the cohorts of slavery; Lincoln should lead the hosts of freedom in this irrepressible conflict. Who has earned the proud distinction as well as he, as he is in himself the embodiment and exponent of free institutions? These two men have fought the battle over the plains of Illinois. What so proper as their being the champions of the two principles on the national field?

resulted in a bombardment by the Democrats, and thus the war opened.

On the 15th of April came the call for 75,000 troops. The response was prompt, strong and cordial from the North. Men and means were offered in abundance. Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, Delaware and Virginia hung back sulkily, and some answered with threats of defiance. Virginia soon went over to the rebels led by Robert E. Lee. The governor of Missouri fled and loyal officers succeeded him; Maryland, held in military possession, finally took up the cause of the nation and emancipated her slaves; Delaware, halting long under the influence of the Bayards to decide whether she would join the Union or the Rebellion, at last raised troops for the former, and Kentucky, attempting to be neutral, found herself the battlefield and plunder-ground of both armies.

On April 19 Lincoln issued a proclamation blockading the posts of insurrectionary States, and in a day or two succeeded in garrisoning the city of Washington. The President was now harassed by cares, perplexities and responsibilities never before revealed to an American. He had hoped the war would be of short duration, but the battle of Bull Run dispelled this illusion.

The year 1862 brought some slight cheer to Lincoln, but on the whole it was one of heavy gloom and anxiety. The following year, however, dawned upon altered and brighter prospects. He had, after long and anxious deliberation, resolved that a proclamation emancipating all the slaves was a justifiable war measure, and the first day of the new year saw liberty heralded to all the bondmen of the rebellious States.

He had hoped for a gradual emancipation, to begin in the border States, but without results except that the new Constitution of West Virginia forever prohibited human bondage; Missouri and Maryland adopted measures of emancipation and Congress abolished slavery from the District of Colum-

bia, repealed the fugitive slave laws and forbade bondage in the territories.

During this year committees in New York and Ohio addressed Lincoln in reference to the arrest of persons for alleged treasonable acts and words, especially condemning such arrests as, though made without the direct order of the President, were nevertheless sanctioned by him. His replies to their strictures were able and effective.

The first few months of 1864 were rendered anxious by grievous financial difficulties, the rapid depreciation of our paper currency and the resignation of Secretary Chase. Wm. Pitt Fessenden succeeded Chase, and in May began those movements—unequaled in modern times—by which, in less than a twelvemonth, the Rebellion was crushed.

In the meantime Lincoln had been renominated, re-elected and a second time inaugurated, amid the acclaim of hopeful multitudes, though not without low, growling threats of assassination. Richmond and Petersburg had been evacuated; he himself had passed over the smouldering ruins of the rebel capital; Davis was a fugitive; Lee had met Grant at Appomattox; Johnston was in the last ditch; the stars and stripes floated over Fort Sumter four years from the very day of its downfall, and the President, looking forward only to peace, pacification and rejuvenation, went by special request to Ford's Theater with his family for an hour of recreation, on April 14, 1865.

But the assassin followed, and with well-premeditated blow, directed by those high in confederate authority, struck down the patriot President just as he had completed the mightiest and bloodiest task of modern times.

The funeral procession from Washington to Springfield, *via* Baltimore, Jersey City, York, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Chicago and Indianapolis, was the grandest demonstration of love and sorrow ever seen in any country.

The scenes in New York City were imposing beyond all comparison. As far as the eye could reach a dense mass of people, all wearing the insignia of mourning, filled the streets and crowded the windows. Flags floated at half-mast and warehouses and residences were draped with *crepe*. The procession which followed the remains to the City Hall was large and passed along such a concourse of mourning faces as New York had never before witnessed. Along the entire route minute-guns were booming, bells tolled from every church-steeple, and "Old Hundred" floated sadly from Trinity chimes. At the City Hall 800 voices chanted their requiems as the sarcophagus was borne into the rotunda, and night and day grim artillerymen watched the precious dust. At midnight of April 24, the German musical societies of New York rendered a funeral chant in the rotunda with thrilling effect.

On the following day, led by a procession of thousands of colored men, the funeral cortege moved westward through arches, columns, monuments, banners and flowers, amidst tolling bells and thundering minute-guns. Before leaving New York a vast concourse assembled in Union Square to listen to a funeral oration by George Bancroft and an elegiac ode by Wm. Cullen Bryant.

At Chicago similar scenes were enacted, as they were, in fact, in all the Western cities. On the 3d of May the coffin reached Springfield and was deposited in the State House under the words pronounced by Lincoln in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on February 22, 1861—"Sooner than surrender these principles I would be assassinated on the spot." At last the procession moved to Oak Ridge Cemetery, under the command of Gen. Joseph Hooker, and after an eloquent oration from Bishop Simpson, the remains of the patriot martyr were laid at rest.

Subsequently, on a high, bold hill, by general contributions, an imposing granite monument was erected. In the

basement of it, barely guarded from rude hands by a heavy iron gate, sleeps the Great Emancipator. Above his plain, marble sarcophagus, which is always wreathed with fresh flowers, tower four colossal statues of spirited and patriotic design, which leave an impression of greatness and undying fame which no visitor ever forgets.

No man can be truly great who is not truly good. Lincoln was one of the very greatest statesmen America has produced, because he was also one of the best. His character, as a man and chief magistrate, has been summed up in a few plain words, thus:

He was honest in the best sense of the term; patient, for bearing and forgiving; slow in arriving at conclusions, but when once settled in them, firm to obstinacy; endowed with a wisdom and tact not acquired in the schools, but which guided him in administration, sustained him in despondency, and rendered him calm and self-possessed in the hour of success; of a genial and tender disposition, and possessing a rare and quiet humor which occasionally lit up with a momentary smile his sad face, and enabled him the better to bear his heavy burdens. In his administration of public affairs, he ever sought the good of the nation, and the interests of justice and truth, and much as some of his measures were questioned at the time, there are few who would deny their wisdom or rectitude.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

Ulysses S. Grant, eighteenth President of the United States, was born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, April 27, 1822. His ancestors were Scotch. In 1823 his parents removed to the village of Georgetown, Ohio, where his boyhood was passed. He entered West Point Military Academy in 1839, appointed by Thomas L. Hamer. His name originally was Hiram Ulysses; but the appointment was blunderingly made out for Ulysses S., and so it had to remain.

The study in which he showed most proficiency during his course at the academy was mathematics. He graduated in 1843, ranking twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine, and was made a brevet second lieutenant of infantry and attached

as a supernumerary lieutenant to the 4th regiment, which was stationed on the Missouri frontier.

In the summer of 1845 the regiment was ordered to Texas, to join the army of General Taylor. On September 30 Grant was commissioned as a full lieutenant. He first saw bloodshed at Palo Alto, on May 8, 1846, and took part also in the battles of Resaca de la Palma and Monterey, and the siege of Vera Cruz. In April, 1847, he was made quartermaster of his regiment, but still participated in all active operations, and after the battle of Molino del Ray, September 8, 1847, he was appointed on the field a first lieutenant for his gallantry.

In his report of the battle of Chapultepec, September 13, 1847, Colonel Garland, commanding the 1st brigade, said: "The rear of the enemy had made a stand behind a breastwork, from which they were driven by detachments of the 2d artillery under Captain Brooks and the 4th infantry under Lieutenant Grant, supported by other regiments of the division, after a short but sharp conflict. I must not omit to call attention to Lieutenant Grant, 4th infantry, who acquitted himself most nobly upon several occasions under my own observation."

Grant was breveted captain for his conduct at Chapultepec, to date from the battle. After the capture of the city of Mexico he returned with his regiment, and was stationed first at Detroit and then at Sackett's Harbor.

In 1848 he married Miss Julia T. Dent, of St. Louis, sister of one of his classmates. In 1852 he accompanied his regiment to California and Oregon, and while at Fort Vancouver, on August 5, 1853, was commissioned full captain. On July 31, 1854, he resigned, and removed to St. Louis, cultivating a farm near that city and engaging in business as a real estate agent. In 1859 he was employed by his father in the leather trade at Galena, Illinois.

When the Civil War broke out, he was chosen to command a company of volunteers, with which he marched to Springfield. There he was retained as an aid to Governor Yates, and acted as mustering officer of Illinois volunteers until he became colonel of the 21st regiment, his commission dating from June 17, 1861. He joined his regiment at Mattoon, organized and drilled it at Caseyville, and then crossed into Missouri, where it formed part of the guard of the Hannibal & Hudson Railroad. On July 31 he was placed in command of the troops at Mexico, forming a part of General Pope's force. On August 23 he was promoted to brigadier-general of volunteers, the commission being dated back to May 17, and assumed command of the troops at Cairo, which were soon increased by the addition of General McClernand's brigade. He seized Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee, on September 6, and Smithland, at the mouth of the Cumberland, on the 25th.

In a proclamation to the citizens of Paducah he said: "I have nothing to do with opinions, and shall deal only with armed rebellion and its aiders and abettors." On October 16 he sent out a detachment under Colonel Plummer to check the advance of the confederate forces under General Jeff. Thompson, which was accomplished by a battle at Fredericktown, Missouri, on the 21st. On November 7, with two brigades, Grant fought the battle of Belmont, where he commanded in person and had a horse shot under him.

General Halleck, on assuming command of the department of Missouri, gave General Grant the command of the district of Cairo (December 21) which was so extended as to form one of the largest military divisions in the country, including the southern part of Illinois, that portion of Kentucky west of the Cumberland River and the southern counties of Missouri.

After a reconnoissance in force toward Columbus in January, 1862, Grant started on February 3, from Padueah,

with a force of 15,000 men, aided by Commodore Foote with a fleet of gunboats, for the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, the former of which commanded the Tennessee River and the latter the Cumberland, near the dividing line between Kentucky and Tennessee. Fort Henry, commanded by the confederate general, Tilghman, surrendered on February 6, and Fort Donelson, commanded by General Buckner, on the 16th. The reduction of Fort Henry was mainly the work of gunboats; Fort Donelson was only captured after a severe battle, February 15, in which the federal forces, which had been increased to 30,000 or more, sustained a loss of 2,300.

In answer to Buckner's proposal that commissioners be appointed to arrange the terms of capitulation, Grant wrote: "No terms other than an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

The capture of Fort Donelson with all its defenders except General Floyd's brigade, was the first brilliant and substantial victory that had crowned the federal arms. To the gratification at so great a military success was added a popular admiration of the terse and soldierly declaration in which the surrender had been demanded; and the hero of the affair sprang at once into national celebrity. He was immediately commissioned major-general of volunteers, to date from February 16.

General C. F. Smith had been directed by General Halleck to make an expedition up the Tennessee with about 40,000 men; but he died soon after it started, and the command devolved upon General Grant. A large portion of the force, after lying three weeks at Pittsburgh Landing, in preparation for an attack on Corinth, was surprised at daybreak of April 6 by an overwhelming confederate force under General A. S. Johnston, driven from its camp, and routed with heavy loss. General Grant arrived on the field of battle at 8 A. M., and

reformed the lines. Heavy re-enforcements, under General Buell, having arrived in the night, the battle was renewed on the 7th, and the enemy, defeated, withdrew to Corinth. The loss on each side was about 12,000. General Grant was slightly wounded. General Halleck, arriving at the front two or three days afterward, began siege operations against Corinth; but the confederates evacuated the place on the last days of May. Halleck was called to Washington on July 11, and Grant became commander of the department of West-Tennessee, with headquarters at Corinth.

The most serious problem that demanded his immediate attention was the disposal of guerrillas, spies, and traders, who were crossing the lines on all sorts of pretexts, carrying information and stores to the enemy. He issued several severe orders against them, took possession of all unoccupied buildings in Memphis and rented them for the benefit of the United States government, and gave the *Memphis Avalanche* newspaper the alternative of suspending publication or dismissing an editor who had written an "incendiary and treasonable" article.

On September 17, Grant ordered an advance from Corinth to stop the progress of the confederate General Price, who had a large force concentrated at Iuka. A battle was fought at this place on September 19, and a complete victory gained. As General Bragg's force was pushing toward the Ohio river, Grant now removed his headquarters to Jackson, Tennessee. The confederates under Price and Van Dorn, 40,000 strong, attacked his position at Corinth, which was held by Rosecrans with about 20,000 men, October 3 and 4. After a desperate fight, the assailants were repulsed with heavy loss and pursued beyond the Hatchie River. Buell moved out to intercept Bragg and defeated him at Perryville, October 8, whereupon he retreated to East Tennessee.

On the 16th Gen. Grant's department was extended by the addition of a portion of Mississippi, as far as Vicksburg,

and designated as the Department of the Tennessee. The forces under his command were constituted the 13th army corps. The most stringent measures were taken to prevent plundering and illegal trading, as necessary to military discipline under the peculiar circumstances of an army so placed in a mingled community of friends and foes. After unsuccessful movements against Vicksburg, "the Gibraltar of the Mississippi," from the north, and the loss of an immense quantity of stores which the confederates, December 20, seized and destroyed at Holly Springs, Grant moved his army down the west bank of the river, crossed to the east side at a point below the city on the last day of April, 1863, defeated the enemy in the actions of Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills and Big Black River, preventing General J. E. Johnston from joining Pemberton at Vicksburg, and laid siege to the place on May 18. The city was surrendered, with about 27,000 prisoners, on July 4, 1863. Thereupon Grant was promoted to the rank of major-general in the regular army. In October he was placed in command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, comprising the departments commanded by Sherman, Thomas, Burnside and Hooker. Immediately after the capture of Vicksburg he sent heavy re-enforcements to General Sherman on the Big Black River, who was thereby enabled to drive the confederate force under Johnston out of Jackson.

Grant concentrated his forces for the defense of Chattanooga, which was threatened by Bragg, and the latter's positions on Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain were carried by assault on November 24 and 25. Bragg's forces retreated to Dalton, Georgia, being followed as far as Ringgold. The pursuing columns were then sent to the relief of Knoxville, held by Burnside and closely invested by Longstreet. General Halleck, in his annual report, said: "Considering the strength of the rebel position and the difficulty of storming his intrenchments, the battle of Chattanooga must

be considered the most remarkable in history. Not only did the officers and men exhibit great skill and daring in their operations on the field, but the highest praise is due to the commanding general for his admirable dispositions for dislodging the enemy from a position apparently impregnable. Moreover, by turning his right flank and throwing him back upon Ringgold and Dalton, Sherman's forces were interposed between Bragg and Longstreet, so as to prevent any possibility of their forming a junction."

The first measure passed in the Congressional session of 1863-4 was a resolution providing that a gold medal be struck for General Grant, and returning thanks to him and his army. A bill reviving the grade of lieutenant-general in the army was passed by Congress, and on March 1, 1864, received the signature of President Lincoln, who at once nominated General Grant for the position. The Senate confirmed the nomination on the following day. On the eve of starting for Washington to receive the commission Grant wrote a letter to General Sherman in which he said: "Whilst I have been eminently successful in this war, in at least gaining the confidence of the public, no one feels more than I how much of this success is due to the energy, skill and the harmonious putting forth of that energy and skill, of those whom it has been my good fortune to have occupying subordinate positions under me. There are many officers to whom these remarks are applicable to a greater or less degree, proportionate to their ability as soldiers; but what I want is, to express my thanks to you and McPherson as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success."

Grant arrived in Washington on March 9, received his commission, and on the 17th issued his first general order, assuming command of the armies of the United States, announcing that headquarters would be "in the field, and until further orders, with the Army of the Potomac."

Not before during the Civil War had any one general in the field commanded all the national armies. Grant, with nearly 700,000 men in the field, at once planned two campaigns, to be directed simultaneously against vital points of the confederacy by the two chief armies under his command—the one under General Meade to operate against Richmond, defended by Lee; the other, under General Sherman, against Atlanta, defended by Johnston. At midnight on May 3 Grant began the movement against Richmond, crossing the Rapidan with the Army of the Potomac, which was joined two days later by the ninth corps under Burnside, and, with an aggregate force of 140,000 men, pushing through the Wilderness by the right of Lee's position in the endeavor to place himself between the confederate army and the confederate capital.

Lee was apprised of the movement on the morning of the 4th and boldly took the offensive, pushing eastward to strike the federal columns on the march. The immediate result was the bloody battle of the Wilderness, which foiled Grant's first attempt to interpose his army between Lee and Richmond.

Making another advance by the left flank, he was again confronted by Lee at Spottsylvania; and after partial success and a bloody repulse, he repeated the movement, only to find Lee in a strong position on the North Anna River; and still a fourth advance brought the army of the Potomac before the absolutely impregnable rifle-pits of Cold Harbor.

After a costly assault on these, Grant once more moved his army by the left flank and crossed the James. The day after the success of Spottsylvania he sent a dispatch to the government which closed with these words: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." His losses in the campaign from the Rapidan to the James (May 3 to June 15) were 54,551, killed, wounded and missing. Lee's losses were about 32,000.

Sherman opened his campaign toward Atlanta as soon as Grant telegraphed to him that the army of the Potomac had crossed the Rapidan. At the same time Grant had directed Sigel to advance from Winchester up the Shenandoah toward Staunton, and Crook to advance from Charleston up the Kanawha toward Lynchburg. But Sigel was defeated at Newmarket by Breckinridge, and Crook after considerable fighting was compelled to retreat.

Meanwhile General Butler, with the army of the James, had been directed to capture and hold Petersburg, and, if possible, to invest Richmond closely from the south side, but had totally failed to do so.

All these flanking movements being foiled, Lee being neither defeated in the open field nor cut off from Richmond, the great problem of the war instantly narrowed itself down to a siege of Petersburg, which Grant now began. Lee's attempt to create a diversion by an invasion of Maryland and an attack on Washington failed, Sheridan ultimately driving back the invaders up the valley of the Shenandoah; while in Georgia, Johnston was unable to check the advance of Sherman and his successor in command.

Hood was forced to evacuate Atlanta, and lost his army before Nashville. The siege of Petersburg ended after the victory at Five Forks, in the beginning of April, 1865, when Richmond was evacuated and Lee retreated westward toward Danville, followed closely by Grant, who finally forced the surrender of his remaining force, which took place at Appomattox Court-house on April 9.

After the war Grant fixed his headquarters at Washington, and on July 25, 1866, he was commissioned general of the United States army, the rank having been created for him. On August 12, 1867, when President Johnson suspended Secretary Stanton from office, General Grant was made secretary of war *ad interim*, and held the position until

January 14, 1868, when he returned it to Mr. Stanton, whose removal the Senate had refused to sanction.

The President wished Grant to retain the office notwithstanding the action of Congress, and Grant, in a letter to him dated February 3, said: "I can but regard this whole matter, from beginning to the end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility, and thus destroy my character before the country. I am in a measure confirmed in this conclusion by your recent orders directing me to disobey orders from the secretary of war, my superior and your subordinate, without having countermanded his authority to issue the orders I am to disobey."

At the Republican National Convention held in Chicago, May 21, 1868, Gen. Grant, on the first ballot was unanimously nominated for President, with Schuyler Colfax for Vice-President. He was inaugurated as President March 4, 1869, and the next day sent in to Senate the following nominations for cabinet officers: Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, secretary of state; Alexander T. Stewart, of New York, secretary of the treasury; Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, secretary of the interior; Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, secretary of the navy; John M. Schofield, of Illinois, secretary of war; John A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, postmaster-general; E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, attorney-general.

These nominations were at once confirmed, but it was discovered that Mr. Stewart was disqualified by an act of 1789, which provided that no person should hold the office of secretary of the treasury who was "directly or indirectly concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce." The President, in a brief message, thereupon, suggested to Congress that Mr. Stewart be exempted by joint resolution from action of the law.

This was objected to, and Mr. Stewart declined, and George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, was appointed in his

stead. Soon afterward Mr. Washburne gave up the office of secretary of state, being appointed minister to France, and was succeeded by Hamilton Fish, of New York; while Secretary Scofield retired from the war department, and was succeeded by John A. Rawlins, of Illinois, who died in September, when the vacancy was filled by the appointment of William W. Belknap, of Iowa.

Mr. Borie resigned in June, and was succeeded by George M. Robeson, of New Jersey. Mr. Hoar resigned in July, 1870, and was succeeded by A. T. Akerman, of Georgia, who resigned in December, 1871, and was succeeded by George H. Williams, of Oregon. Mr. Cox resigned in November, 1870, and was succeeded by Columbus Delano, of Ohio.

As President Grant was in political harmony with the majority of Congress, the reconstruction of the lately rebellious States, which had been delayed by the lack of such harmony during the previous administration, now went on. A proclamation by President Grant, dated May 19, directed that there should be no reduction of the wages paid to government employees in consequence of the reduction of the hours of labor which Congress had enacted.

In 1871 President Grant urged the annexation of Santo Domingo as a territory of the United States. A treaty to effect this, and also one by which the peninsula and bay of Samana were ceded to the United States for fifty years at an annual rental of \$150,000 in gold, had been signed November 29, 1869, on behalf of President Grant and President Baez. Early in 1870 these treaties were confirmed by a popular vote in Santo Domingo; but it was believed that a free election had not been held, and it was said that, in anticipation of annexation, the Dominican government had granted to private individuals every valuable franchise or piece of property in its possession.

In conformity with a resolution of Congress, President Grant appointed B. F. Wade, of Ohio, A. D. White, of New

York, and S. G. Howe, of Massachusetts, as commissioners to visit Santo Domingo, accompanied by several scientific men, and report upon the condition of the country, the government and the people. Their report, submitted in April, 1871, was favorable to annexation; but the Senate withheld its approval of the treaties.

A "joint high commission" of five British and five American members met at Washington on February 27, 1871, and on May 8 signed a treaty on the subject of the coast fisheries, river navigation and the "Alabama Claims." The last-named question was submitted to a court of arbitration to meet at Geneva, Switzerland, which, on September 14, 1872, awarded the gross sum of \$15,500,000 to be paid by the British government to the United States for damages to American commerce by confederate cruises fitted out in British ports.

The act to enforce the provisions of the XIV amendment of the Constitution, popularly known as the Ku-Klux bill, was followed by a Presidential proclamation exhorting obedience to it; and on October 17, 1871, the President suspended the privilege of *habeas corpus* in the northern counties of South Carolina.

Under the provisions of an act of Congress of March 3, 1871, President Grant appointed a board of seven commissioners to inquire into the condition of the civil service and devise a plan for rendering it more efficient. The chairman of the board, George William Curtis, resigned in March, 1873, because of essential differences between his views and the President's on the enforcement of the rules.

At the National Republican Convention held in Philadelphia, June 5, 1872, President Grant was re-nominated by acclamation, and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, received the nomination for Vice-President. Grant and Wilson received

268 votes in the electoral college, against eighty for other candidates. Grant's popular majority over Greeley was 762,991.

During the last session of the 42d Congress the salary of the President was doubled, and those of the Vice-President, speaker of the House, justices of the Supreme Court and heads of departments increased twenty-five per cent.

William M. Richardson, of Massachusetts, became secretary of the treasury March 4, 1873, and was succeeded on June 2, 1874, by Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky. On the death of Chief-Justice Chase, in 1873, the President nominated successively George H. Williams, Caleb Cushing and Morrison R. Waite, of Ohio; the last-named was confirmed.

On April 22, 1874, he vetoed a bill to increase the currency.

After retiring from the Presidency Grant made a triumphant tour of the world. The honors showered upon him by foreign countries exceeded, if possible, those he had received at home. He retired to private life as one of the most distinguished citizens of the world. He has a steady income from a fund raised by his friends, and which is held in trust for that purpose. His residence is New York.

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES.

Rutherford B. Hayes nineteenth President of the United States, was born October 4, 1822, at Delaware, Ohio, whither his father, Rutherford Hayes, a merchant, and his mother Sophia Birchard Hayes, had removed from Vermont in 1817. He graduated at Kenyon College, Ohio, in 1842, studied in the Law School of Harvard University under Judge Story and Professor Greenleaf from 1843 to January, 1845, and was admitted to the bar in Ohio in March following. He began the practice of law in Lower Sandusky, now Fremont, Sandusky county. In 1850 he removed to Cincinnati, where his integrity and ability soon secured for him professional success.

In 1852 Mr. Hayes was married, in Cincinnati, to Miss Lucy W., daughter of Dr. James Webb. He is the father of eight children, of whom five are living. In the fall of 1856 he was an unsuccessful candidate for judge of the Common Pleas Court. In April, 1859, he was chosen city solicitor by the City Council of Cincinnati, to fill a vacancy, and the following spring he was elected to the same office by the people. In April, 1861, in common with the entire Republican ticket, he was defeated for re-election.

In politics Mr. Hayes had always been a Whig, with strong anti-slavery convictions. He became a member of the Republican party at its organization, and in 1860, earnestly advocated the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency. On June 7, 1861, he was appointed by Governor Dennison, major of the 23d Ohio Volunteer Infantry, which soon after was assigned to duty in West Virginia. In September, Major Hayes was appointed by General Rosecrans, Judge Advocate of the Department of Ohio, which position he held for about two months, and in October he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He distinguished himself in the battle of South Mountain, on September 14, 1862, where he was severely wounded in the arm by a musket-ball, and on the 24th of October, following, he was appointed colonel of the 23d regiment.

In the spring of 1864, Colonel Hayes commanded a brigade in General Crook's army which moved to cut the main lines of communication between Richmond and the Southwest, and he led the force which successfully stormed the enemy's works at Cloyd Mountain. In the first battle of Winchester, July 24, 1864, he commanded a brigade in a division of General Crook's army, and while forced to retreat, displayed great personal bravery under deadly fire from the enemy. Subsequently he led his brigade into the thickest of the fight at the indecisive battle of Berryville.

In the battle of Winchester, or Opequan, September 19, 1864, Colonel Hayes bore a conspicuous part in the operations of Crook's corps of Sheridan's army. He succeeded to the command of the division, and led it in the assault on South Mountain, or Fisher's Hill, September 22, and in the battle of Cedar Creek, October 19, where his horse was shot under him. Colonel Hayes was now made a brigadier-general, and on March 13, 1865, he was promoted to the rank of brevet major-general, "for gallant and distinguished services during the campaign of 1864 in West Virginia, and particularly at the battle of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, Virginia." During the war he was four times wounded.

In the autumn of 1864, while in the field, General Hayes was elected to represent the Second District of Ohio in Congress, and took his seat December 4, 1865. He was made chairman of the library committee. In 1866 he was re-elected. He made no elaborate speeches in Congress, but was a careful voter and an honest worker. In 1867 he was elected governor of Ohio, by a majority of 2,983 over Allen G. Thurman, and, having resigned his seat in Congress, was inaugurated January 13, 1868.

In 1869 he was re-elected governor by a majority of 7,506 over George H. Pendleton. Having refused to be re-elected governor, Hayes retired from the office of chief executive after four years of service. In 1872 he was induced, against his wishes, again to be a candidate for Congress, but the election went against the Republicans and General H. B. Banning was the successful candidate. In 1875 ex-Governor Hayes was a third time elected chief executive of Ohio by a majority of 5,544 over his Democratic opponent, William Allen.

The campaign was vigorously contested and was of national importance. Its leading issue was the financial question. The Republicans had declared in favor of that policy, "which, without unnecessary shock to business or trade, will

ultimately equalize the purchasing capacity of the coin and paper dollar."

The Democrats denounced "the contraction of the currency heretofore made by the Republican party, and the further contraction proposed by it, with a view of forced resumption of specie payment," and demanded that "the volume of currency be made and kept equal to the wants of trade."

The wide-spread interest aroused by this campaign and the success of the Republican candidate, gave to Governor Hayes a national reputation. The Republican State Convention of Ohio, which met in March, 1876, recommended his nomination for the Presidency by the National Republican Convention. The convention met in Cincinnati on June 14, and on the following day Governor Hayes' name was presented for the first place on the ticket by ex-Governor Noyes, of Ohio, and he was finally nominated.

The election was, by the disputes in three or four of the Southern States and the attempted purchase by the Democrats of an electoral vote in Oregon, claimed by both parties. The Electoral Commission, described elsewhere, decided that 185 of the 369 electoral votes rightfully belonged to Hayes and he was inaugurated.

At the close of his administration, having declared at the outset that he would not be a candidate for the Presidency a second time, Mr. Hayes retired to his home at Fremont, Ohio, where he resides in peace, plenty and happiness.

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD.

James A. Garfield, twentieth President of the United States, was born at Orange, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, November 19, 1831. His paternal ancestors came from England and settled at Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1635. His father, Abram Garfield, was born in New York; his mother, Eliza Ballou, in New Hampshire.

In 1830 they moved to Ohio, and settled in the Orange Woods, then a dense forest, broken only by occasional clear-

ings of settlers. Here, in 1833, Abram Garfield died, leaving a family of four children, of whom James was the youngest, dependent upon the exertions of a widowed mother. His boyhood was spent in laboring on the farm and wood-chopping during the summer, to assist in the support of the family, and attending the pioneer district school about three months each winter. When fourteen years of age he learned the carpenter's trade. His seventeenth summer was passed as a driver and helmsman on the Ohio canal.

His early ambition was to become a sailor, but a three months' attack of fever and ague, contracted on the canal, changed the current of his life into literary channels.

In March, 1849, he entered Geauga Seminary at Chester, Ohio, and at the close of the fall term was competent to teach a district school. He rented a room with two other young men and boarded himself. Except \$17, which was all the aid his mother could render him, he paid his own expenses, working at his trade in Chester, mornings, evenings, Saturdays, and during the summer vacation. After the first term he received no pecuniary assistance during his entire school and collegiate course.

From 1851, three years of his life were passed in the Eclectic Institute at Hiram, performing at first the double duties of student and janitor, afterwards student and teacher. His earnings, which by the closest economy he had saved at Hiram, did not cover his expenses at Williams College, and he left college with a debt of \$500, which he afterwards faithfully discharged.

Before leaving college he identified himself with the Republican party. On his return to Ohio he accepted the professorship of Ancient Languages and Literature in Hiram College. The next year, at the age of twenty-six, he was made its President, which office he held until he entered the army in 1861. During this term he made frequent public addresses, both from the platform and pulpit, but it never

was his purpose to enter the ministry. In the religious body of which he was a member, called "Disciples of Christ," but generally known as "Campbellites," any member is privileged to preach.

In 1858 he married Miss Lucretia Rudolph, a teacher, whose thorough culture in the classics and modern languages and literature, enabled her to keep pace with her husband in his literary career.

In 1859 he was elected to the Ohio Senate. His well-known characteristics as a legislator, his effectiveness as a debator, and his thoroughness as a committee-man, were manifest in his career in the State Senate in 1860 and 1861. He studied law while President of Hiram College, and was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court at Columbus during his second winter in the Ohio Senate. In 1866 he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States.

General Garfield's military services cover a period of two years and three months. After the first battle of Bull Run, Governor Dennison offered him a lieutenant-colonel's commission. He was mustered into the service August 16, 1861, and reported to General Hill at Camp Chase for instruction in camp duty and discipline. He was soon after detailed to recruit the 42d regiment of Ohio Volunteers, and was commissioned its colonel on September 5. In December, 1861, he was ordered with his regiment to Eastern Kentucky and placed in command of the 18th Ohio brigade, where he conducted a winter's campaign against the confederate forces under General Humphrey Marshall. In recognition of his services President Lincoln promoted him to the rank of a brigadier-general of volunteers, dating his commission from January 10, 1862.

His regiment, the 42d Ohio, was never again under his command. He was ordered to report to General Buell, who was hastening to effect a junction with General Grant at Pittsburg Landing, and was assigned the command of the

20th brigade, which reached Shiloh on the afternoon of the second day of the battle, April 7, 1862. The next day he moved with General Sherman to the front, and shared in a sharp engagement with the rear-guard of the retreating army. He participated in the subsequent operations around Corinth, Decatur and Huntsville, Alabama. On November 25 he was detailed as a member of the general court-martial for the trial of General Fitz John Porter.

An official order, dated January 14, 1863, sent him to the army of the Cumberland, then under the command of General Rosecrans; he was made his chief-of-staff and participated in all the engagements of that army in Middle and Southern Tennessee. With the battle of Chickamauga General Garfield's military career closed. His ability and bravery were recognized by the war department in an order promoting him to the rank of major-general of volunteers "for gallant and meritorious service in the battle of Chickamauga." He resigned his commission in the army on taking his seat in the 38th Congress, December 5, 1863, having been elected, while absent in the field the year before, a Representative from the 19th Congressional District of Ohio. He was re-elected to the 39th, 40th, 41st, 42d, 43d, 44th, 45th and 46th Congresses.

He served on the committee of military affairs his first term, a committee which ranked all others in importance at that time. He opposed giving bounties to any but veteran soldiers who might re-enlist, and was one of the two who voted against the bounty bill passed January 6, 1864. He made one of his strongest and most effective speeches in favor of granting Mr. Lincoln the power which he asked for drafting men to fill up the ranks, and it was largely due to the influence of this speech that a resolution to that effect was carried through the House.

In the 39th Congress he was assigned to the committee of ways and means, and at once entered upon those finan-

cial studies that made him an authority on American finance. He was chairman of the military committee in the 40th Congress, and of banking and currency in the 41st. On the 15th of May, 1868, he made a speech on "The Currency," which has been termed a sound money manual and cyclopædia of financial facts.

His financial record in the House was that of an opponent of inflation and repudiation, an advocate of the payment of the national debt, and return to specie payment. Besides his regular committee work he did much extra service upon special committees, making at one time a thorough examination of affairs in the bureau of engraving and printing of the treasury department; at another, presiding at the sittings of a special committee to inquire into the causes of the gold panic of 1870.

While chairman of the committee on appropriations, during the 42d and 43d Congresses, he carried on the work of reform began by Mr. Dawes, in the method of making appropriations. Prior to the act approved July 12, 1870, there had been two kinds of appropriations—annual and permanent. Nearly one-half of the expenses of the government had been provided for by these permanent appropriations, Congress having no direct control over them. Unexpended balances of appropriations had been accumulating in the bureaus from the beginning of the government. If any part of the money appropriated for a specific purpose remained unexpended at the end of the fiscal year, this balance stood on the books of the treasury to the credit of the bureau, and could be used at any time for the purpose named. When these balances were covered into the treasury, in 1872, they amounted to \$174,000,000. That law, made still more stringent by the act of June 24, 1874, requires that any surplus of appropriations remaining at the end of each fiscal year, except so much as shall be needed to execute contracts already made, shall go into the general fund of the treasury.

After Mr. Blaine's transfer to the Senate in June, 1876, Garfield became, and continued to remain, till the end of his Congressional career, the acknowledged leader of the Republicans in the House.

His speech in June, 1876, in reply to Mr. Hill, of Georgia, on the general amnesty bill, and his reply to L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, on August 4, added greatly to his reputation. He was one of the Republican statesmen invited by President Grant to go to Louisiana to witness the counting of the vote for Presidential electors by the State returning board in November, 1876. While the electoral bill was pending in the House, he made a speech in opposition to its passage, holding that neither Congress nor the commission could go behind the action of the State; yet, after the commission was created, he was elected a member of it.

In the 45th Congress his most effective speeches were made on questions relating to finance, trade, and industry. His speeches during the extra session and the first regular session of the 46th Congress, embrace these titles: "Revolution in Congress," "Close of Debate on First Army Bill," "Legislative Appropriation Bill," "Second Army Appropriation Bill," "Judicial Appropriation Bill," "Nullification," "Defense of Union Soldiers of Seceded States," "Resumption and Currency," "The New Silver Bill," "The Mississippi River an Object of National Care," "The Revived Doctrine of State-Sovereignty," "Ancient and Modern Panics," "Obedience to the Law the Foremost Duty of Congress," "Pulp and Paper," and "How News and Public Opinion are Manufactured." At all times a forcible and eloquent speaker, he was especially noted for making the most felicitous and appropriate speeches on commemorative and ceremonial occasions.

In January, 1880, Garfield was elected by the Ohio legislature Senator for the term beginning March 4, 1881, to succeed Allen G. Thurman. On the 8th of June in the Chicago

convention he was nominated, and on the 4th of November elected to the Presidency of the United States and resigned his seat in Congress on November 8, 1880.

In the interval between his election and inauguration on the 4th of March, with the exception of a brief visit to Washington on private business in November, he continued to reside at Mentor, Ohio, where he was visited by many public men. The composition of his cabinet, and his general purpose in regard to public appointments, were the subject of constant speculation, and in consulting the political leaders of his party he manifested a desire to unite them all in the support of his administration.

The President-elect took leave of his neighbors and friends on the last day of February, and arrived at the capital on the 1st of March. The inauguration on the 4th was attended with unusual civic, military and social display, and there was a general feeling of hopefulness and confidence in the new administration. The Senate met in special session, and on the 5th the cabinet appointments were submitted and promptly confirmed.

On the 22d of March several names were sent in for offices in the State of New York. The appointees were supposed to be satisfactory to the Senators from that State. On the following day Judge William H. Robertson was named as collector of the port of New York, the incumbent of the office, E. A. Merritt being appointed consul-general to London.

When the Senate finally went into executive session, Mr. Conkling declared his opposition to the appointment of Mr. Robertson, claiming that he should have been consulted in the matter, and that the selection of a conspicuous political enemy for so important an office in his own State was an insult, and in violation of pledges given him by the President.

Finding that the New York Senators were determined, if possible, to defeat the confirmation of Robertson and Merritt, the President withdrew all other appointments for that

State in order that their cases might be acted on alone. Seeing that they could not prevent the confirmation, Senators Conkling and Platt both resigned on the 16th of May, and returned to New York to seek a vindication of their course.

Robertson and Merritt were then confirmed, and the other New York appointments renewed, a change being made in that for collector of the port of Buffalo. Out of this controversy grew considerable factional excitement.

On the morning of July 2, the President set out from the executive mansion with Secretary Blaine for the Baltimore & Potomac Railroad station, where he was to join several members of the cabinet for a trip to New York and New England, including a visit to Williams College and the White Mountains. The two entered the station arm in arm, and while they were passing through the ladies' waiting-room, two pistol shots were heard in quick succession, one of which took effect in the President's back.

The heat of the season aggravated the difficulties of dealing with the case, and artificial means of cooling the atmosphere of the executive mansion were resorted to. A large quantity of ice was placed in the cellar over which air was passed and then admitted to the sick-room by means of an apparatus specially devised for the purpose. The case was also believed to be more or less complicated by malarial influences prevailing in and about the White House.

The condition of the patient fluctuated during a period of five or six weeks, and he began to express a strong desire to be removed from Washington. On the 25th day of August his condition became critical, and on the day following fears of a fatal ending of all hope were entertained throughout the country. There were, however, slight indications of improvement on the 27th, which increased until by the 30th there was a renewal of hopeful announcements. On the 1st of September the question of removal was taken up again, and, the gastric disturbance returning on the 4th, it was de-

cided to take the patient to Long Branch, in accordance with his own earnest desire.

The journey was made on the 6th of September. The cottage of C. J. Francklyn, in Elberon Park, had been prepared for the reception of the President. A special train of the Pennsylvania Railroad was fitted up for the transfer from Washington to Long Branch, and arrangements were made for running it without delay at a high rate of speed over the 228 miles of distance, which included parts of six different lines of railroad. The patient was removed from the executive mansion to the Baltimore & Potomac Railroad station without serious disturbance, at an early hour in the morning, and was made as comfortable as possible in a car specially fitted for the purpose. The departure from Washington took place at 6:30 A. M. The rate of speed was at times as high as sixty miles an hour; few stops were made and Long Branch was reached at 1 o'clock—3,500 feet of railroad-track having been laid specially to convey the train from the regular station to the immediate vicinity of Francklyn cottage.

He received no particular benefit from the removal to Elberon, and gradually sunk, dying at 10:35 o'clock, A. M., on September 19, 1881.

There was considerable lay and professional discussion of the medical treatment of Garfield, the general conclusion being that, aside from the mistaken diagnosis, the wound was necessarily mortal.

The remains lay at the Francklyn cottage, Elberon, until Wednesday, September 21, and the public was admitted to view the face of the dead President.

After brief religious ceremonies, at 10 o'clock on the 21st the body was borne by special train from Long Branch, and, passing silent and reverent crowds at every station, reached Washington at 4:30, where it was received by an imposing funeral escort and taken to the Capitol. It was laid in state

under the great dome, previous to being conveyed to Cleveland, Ohio, for burial. It was exposed to view during the 22d, and crowds of people passed through the rotunda to look upon the face of the deceased.

On the afternoon of the 23d, after impressive ceremonies in the rotunda of the Capitol, the coffin was borne to the station of the Baltimore & Potomac Railroad, and the funeral train started a little after 5 o'clock. Official representatives of the various departments of the government, and most of the States, and many municipal corporations, accompanied or followed the remains. The train, heavily draped with mourning emblems, entered Cleveland at 1:20 o'clock, P. M., on the 24th, and the body was placed in state on a catafalque beneath a pavillion erected for the purpose in the center of Monumental Park. All day on Sunday, the 25th, a great concourse of people passed the pavillion, and on the following day an impressive funeral took place. The remains were then deposited in the tomb in Lake View Cemetery, to await the preparation of the place of final sepulture which had been set apart for the purpose by the trustees of the cemetery.

The procession included a military and civic pageant of unusual proportions. The day of the funeral, September 26, was observed throughout the country as a period of general mourning, in response to a proclamation of President Arthur, which had been supplemented in many of the States by the recommendation of their governors. There was a general suspension of business, draping of public and private buildings, and religious services.

The day was also extensively observed in Europe, and for the first time mourning was ordered in court circles in behalf of an official of a republic.

A committee was at once organized in Cleveland to take charge of the project of raising an appropriate monument over

the final resting-place of the dead President, a popular subscription for the purpose being invited.

Already a subscription had been started in New York for the benefit of the bereaved family, which reached the sum of over \$360,000, the income to be paid to Mrs. Garfield during her life and the principal to be divided among the children on her death.

Following are the closing paragraphs of the splendid funeral oration by James G. Blaine, before the two Houses of Congress:

On the morning of Saturday, July 2, the President was a contented and happy man—not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully, almost boyishly happy. On the way to the railroad station to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of leisure and a keen anticipation of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and gratulatory vein. He felt that after four months of trial his administration was strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favor, and destined to grow stronger; that grave difficulty confronting him at his inauguration had been passed; that trouble lay behind him and not before him; that he was soon to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disquieted and at times almost unnerved him; that he was going to his Alma Mater to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interest had followed every step of his upward progress from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen.

Surely, if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning James A. Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no slightest premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident in the years stretching peacefully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence and the grave.

Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interests, from its hopes, its aspirations, its vic-

tories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell—what brilliant, broken plans, what baffled high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm, manhood's friendships, what bitter rending of sweet household ties!

Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full riches of her early toil and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic; the fair young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day, and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demand. Before him desolation and great darkness! And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the centre of a nation's love enshrined in the prayers of the world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the wine-press alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the Divine decree.

As the end drew near, his early cravings for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearysome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its far sails whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us be-

lieve that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on the farther shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.

CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR.

Chester A. Arthur was elected Vice-President of the United States in November, 1880, and succeeded to the Presidency on the death of James A. Garfield, September 19, 1881. He was born in Fairfield, Franklin county, Vermont, October 5, 1830, and was the eldest of a family of two sons and three daughters. His father, the Rev. William Arthur, was a Baptist clergyman who had emigrated at the age of eighteen from the county of Antrim, Ireland. He was a man of some prominence in his denomination, having been pastor of Calvary Baptist Church in New York City from 1855 to 1863, and was the author of a work on "Family Names," which displayed great erudition of a peculiar kind. He died in New-tonville, near Albany, New York, October 27, 1875.

Arthur's early education was acquired in the schools of Vermont, and at the age of fifteen he entered Union College at Schenectady, New York, graduating high in his class in 1849. During his college course he supported himself in part by teaching, and after his graduation continued in the occupation for about two years, being for a time principal of the Pownal Academy in Vermont. Meantime he had also devoted himself to the study of the law, and, having saved a few hundred dollars from his earnings as a teacher, set out for New York, where he entered the office of ex-Judge E. D. Culver. Having been admitted to the bar, he formed a partnership with his intimate friend, Henry D. Gardiner, and the two set out with a view of settling in the West. After searching about for some time they returned to New York and settled down to practice there, rapidly acquiring a good degree of success.

Early in his professional career Mr. Arthur married a daughter of Lieutenant Herndon, of the United States Navy, an officer who had gone down with his ship at sea, and whose

widow was the recipient of a gold medal, voted by Congress, in recognition of his bravery. Mrs. Arthur died in 1880.

In the latter part of 1852, one, Jonathan Lemmon, of Virginia, on his way to Texas with eight slaves, was awaiting the sailing of the steamer in New York, when a writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained on behalf of the slaves. It was held by Judge Paine that they could not be held in servitude in the State of New York, nor returned to it in the South, under the provisions of the fugitive-slave law. The legislature of Virginia took up the case, and authorized the attorney-general of the State to take action for the recovery of the slaves. Mr. Arthur was associated with Wm. M. Evarts on the other side and they won the case both before the court of the first instance and in the Supreme Court of the United States, where it was carried on appeal, and where Mr. Charles O'Connor argued the claims of the slave-holder. In 1856 Mr. Arthur took the case of Lizzie Jennings, a colored girl who had been forcibly ejected from a street car in New York City, after paying her fare. He brought suit for damages before Judge Rockwell in Brooklyn, and recovered \$500 for the girl. The result was the abrogation of the rule of the street railroad companies which had previously forbidden colored persons to ride in the same cars with other passengers.

Mr. Arthur early took an active interest in politics as a Henry Clay Whig, and was a delegate to the famous Saratoga convention in 1854. He also had a taste for military affairs, and before the war was judge-advocate of the second brigade of the State militia. When Edwin D. Morgan became governor of New York, at the beginning of 1860, he appointed Mr. Arthur to the position of engineer-in-chief on his staff, and he was afterwards made inspector-general, and then quartermaster-general of the military forces of the State, an office which he held until the end of Gov. Morgan's term, at the close of 1863. He conducted the duties of his office in equipping, supplying and forwarding the immense num-

ber of troops furnished by his State, with such success that his accounts were audited and allowed at Washington without deduction, while those of some of the States were reduced by millions of dollars.

It has also been said that while he had the giving of many large and profitable contracts, and the control of enormous purchases, with opportunities for making gains, he left the office of quartermaster-general poorer than when he took it. Presents offered to him were promptly rejected, and, if sent, returned.

In 1862 there was a secret meeting of "loyal governors" to discuss measures for providing troops, at which time Mr. Arthur was present by invitation, being the only person taking part who was not the governor of a State. Many instances are related of the vigorous administration of his military office.

In 1865 General Arthur returned to the practice of law, and built up a large business in collecting claims against the government. He also drafted many important measures of legislation, and promoted their adoption both in Washington and at Albany. For a short time he was counsel of the New York Board of Tax Commissioners. Meantime he took an active part in local politics, and became known for his skill as an organizer and manager.

On the 20th of November, 1871, he was appointed, by President Grant, collector of customs of the port of New York, an office to which he was re-appointed in 1875. His second appointment was promptly confirmed by the Senate without the usual reference to a committee.

President Hayes, after his accession to office in 1877, promulgated an order forbidding persons in the civil service of the government from taking an active part in political management. Mr. Arthur was at the time chairman of the Republican Central Committee of New York City, and A. B. Cornell, who held the position of naval officer, was chairman

of the State Central Committee, of the same party. Both gentlemen neglected to comply with the President's orders by resigning their party positions, and were suspended from office in July, 1878.

An attempt had previously been made to supersede General Arthur by removing him and appointing his successor during the session of the Senate, but the appointment was not confirmed. The successor appointed after his suspension in July, was confirmed in office at the following session of the Senate. Two special committees investigated Mr. Arthur's administration of the collector's office, and reported nothing on which a charge of official dereliction could be based.

A petition for his retention in the office, signed by all the judges of the New York courts, most of the prominent members of the bar, and nearly all of the importing merchants of the city, was suppressed by Mr. Arthur himself.

In a letter to Secretary Sherman, he produced figures showing that in the six years of his administration as collector of New York, removals from subordinate offices amounted to only $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. of the whole number, against an average of 28 per cent. under his three immediate predecessors, and that all but two appointments in one hundred to important positions commanding a salary of \$2,000 and more, had been made by promotion from the lower grades of the service, on recommendations of the heads of bureaus.

On retiring from the office of collector, Mr. Arthur returned to the practice of law, and continued to take an active part in politics, contributing materially to the nomination and election of Mr. Cornell to the governorship of the State. He was a zealous supporter of the claims of General Grant to the Republican nomination for the Presidency in the Chicago convention of 1880, being closely associated with Senator Conkling in the effort to secure that result. When the

movement to nominate General Grant was defeated, and Mr. Garfield was made the candidate, Mr. Arthur was nominated for the Vice-Presidency. He took an active part in the canvass which followed, especially in his own State, acting as the chairman of the Republican Central Committee. He presided in the Senate during the special session, which began on the 4th. of March, with dignity and general acceptance. In the contest between the President and Senator Conkling in regard to appointments in the State of New York, the Vice-President took no part, but, after the resignation of the New York Senators, he went to Albany and actively participated in the effort to secure their re-election.

It was during this contest that President Garfield received the shot that subsequently proved fatal.

The death of President Garfield was announced to Arthur in New York by telegraphic dispatch from members of the cabinet, who expressed the wish that he would repair to Long Branch the following morning. In accordance with the advice of his friends, he took the oath of office in his own house in New York before one of the judges of the State Supreme Court, at about 2 o'clock in the morning of September 20. After visiting Long Branch and accompanying the remains of President Garfield to Washington, Mr. Arthur was sworn into office in a more formal manner before the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court on the 22d, and delivered a brief address in which he expressed his sense of the grave responsibilities that had devolved upon him.

A special session of the Senate was called to begin on the 10th of October, for the purpose of choosing a presiding officer and confirming such appointments as might be submitted. The members of the cabinet were requested to retain their places until the regular meeting of Congress in December. Only Secretary Windom, of the treasury department, who desired to become a candidate for the Senate from Minnesota, insisted on his resignation. Chief-Justice Folger, of

the New York Court of Appeals, was chosen his successor, after E. D. Morgan, of the same State, had declined the appointment, though it had been submitted to the Senate and promptly confirmed. The new President took a prominent part officially in the Yorktown celebration on the 19th of October, delivering an appropriate address.

The unostentatious, peaceful and satisfactory administration of Mr. Arthur was commended by the conventions of almost every State in the Union during the spring of 1884. He made a better and wiser President in every respect than the people expected. He was not averse to being a candidate for a second term, but was defeated by James G. Blaine.

On the 2d day of July, 1884, President Arthur vetoed the bill to restore Fitz John Porter to "all the rights, rank, title and privileges that he would have had if there had been no court-martial"—one of the brave and just acts of his administration, and one that will endear him to all the true citizens and patriotic soldiers of the Union.

Porter, a major-general, under a military order signed on November 27, 1862, was tried by a court-martial consisting of David Hunter, E. A. Hitchcock, Rufus King, B. M. Prentiss, James B. Ricketts, Silas Casey, James A. Garfield, U. B. Buford, W. W. Morris and Joseph Holt (advocate-general) for "insubordination and disobedience"—military treason.

The members of the commission were unanimous that Porter should be shot, but as the Democratic officers and soldiers were growing sullen and ugly over McClellan's supersedure, and jealous and insulting toward Pope, it was thought that to inflict a just punishment on Porter would further anger and demoralize the Democratic portion of the army. Therefore he was sentenced "to be cashiered from the army and forever disqualified from holding an office of trust or profit under the government of the United States." On January 19, 1863,

President Lincoln approved this finding, with the remark that Porter should have been shot.

After the close of the war Porter and the Democratic members of Congress began a dogged effort to have the sentence annulled. Time after time the bill failed in Congress, but at last it reached President Arthur in June, 1884. It was boasted that the almost irresistible "social pressure" that could be brought to bear would induce him to sign it.

This insulting boast was wholly without foundation. Attorney-General Brewster wrote an opinion to the effect that Congress was absolutely without power to tamper with the judgments of regularly constituted courts, and Mr. Arthur returned the bill with a veto message that is unanswerable and patriotic.

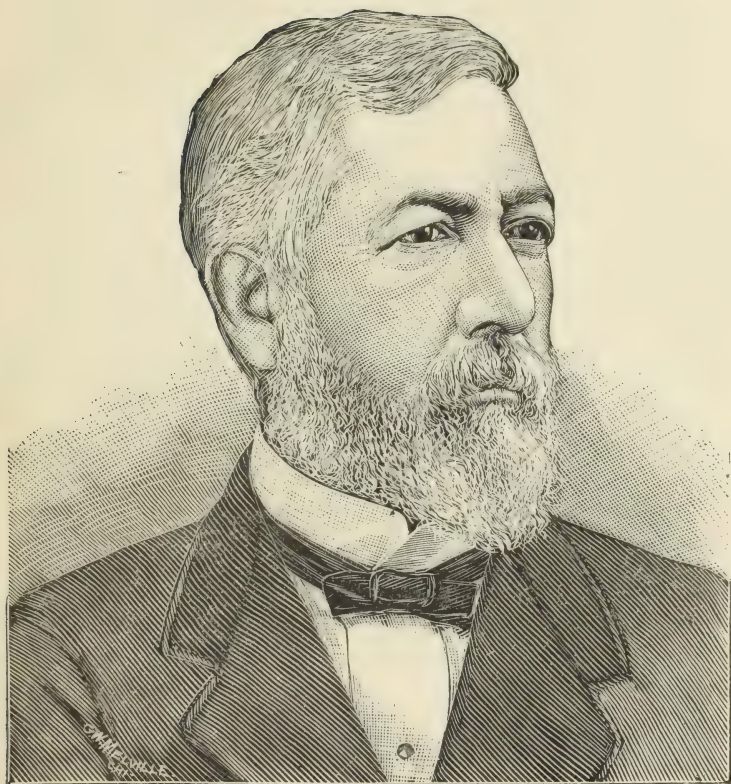
The Democratic House promptly, with yells and hurrahs, passed the bill over the President's head, but the Senate voted to sustain him.

Thus, the bill to violate the sacred judgments of courts and reward treason, lies dead and obnoxious in the midst of its friends. All patriots will say that it was worth Mr. Arthur's incumbency of the Presidential chair to have vetoed the Fitz John Porter bill. He will retire from that high office with the respect and good will of the entire people, except the worshipers and abettors of treason.

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR 1834.

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE.

James G. Blaine was born on January 31, 1830, at Indian Hill farm, Washington county, Pennsylvania, opposite the town of Brownsville. The old stone house in which he was born is yet standing, and is now included within the limits of West Brownsville—though at the time of his birth it was only the mansion-house of the Gillespie farm. The structure was erected by Mr. Blaine's great-grandfather, the



J. G. Ranne

elder Neal Gillespie, in 1778, on what was then the western frontier of civilization. The late James L. Bowman, of Brownsville, who was conversant with the history of the locality, said it was the first stone house ever erected on the western side of the Monongahela River.

Mr. Blaine entered public life almost by a law of heredity. His great-grandfather, Colonel Ephraim Blaine, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, held the position of commissary-general of the American army during the war of the Revolution from the year 1778 to the end of the struggle in 1783. Washington declared he saved the army from starvation.

Mr. Blaine's grandfather, for whom he is named, intended at first to choose a professional and political career, but a somewhat protracted stay in Europe, after he had finished his studies, directed him from the line of his first ambition. He returned to his home in 1793, bringing with him, as special bearer of dispatches, a treaty with a foreign power which has since become memorable. He subsequently followed the life of a private gentleman. Mr. Blaine's father was born and reared in Carlisle, and after an extensive tour in Europe, South America and the West Indies, returned to spend his life in Washington county, Pennsylvania, where he died before his son had reached manhood. He removed to Western Pennsylvania about the year 1818, being the owner of larger landed possessions than any other man of his age in that section of the State. His estate, if it had been preserved intact, would to-day be worth many millions of dollars.

In 1825, Ephraim L. Blaine (father of the subject of this sketch) deeded to the Economites the splended tract now occupied by the city of Pittsburg, with all its improvements and wealth. The price was \$25,000. There were likewise timber tracts on the Allegheny River and coal lands on the Monongahela, then of no special value, which represent large fortunes in the hands of their present owners. Very near the large tracts possessed by his father and grand-father, Mr.

Blaine now owns one of the most valuable coal fields in the Monongahela Valley. In extent it is but a part of what he might have hoped to inherit, but in value it is much greater than the entire landed property of his father fifty years ago.

Mr. Blaine's father took special pains to give his son a thorough intellectual training. He was under the best tutorage in his earliest years, and at the age of eleven was sent to school at Lancaster, Ohio, where he lived in the family of his relative, Thomas Ewing, then secretary of the treasury. General Thomas Ewing, recently in Congress, Mr. Blaine's cousin and of the same age, was his classmate under the tuition of William Lyons, an Englishman, brother of the elder Lord Lyons and uncle of the Lord Lyons lately British minister at Washington.

Mr. Blaine's father, having been unfortunate in business, was, when elected prothonotary of the county court in 1842 (five years before his son graduated) poor, and only a justice of the peace. Of his five sons James was the third, and his daughter was married to Robert J. Walker, also a graduate of Washington College. His father's new office required him to reside at the county seat, and enabled him to send James to college, which, under the circumstances, he otherwise would have been unable to do. James entered the freshman class of Washington College in November, 1843, and graduated in September, 1847, at the age of seventeen years and eight months. In a class of thirty-three he shared the first honors with John C. Hervey, now superintendent of public instruction at Wheeling.

At the quarter-centennial of the class, in 1872, twenty-nine of the thirty-three members were living, all men of position and character in their respective communities.

At college Blaine was an excellent student. He was, at the end of his course, assigned the Latin salutatory, in which he acquitted himself well as a classical student. His ability to give utterance to anything he had to say in the most forcible

ble way was noticeable in his debates and political discussions with his fellow-students. His absolute self-command under difficulties was also then exhibited distinctly in his character. He was the most skillful mathematician in his class, and would frequently demonstrate problems in a way not found in the books. It was a common occurrence for the old teacher of mathematics to say: "Mr. Blaine, you are not demonstrating that in the proper way." He would readily reply: "I know I am not, sir; but give me a chance to work through and you'll see it come out all right." And it did "come out all right."

His fondness for politics was shown at this early age in so marked a manner that his associates recollect it distinctly. He graduated three years after the Polk and Clay Presidential campaign. He was an ardent Clay man, admiring his hero so much that it has been suspected he acquired some of his peculiar powers from a study of the life, character and speeches of "Young Harry of the West." It is now universally asserted by those who knew Henry Clay in the speaker's chair at Washington, that Blaine first imitated and then excelled the great Kentuckian's admirable qualities as a presiding officer. He was always the court of last resort in a political discussion, because he was far above every one else in college in knowledge of politics.

When young Blaine left college he was without means, as his father's earnings as prothonotary were almost insufficient to maintain his large family, and the youthful graduate went to Kentucky to teach school in the country. He afterward taught in the Western Military Institute at Blue Lick Springs until he met his present wife, Miss Harriet Stanwood, who was likewise teaching school in Kentucky. She was a Maine woman, and after his marriage Mr. Blaine settled in the Pine Tree State—going, contrary to Horace Greeley's advice, east instead of west. Mr. Blaine had meantime written for the newspapers and magazines, and

studied law, though he never entered upon the practice of that profession.

When he went to Maine, in 1853, he became editor of the *Kennebec Journal*, and afterward of the *Portland Advertiser*. Returning shortly to Augusta and the *Journal*, he was elected to the Maine legislature in 1858, and served in that capacity four years, the last two as speaker of the House of Representatives.

The following is from a letter by the late Governor Kent, of Maine:

Almost from the day of his assuming editorial charge of the *Kennebec Journal*, at the early age of twenty-three, Mr. Blaine sprang into a position of great influence in the politics and policy of Maine. At twenty-five he was a leading power in the councils of the Republican party, so recognized by Fessenden, Hamlin, and the two Morrills, and others then and still prominent in the State. Before he was twenty-nine he was chosen chairman of the executive committee of the Republican organization in Maine—a position he has held ever since, and from which he has practically shaped and directed every political campaign in the State—always leading his party to brilliant victory. Had Mr. Blaine been New England born, he would probably not have received such rapid advancement at so early an age, even with the same ability he possessed. But there was a sort of Western *dash* about him that took with us Down-Easters—an expression of frankness, candor and confidence that gave him, from the start, a very strong and permanent hold on our people, and, as the foundation of all, pure character and a masterly ability equal to all demands made upon him.

Blaine and Lincoln were delegates to the first national Republican nominating convention that ever assembled in the United States, held in Philadelphia in 1856. Blaine, at the age of twenty-six, with piercing eye, sturdy frame and aggressive ambition, represented the Fourth district of Maine; and Lincoln, tall, angular and far-sighted, represented the Springfield district of Illinois. They were the only men in that convention to reach the highest position in the gift of their party.

On returning to Maine young Blaine was invited to give an account of the convention in a public address. Acceding to the request, he appeared before a large audience in such a complete state of trepidation that he could hardly find voice to open his speech. It was his maiden effort.

Recovering his equilibrium at last, he went on not only with clearness and credit, but with eloquence and dramatic effect of a high order. From that time he occupied no uncertain position in Maine, either as an orator, a political counselor or a spirited leader.

Blaine, like Lincoln, Sumner, Giddings and Greeley, was a pioneer Republican. "He hath fought a good fight; he hath kept the faith."

In 1862 Blaine was elected a Representative in Congress, and from that day to the present he has been known to the whole country. On the floor of the House, in the speaker's chair, again on the floor of the House, thence into the Senate, and during the political campaigns of all these years on the stump in almost every Northern State, he has been most decidedly with the people and of the people. His views on all public questions have been pronounced, and his bitterest foe has never charged him with evading or avoiding any responsibility or the expression of his conviction on any issue of the day. Though young when he entered Congress he made his mark at once.

At the period of darkest depression in the war, when anxiety brooded everywhere, he delivered a speech on "The Ability of the American People to Suppress the Rebellion," which was warmly commended and circulated as a campaign document during the Presidential campaign of 1864.

The delivery of this speech and some discussions soon after caused Thaddeus Stevens to say that "Blaine of Maine had shown as great aptitude and ability for the higher walks

of public life as any man that had come to Congress during his period of service."

During the first session of his service in Congress, as a member of the postoffice committee, he took an active part, in co-operation with the chairman, John B. Alley, and the late James Brooks of New York, in encouraging and securing the system of postal-cars now in universal use. Distribution on the cars had not been attempted to much extent, and the first appropriations for the enlarged service were not granted without opposition.

He was elected a member of Congress seven terms by the following majorities:

1862.....	3,422	1870.....	2,320
1864.....	4,328	1872.....	3,568
1866.....	6,591	1874.....	2,830
1868.....	3,346		

He was thrice chosen speaker of the House of Representatives, serving in that capacity from March 4, 1869, to March 4, 1875. He received the nomination in the Republican caucus each time by acclamation (an honor not enjoyed by any candidate for the speakership before or since) and he never had a ruling reversed or overruled by the house during the six years he held that onerous and trying office.

It was his habit at the outset of his career to make very short, crisp speeches. He never occupied more than a page of the *Congressional Record*. He never spoke unless he had something to say. This attracted Lincoln's attention, who was almost the first man to divine Blaine's future and accurately prophesy what he would accomplish.

On July 8, 1876, Mr. Blaine was appointed United States Senator by the governor of Maine to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Lot M. Morrill, and was elected Senator on January 16, 1877, both for the long and short terms, by the unanimous vote of the Republicans in the Maine leg-

islature, both in caucus and their respective houses. He was made secretary of state on March 4, 1881, by President Garfield, and held that office until December 12, 1881, when he was succeeded by F. T. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. Blaine's public life began in January, 1858; it closed temporarily at the end of 1881, covering a period of twenty-four years. It was continuous. He was promoted by the people from one place to another, *and he never went before the people without being elected*. The politicians have beaten him twice, but the masses never.

According to Robert G. Ingersoll, Blaine substituted the eagle for the owl in the management of the state department. His idea of having a commercial union of all the nations upon this continent, with reciprocity treaties between them as against the Old World, would have given a powerful stimulus to trade.

The salient features of his foreign maneuvers, which his enemies have been so anxious to use against him, will soon become the settled policy of the government and the chief elements of his own strength. He seems to be the only statesman who fully comprehends the great future of America, and who is himself great enough and broad enough to lead the people in those high paths and frame our public policy in accordance with that mighty destiny toward which we are surely tending.

Three times has Mr. Blaine been the people's candidate for the Presidency. His strength in the conventions is shown in this table:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.			1884.			
	1876.	1880.	1.	2.	3.	4.
Alabama.....	17	1	1	2	2	8
Arkansas.....	11		8	11	11	11
California.....	6	12	16	16	16	16
Colorado.....	6		6	6	6	6
Connecticut.....	2	3				
Delaware.....	6	6	5	5	5	5
Florida.....	8		1	1	1	3
Georgia.....	14	8				
Illinois.....	35	10	3	3	3	34
Indiana.....		26	18	18	18	30
Iowa.....	22	22	26	26	26	24
Kansas.....	10	6	12	13	15	18
Kentucky.....		1	5½	5	6	9
Louisiana.....	14	2	2	4	4	9
Maine.....	14	14	12	12	12	12
Maryland.....	16	7	10	12	12	15
Massachusetts.....	5		1	1	1	3
Michigan.....		21	15	15	18	26
Minnesota.....	9		7	7	7	14
Mississippi.....		4	1	1	1	2
Missouri.....	20		5	7	12	32
Nebraska.....	6	6	8	8	10	10
Nevada.....		6	6	6	6	6
New Hampshire.....	7	10				3
New Jersey.....	12	16	9	9	11	17
New York.....	9	17	28	28	28	29
North Carolina.....			2	3	4	8
Ohio.....		9	21	23	25	46
Oregon.....	6	6	6	6	6	6
Pennsylvania.....	30	23	47	47	50	51
Rhode Island.....	2	8				7
South Carolina.....	7		1	1	2	2
Tennessee.....	6	6	7	7	7	11
Texas.....	1	2	13	13	14	15
Vermont.....						
Virginia.....	14	3	2	2	4	4
West Virginia.....	6	8	12	12	12	12
Wisconsin.....	16	7	10	11	11	22
Territories.....	14	14	8	8	9	15
Totals.....	351	284	334½	349	375	541

Now he is before the people—hand in hand with the masses who love and admire and have never defeated him.

His personal appearance is altogether striking. A rugged mien, a face furrowed with strongly-marked lines surrounding the mouth and other features bespeak will-power indomitable and firmness unswerving. Sparse, closely cut hair and full, frosty beard betray the approach of life's autumn. A youthful elasticity of movement, however, seems to belie the years written to his account in a tell-tale Congressional record. His height is nearly six feet, his frame almost colossal. His attire is altogether appropriate to a carriage too manly to admit of any slouchiness, even in apparel. Neither mind nor body

is lacking in muscle and sinew. Face and form alike convey an impression of vigor and resolution.

In his manners Mr. Blaine is essentially a democrat. He never yet in any of the various periods of his career has shown any pride of place. He is simple and unaffected. He harbors few, if any, resentments. He has intense pride, and a strong temper when provoked, but no slumbering resentment is left behind. He does not believe in the statesmanship of revenge. Upon this subject he is recorded: "Life is too short to lie in wait for personal retaliation for injuries received. If you can strike out a good, strong blow at the time, well and good. But the world moves too fast for one to waste his life in waiting for an opportunity to gratify mere personal revenge."

Mr. Blaine is a regular attendant at the Presbyterian Church. His entire family are of the same belief. His mother, however, was a Roman Catholic.

Mr. Blaine's worldly fortune is one that has been a subject of a great deal of gossip. He said to a visitor that he was richer than any of the so-called millionaires of the day, because he had all that he wanted. He is not an avaricious man. He is not niggardly in his expenditures, neither is he lavish. He seems to have joined to the liberal and hospitable free-handedness of the West the conservative carefulness of the East. His style of living has always been comfortable, never extravagant. He is the owner of one of the most valuable coal fields in Monongahela county, Pennsylvania. This has been developed from a tract of wild land into a great property, which has for years brought in a very handsome income. Mr. Blaine inherited the business qualities of his father. He has made most of his money in coal lands of western Pennsylvania and West Virginia. The descendant of a long line of well-to-do and educated men, he has had a tradition of business honor to sustain which is without a flaw.

Rational persons have been at a loss to know why a public character so phenomenally pure in his private life and general transactions, should be subjected to such merciless slanders. A close investigation would develop that some personal pique was at the bottom of all of them. Only eagles and serpents reach lofty places. Blaine is an eagle. His enemies, if they can not soar, would love to have it said that they had brought an eagle down.

In 1877 he was elected to the United States Senate in the face of an accumulation of every charge that had ever been brought forward. The Maine legislature carefully considered every allegation, reviewed every story, and then elected him unanimously.

It was Mr. Blaine who moved for an investigation of the charges of bribery in connection with the Credit Mobilier. On page 126 of "The Credit Mobilier of America," it is recorded that Oakes Ames offered shares of the stock to Blaine, but they were not taken then or thereafter. He had nothing to do with the scheme.

In debating the bill, on March 21, 1876, "making it a misdemeanor for any person in the employ of the United States to demand or contribute election funds," Blaine declared: "I have run seven times for Congress, and I never contributed so much as a postage stamp for any improper purpose in securing my election; but I could indicate gentlemen who, if rumor is to be trusted, have spent very large sums in political campaigns."

Blaine's abilities and resources are most conspicuous in sudden emergencies and times of danger.

The election in Maine, in September, 1878, gave the State a Democratic and Greenback administration, but the Republicans carried the election in September, 1879, electing Frank Davis, governor. The Democratic governor, Garcelon, and his council, attempted to retain control of the State by count-

ing out a number of Republican members of the newly-elected legislature, on technical errors.

During the last half of December, 1879, and the first half of January, 1880, the State was almost on the verge of civil war and anarchy. But through the steadiness, persistence and adroitness with which Mr. Blaine conducted the Republican party through these troubles, law and order were brought out of chaos and threatened violence. No finer display of statesmanlike qualities has been seen in this country.

One of Blaine's great speeches was against the amnesty bill (H. R. 214) of 1876, intended to restore Jefferson Davis to all the rights of American citizenship. After arraigning Davis with terrible effect, during which the Democratic members winced as under a burning lash, he closed:

Mr. Speaker, this is *not a proposition to punish Jefferson Davis*. There is nobody attempting that. I will very frankly say that I myself thought the indictment of Mr. Davis at Richmond, under the administration of Mr. Johnson, was a weak attempt, for he was indicted only for that of which he was guilty in common with all others who went into the confederate movement. Therefore, there was no particular reason for it. But I will undertake to say this, and, as it may be considered an extreme speech, I want to say it with great deliberation, that there is not a government, a civilized government, on the face of the globe—I am sure there is not a European government—that would not have arrested Mr. Davis, and when they had him in their power would not have tried him for maltreatment of the prisoners of war and shot him within thirty days. France, Russia, England, Germany, Austria, any one of them would have done it.

The poor victim, Wirz, deserved his death for brutal treatment and murder of many victims, but I always thought it was a weak movement on the part of our government to allow Jefferson Davis to go at large and hang Wirz. I confess I do. Wirz was nothing in the world but a mere subordinate, a tool, and there was no special reason for singling him out for death. I do not say he did not deserve it—he did, richly, amply, fully. He deserved no mercy, but at the same time, as I have often said, it seemed like skipping over the president, superintendent and board of directors, in the

case of a great railroad accident, and hanging the brakeman of the rear car.

There is no proposition here to punish Jefferson Davis. Nobody is seeking to do it. That time has gone by. The statute of limitations, common feelings of humanity, will supervene for his benefit. But what you ask us to do is to declare, by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of Congress, that we consider Mr. Davis worthy to fill the highest offices in the United States, if he can get a constituency to indorse him. He is a voter; he can buy and he can sell; he can go and he can come. He is as free as any man in the United States. There is a large list of subordinate offices to which he is eligible. This bill proposes, in view of that record, that Mr. Davis by a two-thirds vote of the Senate and a two-thirds vote of the House, be declared eligible and worthy to fill any office up to the Presidency of the United States. For one, upon full deliberation, I will not do it.

One word more, Mr. Speaker, in the way of detail, which I omitted. It has often been said in mitigation of Jefferson Davis, in the Andersonville matter, that the men who died there in such large numbers (I think the victims were about 15,000) fell prey to an epidemic, and died of a disease which could not be averted. The record shows that out of 35,000 men about thirty-three per cent. died, that is, one in three; while of the soldiers encamped near by to take care and guard them, only one man in 400 died; that is, within half a mile, only one in 400 died.

As to the general question of amnesty, Mr. Speaker, as I have already said, it is too late to debate it. It has gone by. Whether it has in all respects been wise, or whether it has been unwise, I would not detain the House here to discuss. Even if I had a strong conviction upon that question, I do not know that it would be productive of any great good to enunciate it; but, at the same time, it is a very singular spectacle that the Republican party, in possession of the entire government, have deliberately called back into political power the leading men of the South, every one of whom turns up its bitter and relentless and malignant foe; and to-day, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the very men who have received this amnesty are as busy as they can be in consolidating into one compact political organization the old slave States, just as they were before the war. We see the banner held out blazoned again with the inscription that with the united South and a very few votes from the North this country can be governed. I want the people to understand that is precisely the movement; and that is the animus and the

intent. I do not think offering amnesty to the 750 men who are now without it will hasten or retard that movement. I do not think the granting of amnesty to Mr. Davis will hasten or retard it, or that refusing it will do either.

I hear it said, "We will lift Mr. Davis again into great consequence by refusing amnesty." That is not for me to consider; I only see before me, when his name is presented, a man who by the wink of his eye, by a wave of his hand, by a nod of his head, could have stopped the atrocity at Andersonville.

Some of us had kinsmen there, most of us had friends there, all of us had countrymen there, and in the name of those kinimen, friends and countrymen, I here protest, and shall with my vote protest against the calling back and crowning with the honors of full American citizenship the man who organized that murder.

Blaine can command larger audiences than any other man in America. He personally has more power to secure a devoted following than any other member of the Republican party. In the very prime of his intellectual growth, with strong, vigorous health, he has a magnetic power that is very great over every one with whom he comes in contact.

As a conversationalist he has few equals. He has a keen appreciation of fun, and can tell a story with wonderful simplicity. There is no dragging prelude, no verbose details preceding a stupid *finale*. The story is presented always dramatically, and fired almost as if from a gun when the point is reached. His ability to entertain a private circle as well as a public audience shows his diversified powers. He is quite willing to listen when any one has anything to say, and never appears more at his best than when taking part in a running fire of bright, sharp talk.

Mr. Blaine is very happy in his family. None of his children appear to regard him as more than a big brother. Unless called out by a dinner or some social gathering, he is always at home. He belongs to no club, and keeps more to himself than a man of his social instincts might be expected to do. He does not even play the game of poker, which is a general accomplishment with public men.

He has nothing of the reputation of a Puritan, but his private life is irreproachable. He is also, as he has always been, very temperate in his habits.

Mr. Blaine is so infinitely versatile as to be classed among the highest men of genius. He is an orator, a polished writer, a student of history, a wide reader of general literature, a successful financier, a thorough man of the world, a complete master of the art of pleasing in a social way.

His oration on Garfield stands as a master-piece of simplicity and eloquence in eulogy. His book, "Twenty Years of Congress," is one of the remarkable productions of the time. It is historical, analytical, descriptive, biographical and of high literary merit. It could have been composed only by a person of the first order of intellect in every respect.

Mr. Blaine has been summed up thus by an able judge of men:

He is a man of good temper and temperament, though with a certain intellectual vehemence that is sometimes mistaken for anger; of strong physique, wonderful powers of endurance and of recuperation, of great activity and industry, kindly and frank, easily approachable, and ready to aid all good causes with tongue, pen and purse. His studies have been largely on political questions and political history.

Everything connected with the development of the country interests him, and he is a dangerous antagonist in any matter of American history—especially of the United States since the adoption of the national Constitution. He is an intense believer in the American republic, one and indivisible, jealous and watchful for her honor, her dignity and her right of eminent domain, ready to brave the wrath of the East for the welfare of the West, as in the Chinese question; ready to differ from political friends rather than permit the indefinite suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*; ready to brave the wrath of the Conservatives for the rights of the Southern blacks as in his opposition to President Hayes' Southern policy—and perfectly ready to give the British lion's mane a tweak when that fine old king of beasts crashes too clumsily among our fishing flakes.

Mr. Blaine's knowledge of facts, dates, events, men in history, is not only remarkable, but almost unprecedented. In his college days he was noted for his early love of Ameri-

can history, and for his intimate knowledge of its details. That field of reading has been enlarged and cultivated in all his subsequent years, until it would be difficult to find a man in the United States who can, on the instant, without reference to book or note, give so many facts and statistics relating to our financial and revenue system, to our river and harbor improvements, to our public lands, to our railway system, to our mines and minerals, to our agricultural interests—in fact, to everything that constitutes and includes the development, achievement and success of the United States. This has been the study of his life, and his memory is an encyclopedia. He remembers because it is easier than to forget.

In his patriotism, intense Americanism and general carriage, Blaine is the ideal candidate of the bright, progressive American. He will carry into the White House more education, more mental vigor, more experience, more courage and more of the equipments of statesmanship than were ever combined in any candidate of the Republican party.

JOHN ALEXANDER LOGAN.

General John A. Logan, the "Black Eagle of Illinois" the foremost volunteer soldier of the late Rebellion, one of the founders of the Grand Army of the Republic and the unswerving friend of Union soldiers, is the very synonym for bravery, tenacity and courage. He is of Irish stock, his father, Dr. John Logan, coming from Ireland to America in 1823. He was born at Murphysboro, Jackson county, Illinois, on February 9, 1826.

Logan's career, under all the circumstances, has been very remarkable. With the exception of attending school in his neighborhood in an intermittent fashion, owing to the fact that no regular schools existed in the settlement, his early or preparatory education was derived from the teaching of his father. Having laid the foundation as best he could under such circumstances, he entered Louisville University, and in due course graduated.

Upon the declaration of war with Mexico, Logan promptly enlisted as a private soldier in the Illinois Volunteers, and was chosen a lieutenant in the 1st Illinois Infantry. He did

good service, becoming quartermaster and adjutant of his regiment. At the close of the war he returned home, and in the fall of 1848 began to study law in the office of his uncle, Alexander M. Jenkins, formerly lieutenant-governor of Illinois.

In November, 1849, he was elected clerk of Jackson county. While discharging his official duties he completed his law studies, and after attending a course of law lectures in Louisville, receiving a diploma, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice with his uncle. He became almost immediately successful and popular. In 1853 he was elected to the State legislature, and in 1854 to the office of prosecuting attorney of the third judicial district of Illinois, holding the office until 1857. He was re-elected to the legislature in 1855, 1856, and 1857, and in 1856 was a Presidential Elector on the Buchanan and Breckinridge ticket. In 1858 he was nominated and elected a representative to the 36th Congress as a Douglas Democrat, and re-elected by a large majority in 1860.

A most ardent Democrat and an earnest supporter of Stephen A. Douglas, when the bugle-blast of war swept up from the South, he declared his willingness to "shoulder his musket to secure the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln."

He was a member of the Charleston convention in 1860, voting for Douglas. While returning home, he stopped and made a strong Union speech at Richmond, Va., but was hissed and hooted at by his audience.

In July, 1861, during the extra session of Congress, his patriotism was so greatly aroused by the sight of Illinois troops marching to the front, that he left his seat in the House, and joined the troops on their way to meet the enemy. He went bravely into the first battle of Bull Run under Colonel Richardson, fought in the ranks as a private in a Massachusetts regiment, and was among the last to leave the ensanguined field. In August of the same year he returned from his home to

Washington, resigned his office as a representative and dedicated himself to his country's cause for the term of the war, unless killed or disabled before its close.

He immediately organized the 31st Illinois Infantry, and on September 21 was made its colonel. In November, the regiment had its first baptism of blood at Belmont. Here he had his horse shot under him while leading a successful bayonet charge. With Grant he made the campaign which resulted in the taking of Forts Henry and Donelson, but was so severely wounded at the assault upon the latter, that he was disabled for several months. As soon as convalescent he reported for duty to Gen. Grant at Pittsburg Landing, March 5, 1862, and was immediately appointed brigadier-general of volunteers. He bore a conspicuous part in the movement against Corinth, and performed efficient service in guarding the railroad line to Jackson, Tennessee.

During the summer of 1862 he was repeatedly urged to run for Congress, but his reply was: "I have entered the field to die, if need be, for this government, and never expect to return to peaceful pursuits until the object of this war of preservation has become a fact established."

His personal bravery and military skill were so conspicuous in Grant's northern Mississippi movements, where he commanded a division of the 17th army corps, under Gen. McPherson, that he was promoted to the rank of major-general, November 26, 1862. He was present in every fight, his daring bravery animating his men at Fort Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills and Vicksburg. He was in command of McPherson's centre on June 25, when the assault upon Vicksburg was made immediately following the mine explosion. His column led the entrance into the city, and he became its first military governor.

In November, 1863, General Logan succeeded General Sherman in command of the 15th army corps; and the following May he joined Sherman as the Georgia campaign was

opening. Logan led the advance of the army of the Tennessee at Resaca, whipped Hardee's trained veterans at Dallas and drove the enemy from Kenesaw Mountain. On July 22 he was in the fierce battle before Atlanta, which cost the gallant McPherson his life. In his report of the battle General Sherman said: "General Logan succeeded him [McPherson] and commanded the army of the Tennessee through this desperate battle with the same success and ability that had characterized him in the command of a corps or division."

In the autumn of 1864, after the fall of Atlanta, he returned to Illinois, temporarily, to take part in the Presidential campaign, doing yeoman service for the re-election of Abraham Lincoln. He then rejoined the army and accompanied Sherman in his "March to the Sea," and continued with him until the surrender of General Joseph E. Johnston, on April 26, 1865. General Logan took command of the army of the Tennessee on the 23d of October, tendering his resignation just as soon as active service was over, being unwilling to draw pay unless on duty in the field. President Johnson quickly offered him the mission to Mexico, which he declined.

The Republicans of his district sent him to the 40th Congress, where he served in the impeachment trial of President Johnson. Re-elected to the 41st Congress, he was made chairman of the committee on military affairs. In this committee he was of great use to the nation, his experience in the field having been invaluable to him in regard to military legislation. He was re-elected to the 42d Congress, but before it was time to take his seat the Illinois legislature chose him United States Senator for the full term, commencing March 4, 1871. At the commencement of the third session of the 42d Congress he became chairman of the military committee, succeeding Vice-President Wilson.

At the close of his Senatorial term he returned to Illinois, to practice law in Chicago. He had not become fairly set-

tled, however, before he was again elected United States Senator, and took his seat March 18, 1879; his present term will expire March 3, 1885. He led the Illinois delegation in the national convention held in Chicago in 1880, and was one of the most determined of the 306 who followed the fortunes of "The Old Commander," General Grant.

An old friend and admirer of Logan, who understands all his elements of strength and popularity, has thus sketched him:

However men may differ as to the calibre of John A. Logan's statesmanship, no one will deny that he is one of the most remarkable men in public life, with a remarkable career behind him and a remarkable hold upon the masses of the people. His lack of culture is sneered at by those who are not generous enough to consider that it is his misfortune rather than his fault; but among those who are situated as he once was he stands as an illustration of the possibilities every lad in this country has before him.

Logan was developed by the war. The cavalry bugler sounded the key-note of his character, and in an atmosphere of dust and powder he grew great. A country lawyer, who found his highest ambition in stirring the languid blood of the criminal jury, sprang suddenly to the head of an army, without previous military education, by the mere force of his courage and his martial instincts. He was the representative of the loyal millions, the beau ideal of the volunteer soldier, and as such in history he will live. He rose alone. He was no man's *protege* and the satellite of no sun. His success was won against opposition, and was acknowledged because it was deserved.

But if the war had not developed him some other opportunity would have brought him out. Even the darkness of the Illinois Egypt could not have shrouded his light. His zeal and industry, his force of character, and the qualities of leadership with which nature gifted him, could not have been suppressed, but the war offered an opportunity that brought him suddenly and favorably to the public view, and he earned a place of which the future can not deprive him.

His early education was such only as the frontier afforded, and was gained at his mother's knee and in the log school-house where an itinerant teacher at intervals presided. When he was eighteen years of age he was sent to the nearest

school, called Shiloh Academy, under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Church, and graduated from it into the Mexican War. He joined the 1st Illinois regiment as a private, but the military instinct developed, and he afterward became a lieutenant and served both as adjutant and quartermaster of his regiment. At the close of the war he went into the law-office of his uncle, Alexander Jenkins, who was a great man in southern Illinois, a Jacksonian Democrat, and at one time lieutenant-governor of his State.

It was the love of contest that took him at once into politics, and in 1851 he was elected clerk of Jackson county. By means of the revenues of this office he was enabled to carry on his law studies and took a course of lectures at Louisville during the following year, which constituted and completed his legal education. At once upon his return from Louisville, in 1852, he was elected prosecuting-attorney of Jackson county, and went to the State legislature in the following year; being re-elected and gaining a local leadership in the Democratic his service which was recognized by his appointment as a Presidential elector on the Buchanan ticket in 1856.

At this point he began his career as a stump orator, and his speeches were considered remarkable examples of eloquence, giving him a reputation that sent him to Congress in 1858. He was an earnest Douglas man, and being re-nominated to Congress in 1860, stumped the State with great success.

Right here came a critical period in his career, and although there are men who still assert that his sympathy was with the secessionists, there is plenty of evidence that the South had no claim upon him; that his public utterances were always loyal, and that when the crisis came he was on the right side. The country he lived in was full of Southern sympathizers, his mother's family were secessionists, and his surroundings made loyalty unpopular. The story that he had tendered his services to Jefferson Davis is contradicted by Davis himself, who says he never heard of Logan until more than a year after the war began.

While he was in Washington attending the called session of Congress in the summer of 1861, he went to the front, as many representatives did, to visit the army in Virginia, and being the guest of Colonel Richardson when the battle of Bull Run took place, seized a musket and fought through that eventful July day as a private in the ranks.

When Congress adjourned, in August, he went home and at once raised a regiment [the 31st Illinois], which went into

battle at Belmont two months after they were mustered into the army.

In 1862 he declined a re-nomination for Congress, believing that he could serve his country better in the field.

In Grant's winter campaign in Mississippi and in the siege of Vicksburg Logan bore a conspicuous part, and his bravery as a leader was proverbial. In the battle of Champion Hills General Grant sent an aide to inquire whether Logan could not push his men forward a little. Logan's characteristic reply was: "Tell General Grant my division can whip all the rebels this side of eternity, and we'll push forward till he gives us orders to halt."

When Grant was sent to the army of the Potomac and yielded to Sherman the command of the division of the Mississippi, Logan succeeded the latter as commander of the famous 15th army corps, and followed Sherman in the "March to the Sea." In the desperate assault upon Hood at Atlanta, Logan fought as he never fought before, and when McPherson fell he took command of the army of the Tennessee, and with resistless fury avenged the death of the beloved commander.

The subsequent displacement of Logan from a position which he had earned, and the promotion of Howard to McPherson's place, was a blow from which the general did not soon recover. It came very near depriving the army of one of its most gallant and valuable officers. He considered it a cruel and uncalled-for humiliation.

He remained with the army until the evacuation of Atlanta, when he went to Illinois to stump the State for Lincoln. After the election he returned to camp, and led his corps in the remarkable campaign through the Carolinas. After the surrender of Johnston he marched his men to Alexandria, and rode at their head in the grand review at Washington.

After being mustered out of the army he was tendered the Mexican mission by President Johnson, but declined it, and, covered with glory, returned to his home in Illinois, where his political career was resumed. He was nominated and elected as a Congressman-at-Large from Illinois, and served as such until his election to the Senate to fill the seat of Richard Yates in 1871. During his service in the House he was an active participant in the debates and took strong grounds in favor of the radical reconstruction policy of Thaddeus Stevens. In 1868 he was one of the managers on the part of the House in the Johnson impeachment trial.

General Logan has always been an active man at all military re-unions and was one of the founders of the Grand Army of the Republic, which originated at Decatur, Illinois. He was the first national commander of that organization, and as such issued the order in 1868 for the decoration of the graves of Union soldiers on the 30th of May.

His financial views have always been the subject of more or less criticism in the Eastern press, but they have usually represented the sentiments of his constituency. In 1866 he made his first financial speech, in which he took strong grounds in favor of the payment of the national debt, both bonds and greenbacks, in gold coin. This position he held until the inflation fever of 1874, when he followed the popular Western movement and voted for the inflation bill which Grant vetoed. But in the following year he was a member of the Senate committee on finance and strongly favored the Sherman resumption act, which went into effect January 1, 1879.

General Logan was always a leader in securing pension legislation; was one of the most urgent advocates of the arrears-of-pension bill, and has never failed at each meeting of Congress to present a bill for the equalization of bounties. He now has a measure to pension every man who saw active service in the war. He has been radical on the subject of internal improvements, always voting for liberal appropriations for rivers and harbors. His personal honesty is beyond question; his poverty is the best evidence of his integrity. Having been in public life almost since he reached his majority, and having given his entire time to politics he has had no time to engage in lucrative employment. His entire property consists of a residence on Calumet avenue in Chicago, which is worth from \$25,000 to \$30,000, and a farm at his old home in southern Illinois.

He resides in Washington at a boarding-house on Twelfth street, occupying two modest rooms, the same in which he has lived for twelve years. In his domestic relations General Logan has been one of the most happy and fortunate of men. In 1855 he married Miss Mary Cunningham, of Shawneetown, Illinois, who has proven a valuable helpmeet, being as good if not a better politician than himself and a lady of great refinement and intellectual force. There is no woman in public life who possesses more admirable traits than Mrs. Logan, and, what is unusual, her popularity with her own sex is quite as great as with the other.

No one whose intimacy with the Logan family has given him a knowledge of its past, will deny to Mrs. Logan the credit of being her husband's most energetic advocate and judicious adviser, and at the same time a devoted mother. She has two children, both of whom have been educated by her or under her personal supervision.

As a society woman she is graceful and accomplished; in charities she is always active and generous; in religion she is a devout Methodist; and what she can not do and do well has never yet been discovered.

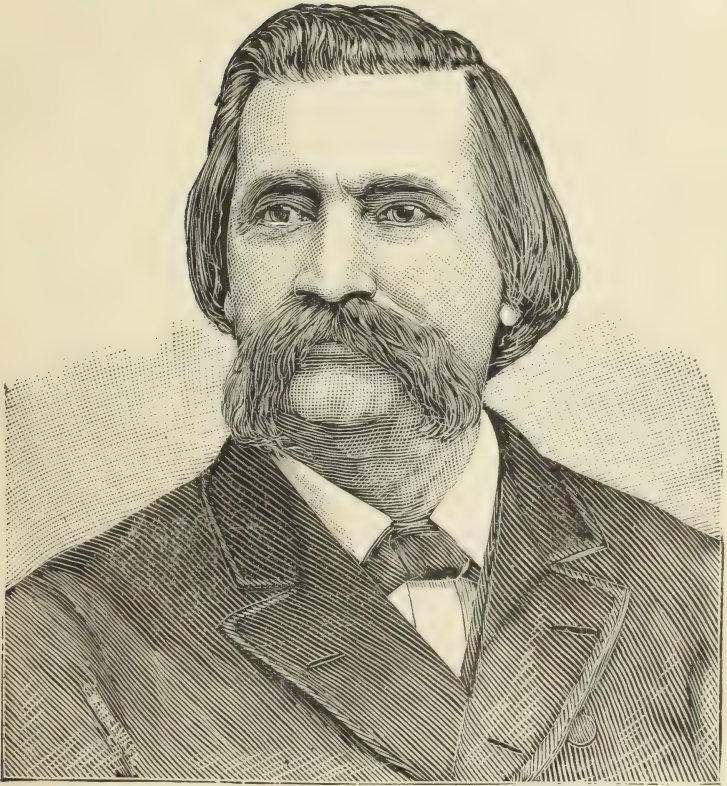
Logan has the reputation of being a chronic fighter, and General Grant once said that he "was never at peace except in war." He thrives on opposition, and is never so cool or so good-natured as when he is in the midst of an exciting contest. General Grant, when he was in the White House, once described his characteristics by comparing him with the late Oliver P. Morton. "Morton will come to me," said Grant, "with two requests. I will grant one of them, and he will go away boasting of his influence with the administration. Logan will come with thirteen requests. I will grant twelve of them, and he will go away swearing that his wishes are never complied with."

General Logan is frequently a brilliant and always a strong and consistent debater. Having taken a position which he believes to be right, he never beats a retreat. Many of his speeches have attracted national attention. His course in the Fitz John Porter case has made him by far the most prominent figure in Congress. No social influence, no personal appeal—not even the attitude of his beloved leader, General Grant, could swerve him a hair's-breadth from the course he conceived to be just to the Union soldiers, just to discipline and just to loyalty.

If Logan had been absolutely without a reputation before, his arguments and victories in the Fitz John Porter matter alone would have made him famous. His propositions were unanswerable within the pale of logic and right.

Logan is essentially patriotic. Patriotism is a part of his religion, a constituent of his nature. Its manifestation during the Rebellion is common history. The latest illustration of it was his full-hearted telegram to his friends in the convention which nominated him for the Vice-Presidency. He might have continued in a dogged fight for the first place on the Republican ticket until the convention was driven to abandon his rivals and take up an entirely new man—a so-called "dark horse," whom the people did not want. Instead of doing this, instead of prolonging the struggle until mere differences in personal choice became settled into chronic factional bitterness that could not wholly disappear with the adjournment of the convention, he withdrew after the first skirmish and asked his friends to join with the majority in securing the nomination of the people's choice. Thus, Logan is a patriot in politics as well as in the public service and in times of common danger.

His nomination strengthened the ticket, made it as nearly invincible as possible. He is fit for the first place. Thus,



John A. Logan

the people can vote the Republican ticket with a feeling of perfect security; for no matter which shall be President, Blaine or Logan, they will have a safe, experienced and able executive.



APPENDICES.

National Republican Calls, Delegates, Platforms and Acceptances.

1856.

CALL FOR THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION.

The people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into the territories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State, and restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, are invited by the National Committee, appointed by the Pittsburg Convention of the 22d of February, 1856, to send from each State three delegates from every Congressional district, and six delegates at large, to meet at Philadelphia, on the 17th day of June next, for the purpose of recommending candidates to be supported for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

E. D. MORGAN, New York,	FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Maryland,
JOHN M. NILES, Connecticut,	DAVID WILMOT, Pennsylvania,
A. P. STONE, Ohio,	WILLIAM M. CHASE, Rhode Island,
JOHN Z. GOODRICH, Massachusetts,	GEORGE RYE, Virginia,
ABNER R. HALLOWELL, Maine,	E. S. LELAND, Illinois,
CHARLES DICKEY, Michigan,	GEORGE G. FOGG, New Hampshire,
A. J. STEVENS, Iowa,	CORNELIUS COLE, California,
LAWRENCE BRAINARD, Vermont,	WILLIAM GROSE, Indiana,
WYMAN SPOONER, Wisconsin,	C. M. K. PAULISON, New Jersey,
E. D. WILLIAMS, Delaware,	JOHN G. FEE, Kentucky,
JAMES REDPATH, Missouri,	LOUIS CLEPHANE, Dist. of Columbia,
WASHINGTON, March 29, 1856.	<i>National Committee.</i>

DELEGATES BY STATES.

MAINE.

At Large.

A. P. Morrill.
Edward Kent.
A. P. Hallowell.
Freeman H. Morse.
T. Cushing.
Henry Carter.
Geo. M. Weston.

Districts.

- 1 Wm. Willis.
Jas. M. Deering.
S. C. Adams.
- 2 M. H. Dunnell.
T. A. D. Fessenden.
Jon. Russ.
- 3 H. Kennedy.
Francis Cobb.
N. Abbott.
- 4 James G. Blaine.
A. Garcelon.
Wm. Connor.
- 5 Joseph Bartlett.
John H. Rice.
Wm. F. E. Brown.
- 6 N. Blake.
A. K. P. Wallace.
A. P. Emerson.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

At Large.

Amos Tuck.
Wm. M. Weed.
David Clark.
Benj. Pettingill.
Levi Chamberlain.
Daniel Blaisdell.

Districts.

- 1 Theo. H. Spear.
Wm. Conn.
Geo. P. Folsom.
- 2 Geo. G. Fogg.
A. F. Pike.
C. P. Gage.
- 3 J. A. Dewey.
Alvah Smith.
G. Cummings.

VERMONT.

At Large.

H. Hall.
H. Carpenter.
E. Fairbanks.
Wm. S. Skinner.
L. Brainard.
L. Underwood.

Districts.

- 1 D. E. Nicholson.
E. D. Warner.
H. H. Skayton.
- 2 E. Kirkland.
R. Fletcher.
Wm. F. Dickinson.
- 3 Rolla Gleason.
H. H. Reynolds.
Wm. L. Sowles.

RHODE ISLAND.

At Large.

W. W. Hoppin.
Byron Dunan.
Nicholas Brown.
Wm. M. Chase.
R. G. Hazzard.

Districts.

- 1 G. Manchester.
Thos. Davis.
Ed. Harris.
- 2 H. Howard.
J. D. Babcock.

MASSACHUSETTS.

At Large.

T. D. Elliott.
Simon Brown.
Artemas Lee.
Chas. Allen.
Moses Kimball.
Homer Bartlett.

Districts.

- 1 R. French.
C. G. Davis.
Z. D. Basset.
- 2 Guilford White.
G. B. Weston.
C. A. Church.
- 3 C. F. Adams.
G. R. Russell.
F. W. Bird.
- 4 Wm. Brigham.
Ezra Lincoln.
R. C. Nichols.
- 5 Francis B. Fay.
Benj. C. Clark.
Jas. W. Stone.
- 6 S. H. Phillips.
John B. Alley.
R. P. Waters.
- 7 Chas. Hudson.
T. J. Marsh.
M. Morton.
- 8 C. R. Train.
J. A. Goodwin.
E. R. Hoar.
- 9 P. E. Aldridge.
Amasa Walker.
Jonas Phillips.
- 10 E. Hopkins.
C. A. Perry.
M. D. Whittaker.
- 11 D. W. Alvord.
Z. M. Crane.
E. B. Gillett.

CONNECTICUT.

At Large.

Calvin Day.
A. A. Burham.
Benjamin Sillman.
D. F. Robinson.
Charles Ives.
C. F. Cleveland.
Charles Adams.

Districts.

- 1 D. Loomis.
Jas. M. Burn.
Thaddeus Wells.
- 2 B. Douglas.

C. L. English.
Wm. H. Buell.
3 D. P. Tyler.
Gideon Welles.
Moses Pierce.
4 Geo. D. Wadhassa.
E. M. Tweedy.
W. B. Hoyt.

NEW YORK.

At Large.

Phillip Dorsheimer.
Moses H. Grinnell.
Preston King.
Robert Emmett.
Charles Cook.
De. W. C. Littlejohn.

Districts.

- 1 John A. King.
W. W. Leland.
D. G. Floyd.
- 2 Abijah Mann.
Rollin Sanford.
John G. Berger.
- 3 D. H. Tompkins.
Andrew Bleakley.
Hiram Barney.
- 4 James Kelley.
Anthony J. Bleecker.
Wm. Jones, Jr.
- 5 John Bigelow.
James F. Freeborn.
George H. Andrews.
- 6 Jos. C. Pinckney.
Isaac Sherman.
W. Curtis Noyes.
- 7 John Keyser.
Charles L. Leigh.
Luman Sherwood.
- 8 Edgar Ketchum.
Chas. Riddle.
A. Oakley Hall.
- 9 Wm. Bleakley, Jr.
Lewis C. Platt.
Matthew D. Bogart.
- 10 G. W. Grier.
H. R. Luddington.
Amb. S. Murray.
- 11 Jackson S. Shultz.
Wm. H. Romeyn.
Henry Wynkoop.
- 12 John S. Gould.
Aug. L. Allen.
D. C. Marshall.
- 13 John J. Viele.
G. Reynolds.
A. B. Olin.
- 14 J. L. Schoolcraft.
B. R. Wood.
Clark F. Crosby.
- 15 A. Pond.
J. T. Masters.
P. Richards.
- 16 G. W. Goff.
Geo. W. Palmer.
A. B. Parmelee.
- 17 W. W. Golding.
H. P. Alexander.
Ezra Graves.
- 18 John Wells.
A. Elwood.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

- Simon H. Mix.
 19 Wm. H. Averhill.
 Aug. R. Elwood.
 J. H. Graham.
 20 Rich. Hulbert.
 Tim. Jenkins.
 Alrick Hubbell.
 21 B. H. Duell.
 Wm. Stuart.
 G. W. Blunt.
 22 A. B. Coe.
 Sam. D. Clark.
 S. M. Tucker.
 23 J. K. Bates.
 David Alger.
 Joseph Fayel.
 24 Russell Helbard.
 Joseph J. Glass.
 E. L. Soule.
 25 Ed'n. D. Morgan.
 Wm. Wasson.
 Robert Ennis.
 26 M. H. Lawrence.
 John E. Seely.
 T. J. McLouth.
 27 M. S. Barnes.
 Thos. Farrington.
 E. P. Brooks.
 28 A. B. Dickinson.
 Wm. Irving.
 Isaac L. Endress.
 29 Roswell Hartt.
 Saml. G. Andrews.
 Ezra Parsons.
 30 W. S. Mallory.
 Aug's Franks.
 Theo. F. Hall.
 31 E. E. J. Chase.
 Isaac W. Swan.
 J. W. Babcock.
 32 A. M. Clapp.
 E. G. Spaulding.
 Theo. D. Barton.
 33 G. W. Patterson.
 Reuben E. Fenton.
 Addison G. Rice.
 NEW JERSEY.
At Large.
 J. C. Hornblower.
 I. S. Mulford.
 G. B. Raymond.
 J. VanDyke.
 E. W. Whelpley.
 D. S. Gregory.
Districts.
 1 J. W. Hazeltown.
 Wm. Moore.
 J. H. Dudley.
 2 Wm. Parry.
 Wm. Jay.
 Joel Haywood.
 3 R. S. Kennedy.
 W. D. Waterman.
 Henry Race.
 4 C. M. K. Paulison.
 A. S. Pennington.
 W. S. Johnson.
 5 Wm. S. Tartonte.
 H. H. Browne.
 Dening Duer.
- DELAWARE.
At Large.
 E. G. Bradford.
 J. C. Dixon.
 L. Thompson.
 T. Walters.
 W. Brownan.
 Samuel Barr.
 Pasey Wilson.
 Samuel N. Pasey.
 Alex. H. Dixon.
 MARYLAND.
At Large.
 F. P. Blair.
 W. H. Farquhar.
 Eli s Hawley.
 F. S. Cochran.
 Geo. Harris.
 Jacob Fussell.
 E. J. Ryan.
 DISTRICT COLUMBIA.
 B. B. French.
 L. Clephane.
 Jacob Bigelow.
 VIRGINIA.
 James S. Farley.
 George Rye.
 J. C. Underwood.
 OHIO.
At Large.
 R. P. Spalding.
 W. Dennison.
 Thos. Spooner.
 John Paul.
 E. R. Eckley.
 A. P. Stone.
Districts.
 1 J. K. Greene.
 A. Taft.
 Chas. E. Cist.
 2 Medard Fels.
 T. G. Mitchell.
 Geo. Hoadley.
 3 Josiah Scott.
 L. B. Gunkel.
 Felix Marsh.
 4 J. W. De Frees.
 B. S. Kyle.
 Edw. B. Taylor.
 5 J. M. Ashley.
 Wm. Sheffield.
 A. S. Latta.
 6 Jos. Parrist.
 Chambers Baird.
 Wm. Ellison.
 7 Aaron Harlan.
 Robt. G. Corwin.
 Chas. Phillips.
 8 Geo. H. Frey.
 J. L. Critchfield.
 Levi Phelps.
 8 John Cary.
 C. H. Satch.
 C. F. Smead.
 10 R. M. Stimson.
 Milton Kennedy.
 Geo. J. Payne.
- 11 I. R. Stanley.
 V. B. Horton.
 David Munch.
 12 N. H. Swayne.
 T. Buckingham.
 Robert Neal.
 13 Jos. M. Root.
 J. R. Osborne.
 J. M. Talmadge.
 14 I. D. Kimball.
 Peter Ripper.
 H. E. Peck.
 15 W. Stanton.
 J. C. Devin.
 W. A. Sapp.
 16 A. A. Guthrie.
 Isaac Green.
 G. M. Woodbridge.
 17 C. J. Albright.
 M. Pennington.
 E. Ellis.
 18 C. Prentiss.
 C. P. Wolcott.
 J. A. Saxton.
 19 I. Botton.
 Jno. F. Morse.
 Job S. Wright.
 20 J. R. Giddings.
 J. Hutchin.
 I. J. Young.
 21 J. Heaton.
 D. McCurdy.
 R. Hutton.
- MICHIGAN.
At Large.
 E. J. Penniman.
 Fernando C. Beaman.
 Noyes L. Avery.
 Thos. J. Drake.
 C. F. Gorham.
 Geo. Jerome.
Districts.
 1 K. S. Bingham.
 D. MacIntire.
 M. A. McNaughton.
 2 G. A. Coe.
 I. P. Christiancy.
 W. S. Baxter.
 3 H. G. Wells.
 James R. Kellogg.
- IOWA.
At Large.
 F. Springer.
 F. H. Warren.
 T. Drumming.
 J. W. Caldwell.
 W. P. Brazelton.
Districts.
 1 J. B. Howell.
 J. Neiding.
 R. L. B. Clark.
 2 J. W. Sherman.
 J. Thornton.
 A. J. Stevens.
- MINNESOTA.
 Alexander Ramsey.
 J. B. Phillips.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.*

KANSAS.

Chas. S. Branscombe.
Sam. N. Wood.
Sam. C. Pomeroy.
Geo. T. Warren.
Martin T. Conway.
A. L. Mitchell.

Thos. J. Turner.
J. O. Norton.
J. D. Arnold.
Geo. T. Brown.
J. B. Tenney.

Wm. B. Archer.
8 M. T. Atwood.
Francis Grimm.
D. K. Green.
9 B. J. Whiley.
Edward Holden.
John Olney.

CALIFORNIA.

At Large.

Chas. A. Wasburn.
Geo. M. Hanson.
John A. Wills.
G. W. Read.
S. Judkins.
A. G. Coffin.

Districts.

1 F. B. Folger.
John Dick.
Sam. F. Oates.
2 Wm. H. Chamberlain.
Stephen Clark.
Stephen Smith.

ILLINOIS.

At Large.

George Sheider.

Districts.

1 M. L. Sweet.
S. M. Church.
W. A. Little.
2 Lynus Aldrich.
Edw. R. Allen.
N. B. Judd.
3 W. H. L. Wallace.
Owen Lovejoy.
A. C. Harding.
4 John Kilson.
Wm. Ross.
N. M. Knapp.
5 A. W. Mack.
T. J. Pickett.
W. L. Myers.
6 C. B. Lawrence.
J. M. Palmer.
Abraham Lincoln.
7 H. C. Jones.
Leander Munsell.

WISCONSIN.

Districts.

1 John F. Potter.
Winchell D. Bacon.
C. S. Chase.
Theodore Newell.
Rufus King.
2 L. P. Harvey.
W. D. McIndoe.
Nat. W. Dean.
Milton Barlow.
Conrad Kuntz.
3 M. M. Davis.
Daniel Jones.
E. L. Phillips.
Geo. S. Graves.
Timothy O. Howe

THE PLATFORM.

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory, in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows:

1. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, shall be preserved; that, with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our federal government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that, as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the United States, by positive legislation prohibiting its existence or extension therein; that we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

2. That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

3. That, while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty and property of every citizen, the dearest Constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the right of the people to keep and bear arms has

been infringed; test-oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law; the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies and arson have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction and procurement of the present administration—and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union and humanity, we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists and accessories, either *before* or *after* the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

4. That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

5. That the highwayman's plea that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

6. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and, as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

7. That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

8. That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of freemen of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared, and, believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

FREMONT'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

NEW YORK, JULY 8, 1856.

GENTLEMEN:—You call me to a high responsibility by placing me in the van of a great movement of the people of the United States, who, without regard to party differences, are uniting in a common effort to bring back the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson. Comprehending the magnitude of the trust which they have declared themselves willing to place in my hands, and, deeply sensible of the honor which their unreserved confidence, in this threatening position of public affairs, implies, I feel that I can not better respond than by a sincere declaration that, in the event of my election to the Presidency, I should enter upon the execution of its duties with a single-hearted determination to promote the good of the whole country, and to devote solely to this end all the powers of government, irrespective of party issues and regardless of sectional pride. The declaration of principles embodied in the resolves of your convention express the doctrines in which I have been educated, and which have been ripened into convictions by personal observation and experience. With this declaration and avowal, I think it necessary to revert to only two of the subjects embraced in those resolutions, and to these only because events have surrounded them with grave and critical circumstances, and given them special importance.

I concur in the views of the convention deprecating the foreign policy to which it adverts. The assumption that we have the right to take from another nation its domains because we want them, is an abandonment of the honest character which our country has acquired. To provoke hostilities by unjust assumptions would be to sacrifice the peace and character of the country, when all its interests might be more certainly secured and its objects attained by just and healing counsels, involving no loss of reputation. International embarrassments are mainly the result of secret diplomacy, which aims to keep from the knowledge of the people the operations of the government. This system is inconsistent with the character of our institutions, and is itself gradually yielding to a more enlightened public opinion, and to the

power of a free press, which, by its broad dissemination of political intelligence, secures in advance to the side of justice the judgment of the civilized world. An honest, firm and open policy in our foreign relations, would command the united support of the nation whose deliberate opinions it would necessarily reflect.

Nothing is clearer in the history of our institutions than the design of the nation, in asserting its own independence and freedom, to avoid giving countenance to the extension of slavery. The influence of the small but compact and powerful class of men interested in slavery, who command one section of country and wield a vast political control as a consequence in the other, is now directed to turn back this impulse of the Revolution and reverse its principles. The extension of slavery across the continent is the object of the power which now rules the government; and from this spirit has sprung those kindred wrongs in Kansas so truly portrayed in one of your resolutions, which proves that the elements of the most arbitrary governments have not been vanquished by the just theory of our own.

It would be out of place here to pledge myself to any particular policy that has been suggested to terminate the controversy engendered by political animosities, operating on a powerful class banded together by a common interest. A practical remedy is the admission of Kansas into the Union as a free State. The South should, in my judgment, earnestly desire such consummation. It would vindicate its good faith. It would correct the mistake of the repeal; and the North, having practically the benefit of the agreement between the two sections, would be satisfied and good feeling restored. The measure is perfectly consistent with the honor of the South and vital to its interests. That fatal act which gave birth to this purely sectional strife, originating in the scheme to take from Free Labor the country secured to it by a solemn covenant, can not be too soon disarmed of its pernicious force. The only genial region of the middle latitudes left to the emigrants of the Northern States for homes can not be conquered from the Free Laborers who have long considered it as set apart for them in our inheritance, without provoking a desperate struggle. Whatever may be the persistence of the particular class which seems ready to hazard everything for the success of the unjust scheme it has partially effected, I firmly believe that the great heart of the nation, which throbs with the patriotism of Freemen of both sections, will have power to overcome it. They will look to the rights secured to them by the Constitution of the Union as the best safeguard from the oppression of the class which, by a monopoly of the soil and of slave labor to till it, might in time reduce them to the extremity of laboring upon the same terms with the slaves. The great body of Non-slave-holding freemen, including those of the South, upon whose welfare slavery is an oppression, will discover that the power of the general government over the public lands may be beneficially exerted to advance their interests and secure their independence; knowing this, their suffrages will not be wanting to maintain that authority in the Union which is absolutely essential to the maintenance of their own liberties, and which has more than once indicated the purpose of disposing of the public lands in such a way as would make every settler upon them a free-holder.

If the people intrust to me the administration of the government, the laws of Congress in relation to the Territories shall be faithfully executed. All its authority shall be exerted in aid of the national will to re-establish the peace of the country on the just principles which have heretofore received the sanction of the federal government, of the States, and of the people of both sections. Such a policy would leave no aliment to that sectional party which seeks its aggrandizement by appropriating the new Territories to capital in form of slavery, but would inevitably result in the triumph of Free Labor—the natural capital which constitutes the wealth of this great country and creates that intelligent power in the masses alone to be relied on as the bulwark of free institutions.

Trusting that I have a heart capable of comprehending our whole country, with its varied interests, and confident that patriotism exists in all parts of the Union, I accept the nomination of your convention, in the hope that I may be enabled to serve usefully its cause, which I consider the cause of Constitutional Freedom.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. C. FREMONT.

To Messrs. H. S. Lane, (President) James C. Ashley, Anthony J. Bleecker, Joseph C. Hornblower, E. R. Hoar, Thaddeus Stevens, K. S. Bingham, John A. Willis, C. F. Cleveland and Cyrus Aldrich, Committee.

DAYTON'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

TRENTON, New Jersey, July 7, 1856.

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter informing me that at a convention of delegates recently assembled at Philadelphia I was unanimously nominated as their candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States, and requesting my acceptance of such nomination.

For the distinguished honor thus conferred, be pleased to accept for yourselves and in behalf of the Convention you represent, my sincere thanks.

I have only to add that, having carefully examined the resolutions adopted by that Convention as indicating the principles by which it was governed, I find them, in their general features, such as have heretofore had my hearty support. My opinion and votes against the extension of slavery into free territory are of record and well known. Upon that record I am willing to stand. Certainly nothing has since occurred which would tend to modify my opinion previously expressed upon that subject. On the contrary, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise (that greatest wrong portentous of mischief) but adds strength to the conviction that these constant encroachments must be calmly but firmly met; that this repealing act should be itself repealed, or remedied by every just and constitutional means in our power.

I very much deprecate all sectional issues. I have not been in the past, nor shall I be in the future, instrumental in fostering such issues. But the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and as a consequence the extension of slavery, are no issues raised by us: they are issues forced upon us, and we act but in self-defense when we repel them. That section of the country which presents these issues is responsible for them; and it is this sectionalism which has subverted past compromises, and now seeks to force slavery into Kansas. In reference to other subjects treated of in the resolutions of the Convention, I find no general principle or rules of political conduct to which I can not and do not yield a cordial assent.

But while thus expressing a general concurrence in the views of the Convention, I can not but remember that the Constitution gives the Vice-President little power in matters of general legislation; that he has not even a vote, except in special cases; and that his rights and duties as prescribed in that instrument are limited to presiding over the Senate of the United States. Should I be elected to that office, it will be my pleasure, as it will be my duty, to conduct, so far as I can, the business of that body in such a manner as will best comport with its own dignity, in strict accordance with its own rules, and with a just and courteous regard to the equal rights and privileges of its members.

Accepting the nomination tendered through you, as I now do,

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM L. DAYTON.

To Henry S. Lane, President of Convention; J. M. Ashley, Anthony J. Bleecker, Joseph C. Hornblower, E. R. Hoar, Thaddeus Stevens, K. S. Bingham, John A. Willis, C. F. Cleveland and Cyrus Aldrich, Committee.

1860.

CALL FOR THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

A National Republican Convention will meet at Chicago, on Wednesday, the 13th day of June next, at 12 o'clock, noon, for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice-President at the next election.

The Republican electors of the several States, the members of the People's party of Pennsylvania and of the Opposition party of New Jersey, and all others who are willing to co-operate with them in support of the candidates who shall there be nominated, and who are opposed to the policy of the present administration; to federal corruption and usurpation; to the extension of slavery into the Territories; to the new and dangerous political doctrine that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into all the Territories of the United States; to the re-opening of the African slave trade; to any inequality of rights among citizens; and who are in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union under the constitution recently adopted by its people; of restoring the federal administration to a system of rigid economy, and to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; of maintaining inviolate the rights of the States and defending the soil of every State and Territory from lawless invasion; and of preserving the integrity of this Union and the supremacy of the Constitution and laws passed in pursuance thereof, against the conspiracy of the leaders of a sectional party to resist the majority principle as established in this government at the expense of its existence, are in-

vited to send from each State two delegates from every Congressional district and four delegates-at-large to the convention.

EDWIN D. MORGAN, New York.	CASSIUS M. CLAY, Kentucky.
JOSEPH BARTLETT, Maine.	JAMES RITCHIE, Indiana.
GEORGE G. FOGG, New Hampshire.	NORMAN B. JUDD, Illinois.
LAWRENCE BRAINARD, Vermont.	ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, Michigan.
JOHN T. GOODRICH, Massachusetts.	JOHN H. TWEEDY, Wisconsin.
WM. M. CHASE, Rhode Island.	ALEXANDER H. RAMSEY, Minnesota.
GIDEON WELLES, Connecticut.	ANDREW J. STEVENS, Iowa.
THOMAS WILLIAMS, Pennsylvania.	ASA S. JONES, Missouri.
GEORGE HARRIS, Maryland.	MARTIN F. CONWAY, Kansas.
ALFRED CALDWELL, Virginia.	LEWIS CLEPHANE, D. C.
THOMAS SPOONER, Ohio.	

DELEGATES BY STATES.

- | | | | |
|------------------------|--|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| CALIFORNIA. | | 6 S. T. Logan. | M. Baker. |
| <i>At Large.</i> | | N. M. Knapp. | 3 Benj. Rector. |
| E. P. Tracy. | | 7 Thos. A. Marshall. | Geo. A. Hawley. |
| A. A. Sargent. | | Wm. P. Dale. | 4 H. M. Hoxie. |
| D. W. Cheeseman. | | 8 F. S. Rutherford. | Jacob Butler. |
| J. C. Hinckley. | | D. K. Green. | 5 Thos. Seeley. |
| <i>Districts.</i> | | 9 James C. Sloo. | C. C. Nourse. |
| 1 Chas. Watrous. | | D. L. Phillips. | 6 Wm. M. Stone. |
| Sam. Bell. | | INDIANA. | J. B. Grinnell. |
| 2 D. J. Staples. | | <i>At Large.</i> | 7 Wm. A. Warren. |
| J. R. McDonald. | | William T. Ott. | John W. Thompson n. |
| CONNECTICUT. | | Daniel D. Pratt. | 8 John Shane. |
| <i>At Large.</i> | | Caleb B. Smith. | Wm. Smyth. |
| Gideon Welles. | | P. A. Hackleman. | 9 Wm. B. Allison n. |
| Eleazer K. Foster. | | <i>Districts.</i> | A. F. Brown. |
| C. F. Cleveland. | | 1 James C. Veatch. | 10 Reuben Noble. |
| Alexander H. Holley. | | C. M. Allen. | E. G. Bowdoin. |
| <i>Districts.</i> | | 2 Thos. C. Slaughter. | 11 W. P. Hepburn. |
| 1 Samuel Q. Porter. | | J. H. Butler. | J. J. Brown. |
| Leverett E. Pease. | | 3 John R. Cravens. | KANSAS. |
| 2 Stephen W. Kellogg. | | A. C. Voris. | <i>At Large.</i> |
| Arthur B. Calef. | | 4 Geo. Holland. | A. C. Wilder. |
| 3 David Gallup. | | J. L. Yates. | John A. Martin. |
| H. H. Starkweather. | | 5 Miles Murphy. | Wm. A. Phillips. |
| 4 Edgar S. Tweedy. | | Walter March. | W. W. Ross. |
| George H. Noble. | | 6 S. P. Oyler. | <i>Districts.</i> |
| DELAWARE. | | John S. Bobbs. | 1 A. G. Proctor. |
| <i>At Large.</i> | | 7 George K. Steele. | John P. Hatterschiedt. |
| Nathaniel B. Smithers. | | D. C. Donohue. | KENTUCKY. |
| John C. Clark. | | 8 John Beard. | <i>At Large.</i> |
| Benj. C. Hopkins. | | J. N. Simms. | George D. Blakey. |
| Lewis Thompson. | | 9 Chas. H. Test. | A. A. Burton. |
| <i>Districts.</i> | | D. H. Hopkins. | Wm. D. Gallagher. |
| 1 Joshua T. Heald. | | 10 George Moon. | Charles Hendley. |
| Alfred Short. | | George Emmerson. | <i>Districts.</i> |
| ILLINOIS. | | 11 Wm. W. Connor. | 1 Abner Williams. |
| <i>At Large.</i> | | John M. Wallace. | H. G. Otis. |
| N. B. Judd. | | IOWA. | 2 Fred Frische. |
| Gustavus Koerner. | | <i>At Large.</i> | E. H. Harrison. |
| David Davis. | | Wm. Penn Clark. | 3 Joseph Glazebrook. |
| O. H. Browning. | | L. C. Noble. | Jos. W. Calvert. |
| <i>Districts.</i> | | John A. Kasson. | 4 John J. Hawes. |
| 1 Jason Marsh. | | Henry O'Connor. | 5 H. D. Hawes. |
| Solon Cummings. | | J. F. Wilson. | Lewis M. Dembitz. |
| 2 George Schneider. | | J. W. Rankin. | 6 Curtis Knight. |
| George T. Smith. | | M. L. McPherson. | Joseph Rawlings. |
| 3 B. C. Cook. | | C. F. Clarkson. | 7 A. H. Merriwether. |
| O. L. Davis. | | N. J. Rusch. | Henry D. Hawes. |
| 4 Henry Grove. | | H. P. Scholte. | 8 H. B. Broadus. |
| E. W. Hazard. | | John Johns. | L. Marston. |
| 5 Wm. Ross. | | <i>Districts.</i> | 9 Edgar Needham. |
| James S. Erwin. | | 1 Alvin Saunders. | J. S. Davis. |
| | | J. C. Walker. | 10 James R. Whittemore. |
| | | 2 Jos. Caldwell. | Hamilton Cummings. |

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.*

MAINE.

At Large.

Geo. F. Talbot.
Wm. H. McCrillis.
John L. Stepheus.
Rensselaer Cram.

Districts.

- 1 Mark F. Wentworth.
Leonard Andrews.
- 2 Charles J. Gilman.
Seward Dill.
- 3 Nathan G. Hickborn.
Geo. W. Lawrence.
- 4 C. A. Wing.
J. S. Baker.
- 5 Samuel F. Hersey.
Going Hathorn.
- 6 John West.
Washington Long.

MARYLAND.

At Large.

Francis P. Blair.
Wm. L. Marshall.

Districts.

- 1 James Bryan.
James F. Wagner.
- 2 James Jeffery.
Wm. P. Ewing.
- 3 Francis S. Corkran.
James F. Wagner.
- 4 Wm. E. Coale.
- 5 Charles Lee Armour.
- 6 Montgomery Blair.
D. S. Oram.

MASSACHUSETTS.

At Large.

John A. Andrew.
Ensign H. Kellogg.
George S. Routwell.
Linus B. Comins.

Districts.

- 1 Joseph M. Day.
Jonathan Bourne, Jr.
- 2 Robert T. Davis.
Seth Webb, Jr.
- 3 Edward L. Pierce.
Wm. Clafin.
- 4 Charles O. Rogers.
Josiah Dunham.
- 5 Samuel Hooper.
Geo. Wm. McLellan.
- 6 Timothy Davis.
Eben F. Stone.
- 7 George Cogswell.
Timothy Winn.
- 8 Theo. H. Sweetser.
John S. Keyes.
- 9 John D. Baldwin.
Edward B. Bigelow.
- 10 John Wells.
Erastus Hopkins.
- 11 John H. Coffin.
Matthew D. Field.

MICHIGAN.

At Large.

Austin Blair.
Walter W. Murphy.
Thos. White Ferry.
J. J. St. Clair.

Districts.

- 1 J. G. Peterson.
Alex. D. Crane.
- 2 Jesse G. Beeson.
Wm. L. Stoughton.
- 3 Francis Quinn.
Erastus Hussey.
- 4 D. C. Buckland.
M. T. C. Plessner.

MINNESOTA.

At Large.

John W. North.
D. A. Secombe.
Stephen Miller.
S. P. Jones.

Districts.

- 1 A. H. Wagner.
Aaron Goodrich.
- 2 John McCusick.
Simeon Smith.

MISSOURI.

At Large.

Francis P. Blair, Jr.
B. Gratz Brown.
F. Muench.
J. O. Sittou.

Districts.

- 1 P. L. Foy.
C. L. Bernays.
- 2 A. Krekle.
A. Hammer.
- 3 N. T. Doane.
Asa S. Jones.
- 4 H. R. Branch.
G. W. H. Landon.
- 5 Jas. B. Gardenhire.
B. Burns.
- 6 J. K. Kidd.
J. M. Richardson.
- 7 Jas. Lindsay.
Thos. Fletcher.

NEBRASKA.

At Large.

O. W. Irish.
S. W. Elbert.
E. D. Webster.
John R. Meredith.

Districts.

- 1 A. S. Paddock.
P. W. Hitchcock.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

At Large.

Edward H. Rollins.
Aaron H. Cragin.
William Halle.
Amos Tuck.

Districts.

- 1 Nathaniel Hubbard.
George Matthewson.
- 2 B. F. Martin.
F. H. Morgan.
- 3 Jacob Benton.
Jacob C. Bean.

NEW JERSEY.

At Large.

James T. Sherman.
Thos. H. Dudley.

Edward Y. Rogers.

Ephraim Marsh.
F. T. Frelinghuysen.
Jonathan Cook.
Dudley S. Gregory.
John I. Blair.

Districts.

- 1 Providence Ludham.
Robert K. Ma'tock.
Edward Brettie.
Jonathan D. Ingham.
- 2 Archibald R. Pharo.
Stephen B. Smith.
Amzi C. McLean.
Bernard Connolly.
- 3 A. P. Bethoude.
A. N. Voorhees.
Wm. D. Waterman.
Moses F. Webb.
- 4 Henry M. Law.
Wm. G. Lathrop.
Thos. Cummings.
Henry B. Crosby.
- 5 Hugh H. Bowne.
H. N. Congar.
Marcus L. Ward.
Denning Duer.

NEW YORK.

At Large.

Wm. M. Evarts.
Preston King.
John L. Schoolcraft.
Henry K. Selden.

Districts.

- 1 Geo. W. Curtis.
Robt. L. Meeks.
- 2 Jas. S. T. Stranahan.
Henry A. Kent.
- 3 John A. Kennedy.
John A. King.
Owen W. Brennan.
Robt. T. Haws.
- 5 Thomas Murphy.
Chas. M. Briggs.
- 6 Joseph C. Pinckney.
Marshall B. Blake.
- 7 Daniel D. Conover.
John Keyser.
- 8 Wm. Curtis Noyes.
James W. Nye.
- 9 Edmund J. Porter.
John G. Miller.
- 10 Ambrose S. Murray.
C. V. R. Luddington.
- 11 Peter Crispell, Jr.
Henry Green.
- 12 Albert Van Kleeck.
John T. Hodgeboom.
- 13 John W. Freeman.
Gideon Reynolds.
- 14 H. F. Van Dyck.
Henry A. Brigham.
- 15 Edward Dodd.
Jas. W. Schenck.
- 16 Orlando Kellogg.
Wm. Hedding.
- 17 John H. Wooster.
A. B. James.
- 18 Henry Churchill.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

- Thos. R. Harton.
 19 Horatio N. Buckley.
 Samuel J. Cook.
 20 Palmer V. Kellogg.
 Henry H. Fish.
 21 Giles W. Hotchkiss.
 Benj. S. Rexford.
 22 Samuel F. Case.
 Robert Stewart.
 23 Isaac H. Fiske.
 Hiram Porter.
 24 V. W. Smith.
 D. C. Greenfield.
 25 Alex. B. Williams.
 Theo. M. Pomeroy.
 26 Obadiah B. Latham.
 Chas. C. Shepard.
 27 Wm. W. Shepard.
 Geo. W. Schuyler.
 28 Wm. Scott.
 Stephen T. Hayt.
 29 D. D. S. Browne.
 Alex. Babcock.
 30 Joshua H. Darling.
 John H. Kimberly.
 31 Wm. Keep.
 Noah Davis, Jr.
 32 Alex. W. Harvey.
 Joseph Candee.
 33 Alonzo Kent.
 Delos E. Sill.
- OHIO.
At Large.
 D. K. Cartter.
 V. B. Horton.
 Thos. Spooner.
 Conrad Broadbeck.
Districts.
 1 Benj. Eggleston.
 Fred Hassaurek.
 2 R. M. Corwine.
 Joseph H. Barrett.
 3 Wm. Becket.
 P. P. Lowe.
 4 G. D. Burgess.
 John E. Cummins.
 5 David Taylor.
 E. Graham.
 6 John M. Barrere.
 Reeder W. Clark.
 7 Thos. Corwin.
 A. Hivling.
 8 W. H. West.
 Levi Geiger.
 9 Earl Bill.
 D. W. Swigart.
 10 J. V. Robinson.
 Milton L. Clark.
 11 N. H. Van Voorhees.
 A. C. Sands.
 12 Willard Warner.
 Jonathan Renick.
 13 John J. Gurley.
 P. N. Schuyler.
 14 James Monroe.
 G. U. Harn.
 15 Columbus Delano.
 R. K. Enos.
 16 Daniel Applegate.
- Caleb A. Williams.
 18 C. J. Albright.
 Wm. Wallace.
 18 H. Y. Beebe.
 Isaac Steese.
 19 Robt. T. Paine.
 R. Hitchcock.
 20 Joshua R. Giddings.
 Milton Sutliff.
 21 Samuel Stokely.
 D. Arter.
- OREGON.
At Large.
 Joel Burlingame.
 Horace Greeley.¹
 Henry Buckingham.
 Eli Thayer.
 Frank Johnson.
- PENNSYLVANIA.
At Large.
 David Wilmot.
 Samuel A. Purviance.
 Thaddeus Stevens.
 John H. Ewing.
 Henry D. Moore.
 Andrew H. Reeder.
 Titian J. Coffee.
 Morrow B. Lowry.
Districts.
 1 John M. Butler.
 Elias Ward.
 J. Money.
 Wm. Elliott.
 2 George A. Coffee.
 Richard Ellis.
 Francis Blackburn.
 John M. Pomeroy.
 3 Wm. B. Mann.
 James McManus.
 Benj. H. Brown.
 George Read.
 4 A. C. Roberts.
 Wm. H. Kern.
 Wm. D. Kelly.
 M. S. Buckley.
 5 James Hooven.
 C. M. Jackson.
 William B. Thomas.
 George W. Pomeroy.
 6 John M. Broomal.
 Wash'ton Townsend.
 Joseph J. Lewis.
 Jacob S. Serrill.
 7 Caleb N. Taylor.
 Joseph Young.
 George Beisel.
 Henry J. Saeger.
 8 Isaac Eckert.
 David E. Stout.
 J. Knobb.
 J. Bowman Bell.
 9 O. J. Dickey.
 C. S. Kauffman.
 Samuel Scott.
 Jas. D. Pownall.
 10 G. Dawson Coleman.
 Levi Kline.
- Jas. Casey.
 Wm. Cameron.
 11 Robert M. Palmer.
 Jacob G. Frick.
 S. A. Bergstresser.
 Wm. C. Lawson.
 12 W. W. Ketcham.
 P. M. Osterhaut.
 Frank Stewart.
 Davis Alton.
 13 Chas. Albright.
 Wm. Davis.
 W. H. Armstrong.
 Samuel E. Dimmick.
 14 H. W. Tracy.
 Wm. Jessup.
 F. E. Smith.
 Abel Humphreys.
 15 Wm. Butler.
 B. Rush Peterkin.
 Lindsay Mehaffey.
 G. B. Overton.
 16 Kirk Haines.
 W. B. Irvin.
 Alex. J. Frey.
 Jacob S. Haldeman.
 17 Wm. McClellan.
 D. M. Caunaghy.
 John J. Patterson.
 Francis Jordan.
 18 A. A. Baker.
 S. M. Green.
 L. W. Hall.
 Wm. H. Koons.
 19 W. M. Stewart.
 Darwin E. Phelps.
 Addison Leech.
 D. W. Shryock.
 20 Andrew Stewart.
 Smith Fuller.
 Alex. Murdoch.
 Wm. E. Gapen.
 21 Wm. H. Mersh.
 James A. Ekin.
 John F. Dravo.
 J. J. Siebeneck.
 22 D. N. White.
 Stephen H. Guyer.
 John N. Purviance.
 W. L. Graham.
 23 L. L. McGuffin.
 David Craig.
 Wm. G. Brown.
 John Allison.
 24 Henry Souther.
 S. P. Johnston.
 Jas. S. Myers.
 D. C. Gillespie.
 25 B. B. Vincent.
 Thos. J. Devore.
 J. C. Hayes.
 S. Newton Pettis.
- RHODE ISLAND.
At Large.
 James F. Simmons.
 Nathaniel B. Durfee.
 Benedict Lapham.
 W. H. S. Bayley.

¹ By proxy.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.**Districts.*

- 1 Benjamin T. Eames.
R. G. Hazard, Jr.
- 2 Rowland G. Hazard.
Simon Henry Greene.

TEXAS.

At Large.

- D. C. Henderson.
G. A. Fitch.
James P. Scott.
A. A. Shaw.

Districts.

- 1 Gilbert Moyers.
- 2 M. S. C. Chandler.

VERMONT.

At Large.

- E. N. Briggs.
Peter T. Washburn.
E. D. Mason.
E. C. Redington.

Districts.

- 1 John W. Stewart.
- E. B. Burton.

- 2 Hugh H. Henry.
Wm. Hebord.
- 3 Wm. Clapp.
E. B. Sawyer.

VIRGINIA.

At Large.

- Alfred Caldwell.
E. M. Norton.
W. W. Gitt.
J. C. Underwood.

Districts.

- 1 Jacob Hornbrook.
J. G. Jacob.
Joseph Applegate.
- 2 A. G. Robinson.
R. Crawford.
- 3 Thomas Hornbrook.
J. M. Humphry.
- 4 R. H. Gray.
F. D. Norton.
- 5 John Underwood.
J. B. Brown.
- 6 W. J. Blackwood.
J. T. Freeman.

- 7 A. W. Campbell.
D. W. Roberts.
- 8 W. E. Stevenson.
S. M. Peterson.
- 9 S. H. Woodward.
James Wilson.

WISCONSIN.

At Large.

- Carl Schurz.
Hans Crocker.
T. B. Stoddard.
John P. McGregor.

Districts.

- 1 H. L. Rann.
O. C. Shoes.
- 2 M. S. Gibson.
J. R. Bennett.
- 3 Elisha Morrow.
L. F. Frisby.

DIST. OF COLUMBIA.

- Geo. Harrington.
Joseph Gerhardt.
G. A. Hall.
J. A. Wyse.

THE PLATFORM.

Resolved. That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal Constitution—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,"—is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home, and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and

sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the federal government. That a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans, while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that, as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent re-opening of the African slave-trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their federal governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation, by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

LINCOLN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

SPRINGFIELD, Illinois, May 23, 1860.

Hon. Geo. Ashmun, President of the Republican National Convention:

SIR:—I accept the nomination tendered me by the Convention over which you presided, and of which I am formally apprised in the letter of yourself and others, acting as a committee of the Convention for that purpose.

The declaration of principles and sentiments which accompanies your letter meets my approval; and it shall be my care not to violate nor disregard it in any part.

Imploing the assistance of Divine Providence, and with due regard to the views and feelings of all who were represented in the Convention; to the rights of all the States and Territories and the people of the nation; to the inviolability of the Constitution, and to the perpetual union, harmony and prosperity of all, I am most happy to co-operate for the practical success of the principles declared by the Convention.

Your obliged friend and fellow-citizen,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

HAMLIN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

WASHINGTON, May 20, 1860.

GENTLEMEN:—Your official communication of the 18th inst., informing me that the representatives of the Republican party of the United States assembled at Chicago on that day had by unanimous vote selected me as their candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States, has been received, together with the resolutions adopted by the Convention as its declaration of principles.

These resolutions enunciate clearly and forcibly the principles which unite us, and the objects proposed to be accomplished. They address themselves to all; and there is neither necessity nor propriety in my entering upon discussion of any of them; they have the approval of my judgment, and in any action of mine will be faithfully and cordially sustained. I am profoundly grateful to those with whom it is my pride and pleasure to co-operate, for the nomination so unexpectedly conferred, and I desire to tender, through you, to the members of the Convention, my sincere thanks for the confidence thus reposed in me.

Should the nomination, which I now accept, be ratified by the people, and the duties devolve upon me of presiding over the Senate of the United States, it will be my earnest endeavor faithfully to discharge them, with a just regard for the rights of all. It is to be observed in connection with the doings of the Republican Convention, that a paramount object with us is to preserve the normal condition of our national domain as homes for freemen.

The able advocate and defender of Republican principles whom you have nominated for the highest place that can gratify the ambition of man, comes from a State which has been made what it is by special action in that respect of wise and good men who founded our institutions. The rights of free labor have there been vindicated and maintained. The thrift and enterprise which so distinguish Illinois, one of the most flourishing States of the glorious West, we would see secured to all of the Territories of the Union, and restore peace and harmony to the whole country by bringing back the government to what it was under the wise and patriotic men who created it.

If the Republicans shall succeed in that object, as they hope to, they will be held in grateful remembrance by the busy and teeming millions of future ages.

I am very truly yours,

To Hon. George Ashmun.

H. HAMLIN.

1864.

CALL FOR THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION.

The undersigned, who by original appointment, or subsequent designation to fill vacancies, constitute the executive committee created by the National Convention held at Chicago on the 16th day of May, 1860, do hereby call upon all qualified voters who desire the unconditional maintenance of the Union, the supremacy of the Constitution, and the complete suppression of the existing rebellion, with the cause thereof, by vigorous war and all apt and efficient means, to send delegates to a convention to assemble at Baltimore, on Tuesday, the 7th day of June, 1861, at 12 o'clock, noon, for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. Each State having a representation in Congress will be entitled to as many delegates as shall be equal to twice the number of electors to which such State is entitled in the electoral college of the United States.

EDWIN D. MORGAN, New York,
Chairman.

CHARLES J. GILMAN, Maine.

E. H. ROLLINS, New Hampshire.

L. BRAINARD, Vermont.

J. Z. GOODRICH, Massachusetts.

THOMAS SPOONER, Ohio.

H. S. LANE, Indiana.

SAMUEL L. CASEY, Kentucky,

E. PECK, Illinois.

HERBERT M. HOXIE, Iowa.

AUSTIN BLAIR, Michigan.

THOMAS G. TURNER, Rhode Island.
 GIDEON WELLES, Connecticut.
 DENNING DUER, New Jersey.
 EDWARD MCPHERSON, Penn.
 N. B. SMITHERS, Delaware.
 J. F. WAGNER, Maryland.

CARL SCHURZ, Wisconsin.
 W. D. WASHBURNE, Minnesota.
 CORNELIUS COLE, California.
 WM. A. PHILLIPS, Kansas.
 O. H. IRISH, Nebraska.
 JOSEPH GERHARDT, D. C.

DELEGATES BY STATES.

MAINE.

At Large.

N. A. Farwell.
 S. F. Hersey.
 Jno. H. Burleigh.
 James Drummond.

Districts.

- 1 J. H. Drummond.
Thos. Quimby.
- 2 Lot M. Morrill.
N. Morrill.
- 3 B. W. Norris.
Jos. Clarke.
- 4 Geo. K. Jewett.
E. G. Dunn.
- 5 Wm. McGilvery.
L. L. Wadsworth.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

At Large.

Onslow Stearns.
 Wm. Haile.
 Jno. B. Clarke.
 Thos. C. Sawyer.

Districts.

- 1 Jos. B. Adams.
B. J. Cole.
- 2 Ed. Spaulding.
David Cross.
- 3 Shepard L. Bowers.
E. L. Colby.

VERMONT.

At Large.

Solomon Foot.
 E. P. Walton.
 A. P. Hunton.
 Carolus Noyes.

Districts.

- 1 Edwin Hammond.
A. B. Gardner.
- 2 Horace Fairbanks.
B. W. Bartholomew.
- 3 Bradley Barlow.
Henry Stowell.

MASSACHUSETTS.

At Large.

Alex H. Bullock
 Wm. Claflin.
 John A. Andrew.
 Jas. T. Robinson.

Districts.

- 1 Geo. Marston.
J. Bourne, Jr.
- 2 B. W. Harris.
H. A. Scudder.
- 3 Geo. A. Shaw.
Ginery Twitchell.
- 4 F. B. Fay.
R. L. Burlbank.
- 5 S. Phillips.

- J. G. Hurd.
- 6 G. W. Cochran.
G. O. Barstow.
- 7 C. R. Train.
T. Wentworth.
- 8 A. C. Mayhew.
C. F. Adams, Jr.
- 9 C. G. Stevens.
Chas. A. Stevens.
- 10 H. Alexander, Jr.
A. J. Waterman.

RHODE ISLAND.

At Large.

Thos. Durfee.
 Joel M. Spencer.
 Edward Harris.
 Asa M. Gammell.

Districts.

- 1 James DeWolf Perry.
Henry H. Fay.
- 2 Geo. D. Cross.
Jno. J. Reynolds.

CONNECTICUT.

At Large.

Joseph R. Hawley.
 Augustus Brandagee.
 C. S. Bushnell.
 Wm. T. Minor.

Districts.

- 1 H. A. Grant.
Jasper H. Bolton.
- 2 Orville H. Pratt.
Samuel L. Warner.
- 3 G. W. Phillips.
James Lloyd Green.
- 4 Oliver H. Perry.
W. W. Welch.

NEW YORK.

At Large.

Henry J. Raymond.
 Daniel S. Dickinson.
 Lyman Tremain.
 Preston King.

Districts.

- 1 Geo. Wm. Curtis.
Jno. A. King.
- 2 Chas. L. Benedict.
A. M. Bliss.
- 3 W. A. Cobb.
A. F. Campbell.
- 4 J. B. Taylor.
Sheridan Shook.
- 5 David Miller.
S. L. Macomber.
- 6 Simeon Draper.
John Keyser.
- 7 W. E. Duryea.
R. F. Andrews.
- 9 T. R. Murphy.

- Wm. R. Stewart.
Abram Wakeman.
A. J. Williamson.
- 11 Wm. J. Groo.
E. M. Madden.
- 12 John Cadman.
Jno. B. Dutcher.
- 13 Wm. Masten.
Reuben Coffin.
- 14 Geo. Walford.
Clark B. Cochrane.
- 15 Asabel C. Geer.
Jno. T. Masters.
- 16 Geo. W. Palmer.
W. W. Rockwell.
- 17 W. S. Dickenson.
W. A. Dart.
- 18 Chas. Stanford.
A. H. Ayer.
- 19 L. J. Walworth.
R. S. Hughston.
- 20 J. O. Donnell.
H. M. Burch.
- 21 Ellis H. Roberts.
Samuel Campbell.
- 22 L. H. Conklin.
Chas. L. Kennedy.
- 23 T. B. Fitch.
R. H. Duell.
- 24 S. B. Gavitt.
Wm. Burroughs.
- 25 M. H. Lawrence.
W. H. Smith.
- 26 M. M. Cass.
W. S. Lincoln.
- 27 Asher Tyler.
E. D. Loveridge.
- 28 Dan H. Cole.
Jno. Van Voorhies.
- 29 Henry Wilbur.
Hiram Gardner.
- 30 Rufus Wheeler.
O. J. Green.
- 31 H. Van Aernum.
Geo. W. Patterson.

NEW JERSEY.

At Large.

Wm. A. Newell.
 Marcus L. Ward.
 Jos. T. Crowell.
 Jas. M. Scovell.

Districts.

- 1 Edward Brettell.
T. Paulding.
- 2 W. F. Brown.
S. A. Dobbins.
- 3 Jno. I. Blair.
A. D. Hope.
- 4 Joseph Cault.
Socrates Tuttle.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.*

5 Chas. H. Waugh.
Benj. G. Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA.

At Large.

Simon Cameron.
A. K. McClure.
W. W. Ketchum.
M. B. Lowry.

Districts.

- 1 A. O. Slonaker.
Elliot Ward.
- 2 P. C. Ellmaker.
John Holmes.
- 3 J. M. Fox.
Wm. Andrews.
- 4 C. A. Walborn.
Chas. Thompson.
- 5 Stephen H. Phillips
J. G. Hurd.
- 6 Daniel O. Hitner.
Jno. H. Oliver.
- 7 Wm. E. Barber.
H. Jones Brooke.
- 8 Levi B. Smith.
Edward Brooke.
- 9 Thaddeus Stevens.
Thos. E. Franklin.
- 10 Jas. H. Campbell.
G. Dawson Coleman.
- 11 A. H. Reeder.
Wm. Lilly.
- 12 Galusha A. Grow.
F. T. Atherton.
- 13 B. F. Powell.
B. John.
- 14 Geo. Bergner.
Jno. B. Packer.
- 15 Thos. E. Cochran.
L. Kauffman.
- 16 Jno. Stewart.
Edward Scull.
- 17 R. B. Wigton.
J. E. Chandler.
- 18 H. Johnson.
S. F. Wilson.
- 19 Joseph Henderson.
W. Benson.
- 20 D. V. Derrickson.
L. J. Rogers.
- 21 Wm. R. Spear.
Cyrus P. Markle.
- 22 A. M. Brown.
Wm. B. Negley.
- 23 S. A. Purviance.
A. Reynolds.
- 24 Jas. A. J. Buchanan.
W. W. Irvin.

DELAWARE.

At Large.

E. G. Bradford.
Geo. Z. Tybout.
Wm. Cummins.
N. B. Smithers.
Jacob Moore.
Benj. Burton.

MARYLAND.

At Large.

H. H. Goldsborough.
H. W. Hoffman.
Jno. A. J. Cresswell.
Albert C. Green.

Districts.

- 1 W. J. Leonard.
L. E. Staughn.
- 2 Jos. J. Stewart.
E. M. Allen.
- 3 Archibald Sterling.
Hugh L. Bond.
- 4 Frank A. Schley.
Isaac Nesbitt.
- 5 Jno. C. Holland
W. L. W. Seabrook.

OHIO.

At Large.

Wm. Dennison.
David Tod.
Columbus Delano.
G. Volney Dorsey.

Districts.

- 1 M. A. Jacobi.
A. F. Perry.
- 2 S. F. Cary.
M. P. Gaddis.
- 3 Geo. R. Sage.
L. Dunham.
- 4 W. A. Weston.
E. P. Fyffe.
- 5 J. D. Clark.
C. Parmenter.
- 6 Chambers Baird.
W. R. Smith.
- 7 E. F. Drake.
A. B. Buttles.
- 8 P. B. Cole.
H. C. Hedges.
- 9 L. Q. Rawson.
L. G. Harkness.
- 10 Geo. William.
D. W. H. Howard.
- 11 Geo. A. Waller.
Wm. Ellison.
- 12 Jno. A. Hunter.
Daniel Kilgore.
- 13 Jos. C. Devin.
E. E. Evans.
- 14 Smith Orr.
H. G. Blake.
- 15 Jos. Kessinger.
Ed. Archibald.
- 16 Chas. Hare.
Isaac Morton.
- 17 L. W. Potter.
Robt. Sherrard.
- 18 W. H. Upson.
D. R. Tilden.
- 9 M. C. Canfield.
F. Kinsman.

INDIANA.

At Large.

Daniel Mace.
James L. Yates.
John Beard.
Isaac Jenkinson.

Districts.

- 1 L. Q. DeBruler.
C. M. Allen.
- 2 Jesse J. Brown.
H. Woodberry.
- 3 W. M. Dunn.
Geo. A. Buskirk.
- 4 Wilson Morrow.
John Ferris.
- 5 Miles Murphy.
Benj. F. Miller.
- 6 Jno. W. Ray.
Levi Ritter.
- 7 Dr. Stevenson.
Ezra Reed.
- 8 D. P. Vinton.
Lewis B. Simms.
- 9 J. M. Reynolds.
D. R. Bearss.
- 10 Isaac Jenkinson.
James S. Collins.
- 11 John L. Wilson.
Daniel L. Brown.

IOWA.

At Large.

W. M. Stone.
J. T. Clark.
Francis Springer.
D. D. Chase.

Districts.

- 1 G. W. McCrary.
D. P. Stubbs.
- 2 D. W. Ellis.
John. S. Stacy.
- 3 J. S. Woodward.
G. Kerndt.
- 4 D. G. Worden.
J. M. Hendrick.
- 5 Cole Noel.
Frank Street.
- 6 G. M. Woodbury.
P. Melendy.

ILLINOIS.

At Large.

B. C. Cook.
Leonard Swett.
J. A. Powell.
A. H. Burley.

Districts.

- 1 J. Y. Scammon.
Lorenz Brentano.
- 2 Geo. S. Bangs.
E. P. Ferry.
- 3 J. W. Shaffer.
James McCoy.
- 4 Harrison Dills.
Solon Burroughs.
- 5 H. F. Royce.
Clark E. Carr.
- 6 Joseph L. Braden.
W. Bushnell.
- 7 G. W. Reeves.
James Cone.
- 8 John Thomas.
William Copp.
- 13 L. Rhodes.
Morris P. Brown.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.*

MINNESOTA.

At Large.

Thos. Simpson.
W. G. Butler.
Daniel Cameron.
Chas. M. Daily.

Districts.

1 Chas. Taylor.
Jno. McCusick.
2 D. G. Shillock.
Warren Bristol.

KANSAS.

At Large.

J. H. Lane.
M. H. Insley.
A. C. Wilder.
F. W. Potter.

Districts.

T. M. Bowen.
M. W. Delahay.

MICHIGAN.

At Large.

Austin Blair.
Marsh Giddings.
Neil Gray.
C. W. Clisbee.

Districts.

1 H. Kiefer.
Wm. R. Noyes.
2 L. P. Alexander.
J. H. Kelsey.
3 C. T. Gorham.
E. Lawrence.
4 Osmond Tower.
W. J. Cornwell.
5 Chas. Draper.
O. D. Conger.
6 J. B. Walker.
R. Sheldon.

WISCONSIN.

At Large.

Edward Salomon.
A. W. Randall.
Angus Cameron.
Stoddard Judd.

Districts.

1 John F. Potter.
C. C. Sholes.
2 J. T. Moak.
J. B. Cassoday.
3 S. S. Wilkinson.
J. M. Bingham.

4 L. H. Carey.
J. M. Gillett.

5 P. Sawyer.
A. M. Kimball.

6 L. E. Webb.
C. C. Pope.

MISSOURI.

At Large.

Chauncey I. Filley.
Benj. F. Loan.
C. J. Drake.
J. F. Benjamin.

Districts.

1 Geo. K. Budd.
J. W. Parish.
2 Jno. F. Hume.
H. T. Blow.
3 A. M. Jackson.
James Lindsay.
4 S. H. Boyd.
John B. Clark, Jr.
5 J. W. McClurg.
A. C. Widdecombe.
6 R. T. Van Horn.
A. Holcomb.
7 J. A. G. Barker.
A. J. Harter.
8 A. L. Gilstrap.
C. H. Howe.
9 Wallace Lovelace.
J. J. Staubler.

KENTUCKY.

At Large.

R. J. Breckinridge.
Samuel Lusk.
R. K. Williams.
F. Bristow.

Districts.

1 L. Anderson.
J. Bollinger.
2 Wm. Liverpool.
H. C. Burges.
3 Geo. D. Blakely.
J. W. Calvert.
4 Geo. White.
R. L. Wintersmith.
5 A. B. Temple.
James Speed.
6 Green Clay Smith.
Wm. Trimble.
7 J. A. Prall.
A. G. Hodges.
8 J. W. Coperton.
W. B. Anderson.
9 D. E. Roberts.
J. J. Anderson.

CALIFORNIA.

At Large.

Thos. Campbell.
John Bidwell.
M. C. Briggs.
A. S. Randall.

Districts.

1 James Otis.
W. S. McMurtry.
2 O. H. Bradbury.
Wm. Ritter.
3 Nathan Coombs.
Robert Gardner.

OREGON.

At Large.

T. H. Pearne.
Hiram Smith.
F. A. Channan.
Josiah Failing.
J. W. Southworth.
M. Hirsch.

NEBRASKA.

At Large.

John J. Dedick.
B. F. Lushbaugh.
D. H. Wheeler.
W. H. H. Waters.

Districts.

A. L. Paddock.
S. G. Daily.

DIST. OF COLUMBIA

At Large.

Lewis Clephane.
J. R. Elvans.

DAKOTA.

At Large.

Wm. E. Gleason.

COLORADO.

At Large.

John A. Nye.
S. S. Curtis.
S. W. Ebert.
J. B. Chaffee.
Edward Brown.

NEW MEXICO.

At Large.

Francisco Perea.
John S. Watts.
Joshua Jones, Jr.

WASHINGTON.

At Large.

H. A. Goldsborough.

THE PLATFORM.

1. *Resolved.* That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies, the integrity of the Union, and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

2. *Resolved.* That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with the rebels, or to offer them any terms of

peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the Rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

3. *Resolved*, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have periled their lives in defense of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. *Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and endorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

6. *Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

7. *Resolved*, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

8. *Resolved*, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources and increase of power to this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of a speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

10. *Resolved*, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent; and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

LINCOLN'S SECOND LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 27, 1864.

Hon. William Dennison and others, a Committee of the Union National Convention:

GENTLEMEN:—Your letter of the 14th instant, formally notifying me that I have been nominated by the convention you represent for the

Presidency of the United States, for four years from the 4th of March next, has been received. The nomination is gratefully accepted, as the resolutions of the convention—called the platform—are heartily approved.

While the resolution in regard to supplanting of republican government upon the Western Continent is fully concurred in, there might be misunderstanding were I not to say that the position of the government in relation to the action of France and Mexico, as assumed through the State Department, and indorsed by the convention, among the measures and acts of the Executive, will be faithfully maintained so long as the state of facts shall leave that position pertinent and applicable.

I am especially gratified that the soldiers and seamen were not forgotten by the convention, as they forever must and will be remembered by a grateful country for whose salvation they devote their lives.

Thanking you for the kind and complimentary terms in which you have communicated the nomination and other proceedings of the convention, I subscribe myself your obedient servant,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

JOHNSON' LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

NASHVILLE, TENN., July 2, 1864.

Hon. W. Dennison, Chairman, and others, Committee National Union Convention:

GENTLEMEN:—Your communication of the 9th ult., informing me of my nomination for the Vice-Presidency of the United States, by the National Convention held at Baltimore, and inclosing a copy of the resolutions adopted by that body, was not received until the 25th ult.

A reply had been previously made to the action of the convention in presenting my name, in a speech delivered in this city on the evening succeeding the adjournment of the convention, in which I indicated my acceptance of the distinguished honor conferred by that body, and defined the grounds upon which that acceptance was based, substantially saying what I have now to say. From the comments made upon that speech by the various presses of the country, to which my attention has been directed, I consider it to be regarded as a full acceptance.

In view, however, of the desire expressed in your communication, I will more fully allude to a few points that have been heretofore presented.

My opinion on the leading questions at present agitating and distracting the public mind, and especially in reference to the rebellion now being waged against the government and authority of the United States, I presume are generally understood. Before the Southern people assumed a belligerent attitude, and repeatedly since, I took occasion to most frankly declare the views I then entertained in relation to the wicked purposes of the Southern politicians. They have since undergone but little if any change. Time and subsequent events have rather confirmed than diminished my confidence in their correctness.

At the beginning of this great struggle, I entertained the same opinion of it I do now, and in my place in the Senate I denounced it as treason, worthy the punishment of death, and warned the government and people of the impending danger. But my voice was not heard nor counsel heeded until it was too late to avert the storm. It still continued to gather over us without molestation from the authorities at Washington, until at length it broke with all its fury upon the country. And now, if we would save the government from being overwhelmed by it, we must meet it in the true spirit of patriotism, and bring traitors to the punishment due their crime, and, *by force of arms*, crush out and subdue the last vestige of rebel authority in every State. I felt then as now, that the destruction of the government was deliberately determined upon by wicked and designing conspirators, whose lives and fortunes were pledged to carry it out; and that no compromise short of unconditional recognition of the Southern States, could now be proposed which they would accept. The clamor for "Southern rights," as the Southern journals were pleased to designate their rallying cry, was not to secure their assumed rights in the *Union and under the Constitution*, but to disrupt the government and establish an independent organization, based upon slavery, which they could at all times control.

The separation of the government has for years past been the cherished purpose of Southern leaders. Baffled in 1832 by the stern, patriotic heroism of Andrew Jackson, they sullenly acquiesced, only to mature their diabolical schemes and await the recurrence of more favorable opportunity to execute them. The pretext was tariff, and Jackson, after foiling their schemes of nullification and disunion, with prophetic perspicacity warned the country against the renewal of their efforts to dismember the government.

In a letter, dated May 1, 1833, to Rev. A. J. Crawford, after demonstrating the heartless insincerity of the Southern nullifiers, he said:

"Therefore, the tariff was only a pretext, and disunion and a Southern Confederacy the real object; the next pretext will be the Negro or slavery question."

Time has fully verified this prediction, and we have now not only the "Negro or slavery question" as a pretext, but the real cause of the Rebellion, and both must go down together. It is vain to attempt to reconstruct the Union with the distracting element of slavery in it. Experience has demonstrated its incompatibility with free and republican governments, and it would be unwise and unjust longer to continue it as one of the institutions of the country. While it remained subordinate to the Constitution and the laws of the United States, I yielded to it my support; but when it became rebellious and attempted to rise above the government and control its actions, I threw my humble influence against it.

The authority of the government is supreme and will admit of no rivalry. No insinuation can rise above it, whether it be slavery or any other organized power. In our happy form of government all must be subordinate to the will of the people, when reflected through the Constitution and laws made pursuant thereto, State or federal. This great principle lies at the foundation of every government, and can not be disregarded without the destruction of the government itself. In the support and practice of correct principles we can never reach wrong results; and by rigorously adhering to this great fundamental truth, the end will be the preservation of the Union, the overthrow of an institution which has made war upon, and attempted the destruction of the government itself.

The mode by which this great change—the emancipation of the slave—can be effected, is properly found in the power to amend the Constitution of the United States. This plan is effectual and no doubtful authority; and while it does not contravene the timely war-power of the President in his emancipation proclamation, it comes stamped with the authority of the people themselves, acting in accordance with the written rule of the supreme law of the land, and must, therefore, give more general satisfaction and quietude to the distracted public mind.

By recurring to the principles contained in the resolutions so unanimously adopted by the convention, I find that they substantially accord with my public acts and opinions before made known and expressed, and are therefore most cordially endorsed and approved, and the nomination having been conferred without any solicitation on my part, is with the greatest pleasure accepted.

In accepting the nomination I might here close, but I can not forego the opportunity of saying to my old friends of the Democratic party proper, with whom I have been so long and pleasantly associated, that the hour has now come when that great party can justly vindicate devotion to the true Democratic policy and measures of expediency. The war is a war of great principles. It involves the supremacy and life of the government itself. If the Rebellion triumphs, free government—North and South—fails. If on the other hand, the government is successful—as I do not doubt—its destiny is fixed, its basis permanent and enduring, its career of honor and glory just begun. In a great contest like this for the existence of free government, the path of duty is patriotism and principle. Minor considerations and questions of administrative policy should give way to the highest duty of first preserving the government; and then there will be time enough to wrangle over the men and measures pertaining to its administration.

This is not the hour for strife and division among ourselves. Such differences of opinion only encourage the enemy, prolong the war and waste the country. Unity of action and concentration of power should be our watchword and rallying cry. This accomplished and the time will rapidly approach when their armies in the field—the great power of the Rebellion—will be broken and crushed by our gallant officers and brave soldiers, and ere long they will return to their homes and firesides to resume again the avocation of peace, with the proud consciousness that they have aided in the noble work of re-establishing upon a surer and more permanent basis the great temple of American Freedom.

I am, gentlemen, with sentiments of high regard,

Yours truly,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

1868.

CALL FOR THE SECOND CHICAGO CONVENTION.

The undersigned, constituting the national committee designated by the convention held at Baltimore on the 7th of June, 1864, do appoint that a convention of the Union Republican party be held at the city of Chicago, on Wed.

nesday, the 20th day of May next, at 12 o'clock M., for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

Each State in the United States is authorized to be represented in said convention by a number of delegates equal to twice the number of Senators and Representatives to which each State is entitled in the national Congress.

We invite the co-operation of all citizens who rejoice that our great civil war has happily terminated in the discomfiture of Rebellion; who would hold fast the unity and integrity of the Republic, and maintain its paramount right to defend to the utmost its existence, whether imperiled by a secret conspiracy or armed force; of an economical administration of the public expenditures; of the complete extirpation of the principles and policy of slavery, and of the speedy reorganization of those States whose governments were destroyed by the Rebellion, and the permanent restoration to their proper practical relations with the United States, in accordance with the true principles of a Republican government.

JOHN D. DEFREES, Indiana,
Secretary.

MARCUS L. WARD, New Jersey,
Chairman.

J. B. CLARK, New Hampshire.

S. F. HERSEY, Maine.

A. B. GARDNER, Vermont.

WILLIAM CLAFIN, Massachusetts.

S. A. PURVIANCE, Pennsylvania.

J. S. FOWLER, Tennessee.

B. C. COOK, Illinois.

MARSH GIDDINGS, Michigan.

D. B. STUBBS, Iowa.

A. W. CAMPBELL, West Virginia.

H. C. HOFFMAN, Maryland.

N. B. SMITHERS, Delaware.

W. J. COWING, Virginia.

W. A. PILE, Missouri.

C. L. ROBINSON, Florida.

STODDARD JUDD, Wisconsin.

HORACE GREELEY, New York.

H. H. STARKWEATHER, Connecticut.

B. R. COWEN, Ohio.

WILLIAM WINDOM, Minnesota.

N. EDMUNDS, Dakota.

D. R. GOODLOE, North Carolina.

THOMAS G. TURNER, Rhode Island.

SAMUEL CRAWFORD, Kansas.

S. J. BOWEN, District of Columbia.

J. B. CHAFFEE, Colorado.

December, 1867.

DELEGATES BY STATES.

ALABAMA.

At Large.

Robert M. Reynolds.
David C. Humphreys.
James P. Stow.
Thomas D. Fister.

Districts.

- 1 Albert Griffin.
- Almon M. Granger.
- 2 Williard Warner.
- John C. Keffer.
- 3 John J. Martin.
- Robert T. Smith.
- 4 Thomas L. Tullock.
- Benjamin S. Williams.
- 5 William J. Haralson.
- Joseph W. Burke.
- 6 G. M. Tabor.
- Jacob Y. Cantwell.

ARKANSAS.

At Large.

Benjamin F. Rice.
Alexander McDonald.
W. H. Gray.
R. W. McChesney.

Districts.

- 1 W. S. McCullough.
- W. H. Rogers.
- 2 H. B. Morse.
- L. H. Roots.
- 3 Samuel F. Cooper.
- Valentine Dill.

CALIFORNIA.

At Large.

James Coey.
P. E. Conner.
J. Stratman.

Districts.

- 1 Wm. H. Sears.
- Wm. E. Lovett.
- 2 C. B. Higby.
- J. M. Days.
- 3 Thomas Spencer.
- J. S. Rogers.

COLORADO.

At Large.

John Evans.
Jerome B. Chaffee.
Geo. M. Chilcothe.
Harper M. Orahoad.
John C. Anderson.
James Peck.

4 Wm. G. Coe.

A. Homer Byington.

DAKOTA.

G. C. Moody.
C. B. Valentine.

DELAWARE.

Joshua T. Heald.
Nathan'l B. Smithers.
Caleb S. Layton.
Lewis Thompson.
Thomas B. Coursey.
Isaac J. Jenkins.

DIST. OF COLUMBIA

Sayles J. Bowen.
Wm. L. Morse.
G. W. Wells.
Benjamin N. Meeds.
Samuel L. Brown.

FLORIDA.

H. H. Moody.
S. B. Conover.
R. T. Rombeaur.
V. B. Chamberlain.

GEORGIA.

At Large.

Foster Blodgett
Joseph E. Brown.
J. R. Parrott.
H. K. McCoy.

District.

- 1 T. P. Robb.

CONNECTICUT.

At Large.

J. R. Hawley.
O. H. Platt.
Marshall Jewell.
Thomas Clark.

Districts.

- 1 H. W. Carr.
- E. M. Smith.
- 2 S. W. Kellogg.
- Bartlett Bent, Jr.
- 3 Horace Smith.
- Sabin L. Sayles.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

- Isaac Seeley.
2 F. O. Welch.
D. B. Harrell.
3 I. G. Maull.
W. C. Smith.
4 G. G. Wilbur.
J. B. Etze.
5 D. G. Cotting.
Wm. Gibson.
6 Madison Bell.
E. Hulbert.
7 L. P. Gudger.
W. H. Watson.
- IDAHO.
J. H. Alvord.
Geo. I. Gilbert.
- INDIANA.
At Large.
Rich'd W. Thompson.
Henry S. Lane.
William A. Peele.
Walter Q. Gresham.
- Districts.*
1 Cyrus M. Allen.
Lemuel Q. DeBruler.
2 Andrew Caskin.
John C. Albert.
3 John G. Berkshire.
A. W. Prather.
4 Richard H. Swift.
Benj. F. Claypool.
5 Chas. F. Hogate.
Wm. M. French.
6 George K. Steele.
Geo. H. Buskirk.
7 Joseph Odell.
James H. Paris.
8 John Brownlee.
J. D. Conner.
9 S. T. Powell.
John H. Hough.
10 S. P. Williams.
J. W. Purviance.
11 Aaron Gurney.
C. G. Powell.
- ILLINOIS.
At Large
John A. Logan.
A. C. Babcock.
John H. Addams.
B. J. Sweet.
Jesse K. Dubois.
Emory A. Storrs.
- Districts.*
1 J. Russel Jones.
Herman Raster.
2 M. L. Joslyn.
Wm. Hulin.
3 James L. Camp.
M. D. Swift.
4 Calvin Truesdale.
Ira D. Chamberlain.
5 W. L. Wiley.
Mark Bangs.
6 Henry F. Sh.
Calhoun Grant.
7 J. W. Langley.
James Steele.
- 8 Giles A. Smith.
J. S. Whittinger.
9 G. W. Whitney.
Hugh N. Fullerton.
10 John Logan.
A. C. Vandeventer.
11 J. A. Powell.
W. O. Robinson.
12 T. E. Hosmer.
Philip Eisenmyer.
13 B. G. Root.
Thos. S. Ridgeway.
- IOWA.
At Large.
Peter Melendy.
G. M. Dodge.
J. A. Williamson.
J. M. Hedrick.
- Districts.*
1 Seth Craig.
Joshua Tracy.
2 J. C. Polley.
J. McKean.
3 A. J. Felt.
J. H. Easton.
4 N. B. Vinyard.
A. J. Pope.
5 E. H. Sears.
E. T. Smith.
7 R. A. Smith.
L. M. Holt.
- KANSAS.
C. W. Babcock.
Benjamin F. Simpson.
John A. Martin.
S. S. Prouty.
N. A. Adams.
Louis Weil.
- KENTUCKY.
At Large.
Joshua F. Speed.
Geo. T. Wood.
Charles Eginton.
A. G. Hodges.
- Districts.*
1 Samuel L. Casey.
Thomas J. Pickett.
2 O. P. Johnson.
Walter Evans.
3 Thomas Crutcher.
T. W. Campbell.
4 Marion C. Taylor.
R. L. Wintersmith.
5 John Gill.
John R. English.
6 Oscar H. Burbridge.
William Boden.
7 Noah S. Moore.
W. Cassius Goodloe.
8 J. K. McClary.
Geo. H. Dobyns.
9 G. M. Thomas.
C. J. True.
- LOUISIANA.
Henry C. Warmouth.
Thomas W. Conway.
Wm. P. Kellogg.
- P. B. S. Pinchback.
1 I. Hale Sypher.
John R. Clay.
2 W. R. Fish.
W. G. McConnell.
3 Cyrus Bussey.
Sam H. Houston.
4 A. L. Lee.
A. J. Sypher.
5 Geo. C. Benham.
C. W. Lowell.
- MAINE.
At Large.
Wm. McArthur.
Thos. A. D. Fessenden.
Harris M. Plaisted.
Eugene Hale.
- Districts.*
1 Geo. F. Shepley.
Mark F. Wentworth.
2 Geo. F. Beal.
Luther Curtiss.
3 Stephen D. Lindsey.
Wales Hubbard.
4 Lewis Barker.
C. H. B. Woodbury.
5 W. P. Harriman.
Ignatius Sargent.
- MARYLAND.
At Large.
J. A. J. Creswell.
John L. Thomas, Jr.
Charles C. Fulton.
E. F. Anderson.
- Districts.*
1 W. D. Burchinal.
Samuel Graham.
2 H. Richardson.
J. H. Longnecker.
3 A. W. Dennison.
Henry Stockbridge.
4 G. W. Z. Black.
Caleb Douty.
5 Francis Miller.
George W. Sands.
- MASSACHUSETTS.
At Large.
Wm. Claflin.
F. W. Bird.
Geo. B. Loring.
Henry Alexander, Jr.
- Districts.*
1 Charles P. Stickney.
Silas Soule.
2 Henry L. Pierce.
Henry B. Wheelright.
3 E. W. Kingsley.
A. W. Beard.
4 E. Howe.
Thomas Russell.
5 R. G. Usher.
E. F. Stone.
6 Wm. A. Russell.
D. W. Gooch.
7 Geo. F. Richardson.
E. F. Waters.
8 W. W. Rice.
Geo. W. Johnson.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

- 9 A. R. Field.
D. H. Merriam.
10 R. D. Briggs.
W. M. Walker.

MICHIGAN.

At Large.

Wm. A. Howard.
Hampton Rich.
Marsh Giddings.
Randolph Strickland.

Districts.

- 1 R. R. Beecher.
Henry Waldron.
2 W. B. Williams.
E. J. Bonine
3 S. M. Cutcheon.
J. W. Longyear.
4 Morgan Bates.
Geo. C. Briggs.
5 I. H. Bingham.
J. Divine.
6 John H. Richardson.
Jos. W. Edwards.

MINNESOTA.

At Large.

J. B. Wakefield.
C. C. Andrews.
A. H. Butler.
H. P. Van Cleve.

Districts.

- 1 J. C. Rudolph.
Jesse Ames.
2 W. W. Scott.
R. N. McLaren.

MISSISSIPPI.

At Large.

D. McCa. Williams.
A. C. Fiske.
Jefferson L. Wofford.
Thomas L. White.

Districts.

- 1 A. R. Howe.
A. W. Patterson.
2 R. M. Tindale.
J. R. Smith.
3 Jared Richardson.
Henry W. Warren.
4 Thomas W. Stringer.
A. Warner.
5 Thaddeus P. Sears.
Carlos Chapman.

MISSOURI.

At Large.

Carl Schurz.
Thos. C. Fletcher.
A. J. Harlan.
R. T. Van Horn.

Districts.

- 1 Thos. J. Dailey.
Weston Flint.
2 F. W. Cronenboldt.
J. W. Owens.
3 Geo. C. Thilenius.
Geo. A. Moser.
4 Geo. L. Childress.
J. H. Creighton.
5 S. S. Burdett.

R. C. Leaming.

6 P. R. Dolman.

J. H. Richards.

7 David Bonham.

J. F. Asper.

8 A. W. Mullins.

Hiram M. Hiller.

9 D. P. Dyer.

John C. Orrick.

MONTANA.

Wilber F. Sanders.

Win. H. Claggett.

Geo. M. Pinney.

NEBRASKA.

Silas A. Strickland.

Alvin Saunders.

P. B. Stevenson.

R. W. Furnas.

L. Gerard.

Sam'l Maxwell.

NEVADA.

Chas. E. De Long.

G. N. Collins.

Lewis Hyntman.

H. H. Beck.

J. M. Walker.

O. R. Leonard.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

At Large.

Wm. E. Chandler.

E. M. Topliff.

J. H. Bailey.

C. S. Faulkner.

Districts.

- 1 J. E. Bickford.
Ezra Gould.
2 James F. Briggs.
Francis B. Ayer.
3 Edward Vaughn.
Thomas P. Cheney.

NEW JERSEY.

At Large.

John S. Irick.

John I. Blair.

George T. Cobb.

Cortlandt Parker.

Districts.

- 1 W. E. Potter.
John W. Hazleton.
2 Robt. O. Bellville.
Jarvis H. Bartlett.
3 Chas. A. Skillman.
John Davidson.
4 Edward A. Walton.
James Nightingale.
5 James Gopsill.
Cornelius Walsh.

NEW YORK.

At Large.

Daniel E. Sickles.

Lyman Tremain.

Charles Andrews.

D. D. S. Brown.

Districts.

- 1 Alfred Wagstaff, Jr.
L. Bradford Prince.

2 Charles W. Godard.

Arch'd M. Bliss.

3 Joshua M. Van Cott.

J. Reeve.

4 F. J. Fithian.

Joshua G. Abbe.

5 Moses H. Grinnell.

E. D. Culver.

6 Charles S. Spencer.

John D. Lawson.

7 John Cochrane.

W. T. Ashman.

8 W. R. Stewart.

John D. Ottiwell.

9 James W. Culver.

Charles H. Cooper.

10 H. D. Robertson.

C. M. Depew.

11 George Clark.

H. R. Low.

12 B. Platt Carpenter.

Jacob W. Hoysradt.

13 George H. Sharp.

Rufus H. King.

14 Hamilton Harris.

Borden H. Mills.

15 Robert M. Hasbrouck.

Alex. Barclay.

16 William W. Rockwell.

Eli W. Rogers.

17 Calvin T. Hulburd.

William Gillis.

18 T. G. Younglove.

Seymour Sexton.

19 E. Blakely.

Lewis Kingsley.

20 William Dewey.

E. B. Livingston.

21 Ellis H. Roberts.

George B. Anderson.

22 Benj. E. Bowen.

Deloss W. Cameron.

23 Frank Hiscock.

R. Holland Duell.

24 John S. Fowler.

A. D. Baker.

25 Peter S. Bonesteel.

Isaac L. Endress.

26 J. W. Dwight.

Thomas I. Chatfield.

27 Stephen T. Hoyt.

Luther Caldwell.

28 E. L. Pitts.

A. C. Wilder.

29 John Fisher.

Andrew W. Brazee.

30 L. K. Bass.

Fred H. James.

31 George Barker.

Patrick H. Jones.

OHIO.

At Large.

F. Hassaurek.

John C. Lee.

W. B. Castie.

James Scott.

Districts.

- 1 W. Stoms.
J. W. Sands.
2 Thos. L. Young.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.*

Henry Kessler.
 3 O. C. Maxwell.
 N. C. McFarland.
 4 L. H. Long.
 Horace Coleman.
 5 O. T. Locke.
 L. T. Hunt.
 6 S. Hemphill.
 Geo. W. Hulick.
 7 Coates Kinney.
 James S. Goode.
 8 Thos. C. Jones.
 H. C. Godman.
 9 Fred. Wickham.
 A. B. Nettleton.
 10 Asher Cook.
 Horace Sessions.
 11 John Campbell.
 John Ellison.
 12 Geo. W. Gregg.
 T. W. Beach.
 13 John A. Sissett.
 Israel Green.
 14 A. S. McClure.
 Jno. H. Boynton.
 15 F. W. Wood.
 Cyrus Grant.
 16 B. R. Cowen.
 E. Burnet.
 17 J. C. Hostetter.
 J. F. Oliver.
 18 S. S. Osborne.
 R. P. Spalding.
 19 H. B. Perkins.
 J. N. Hathaway.
 OREGON.

At Large.

R. Mallory.
 H. W. Corbett.
 H. R. Kincaid.
 L. S. Thompson.
 J. R. Failing.
 Maxwell Ramsey.

PENNSYLVANIA.

At Large.

John W. Forney.
 James U. Orne.
 Thomas E. Cochran.
 A. K. McClure.
 E. Read Myer.
 J. W. Blanchard.
 Linn Bartholomew.
 Gen. Wm. Tilly.

Districts.

1 Benj. L. Berry.
 Jas. T. Gillingham.
 2 John U. Houseman.
 Daniel B. Beitler.
 3 Alex. M. Fox.
 Daniel P. Ray.
 4 Wm. H. Kemble.
 Benj. U. Brown.
 5 Alfred Harmer.
 Mahlon Tardley.
 6 Saml. McHose.
 Wm. R. Ritterhouse.
 7 J. Smith Futhcy.
 Samuel B. Thomas.

8 George S. Erbert.
 William M. Baird.
 9 J. W. Fisher.
 R. L. Houston.
 10 T. T. Wortt.
 J. G. Frick.
 11 Saml. E. Dimmick.
 Wm. H. Armstrong.
 12 Henry M. Hoyt.
 Wm. H. Jessup.
 13 E. O. Goodrich.
 A. F. Russell.
 14 H. B. Hornberger.
 Franklin Bound.
 J. D. Cameron.
 A. R. Fisk.
 15 Kirk Haines.
 Hugh W. McCall.
 16 John Cessna.
 E. G. Fahnestock.
 17 E. Roberts.
 T. F. McCoy.
 18 Samuel Linn.
 Henry Williams.
 19 Henry Souther.
 Harrison Allen.
 20 Samuel Wilson.
 P. R. Gray.
 21 Danl. S. Porter.
 J. R. McAfee.
 22 J. R. Morehead.
 A. M. Brown.
 23 John M. Thompson.
 John V. Painter.
 S. A. Purviance.
 24 John C. Flenrichen.
 James R. Kelly.

RHODE ISLAND.

At Large.

James De W. Perry.
 Lyman B. Frieze.
 Rowland G. Hazard.
 James M. Pendleton.

Districts.

1 Chas. C. Van Zandt.
 Lysander Flagg.
 2 Wm. H. Reynolds.
 William Green.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

B. F. Whitmore.
 H. E. Hayne.
 J. H. Jencks.
 J. P. Epping.
 B. O. Duncan.
 Wm. E. Rose.
 Carlos T. Stolbrand.
 T. W. Lewis.
 M. R. Fory.
 E. Trask.
 Thomas Talbot.
 Cadwallader Carn.

TENNESSEE.

At Large.

Wm. B. Stokes.
 T. A. Hamilton.
 F. S. Richards.
 Thos. H. Pearne.

Districts.

1 C. H. McKinney.
 S. A. Bovell.
 2 L. C. Houk.
 R. P. Eaton.
 3 A. G. Sharp.
 W. M. Woodcock.
 4 W. Y. Elliott.
 Wm. Bosson.
 5 T. McKinley.
 Abram Smith.
 6 S. M. Arnell.
 J. Jay Buck.
 7 Isaac R. Hawkins.
 O. F. Brown.
 8 Barbour Lewis.
 J. L. Winfield.
District at Large.
 Wm. J. Smith.
 John B. Rogers.

TEXAS.

A. J. Hamilton.
 Geo. W. Paschal.
 C. N. Riottet.
 Oscar F. Hunsaker.
 W. E. Horne.
 G. T. Ruby.
 Robt. K. Smith.
 A. H. Longley.
 S. D. Wood.
 Byron Porter.

VERMONT.

At Large.

T. W. Park.
 G. J. Stannard.
 L. Baker.
 S. E. Pingree.

Districts.

1 W. Y. W. Ripley.
 G. C. Shepard.
 2 Wm. H. Johnson.
 J. C. Stearns.
 3 D. R. Bailey.
 W. W. Grout.

VIRGINIA.

At Large.

John Hauxhurst.
 Lysander Hill.

Districts.

1 Henry A. Pierce.
 S. R. Harrington.
 2 John Burke.
 3 _____
 4 Fred. M. Kimball.
 Sanford Dodge.
 5 Edgar Allen.
 6 _____
 7 John M. Thacher.
 Thomas L. Tullock.
 8 George S. Smith.
 Minor Goodell.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.*

WEST VIRGINIA.		3	Cyrus Newlin.		N. M. Littlejohn.
<i>At Large.</i>			Thomas Baggess.	2	A. J. Turner.
John R. Hubbard.					L. B. Caswell.
Ellery R. Hall.			WISCONSIN.	3	O. B. Thomas.
D. D. T. Farnsworth.			<i>At Large.</i>		Jas. Bintliff.
Henry C. McWhorter.			Edward Salomon.	4	A. Scott Sloan.
<i>Districts.</i>			Horace Rublee.		Geo. S. Graves.
1	Samuel D. Karnes.		E. H. Galloway.	5	E. L. Browne.
	F. P. Pierpoint.		Henry Baetz.		D. C. Ayer.
2	Joseph T. Hoke.		<i>Districts.</i>	6	Chas. Seymour.
	Leonard B. Perry.	1	O. S. Head.		W. J. Kershaw.

THE PLATFORM.

The National Union Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention, in the city of Chicago, on the 20th day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

FIRST. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in a majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all, and regard it as the duty of the government to sustain those constitutions, and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy or military rule.

SECOND. The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

THIRD. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

FOURTH. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as national faith will permit.

FIFTH. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption, and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can honestly be done.

SIXTH. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay, so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

SEVENTH. The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

EIGHTH. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; has refused to execute the laws; has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, peace, liberty, and life of the citizen; has abused the pardoning power; has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the votes of thirty-five Senators.

NINTH. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers that because a man is once a subject, he is always so, must be resisted, at every hazard, by the United States, as a relic of the feudal times, not authorized by the law of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to be protected in all their rights of citizenship, as though they were native born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power, for acts done or words spoken in this country; and if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the government to interfere in his behalf.

TENTH. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more special honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by law for

these brave defenders of the nation, are obligations never to be forgotten. The widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

ELEVENTH. We highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forgiveness with which the men who have served the Rebellion, but now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

TWELFTH. We recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of Democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

THIRTEENTH. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

FOURTEENTH. This convention declares its sympathy with all the oppressed peoples which are struggling for their rights.

GRANT'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 29, 1868.

General Joseph R. Hawley, President National Union Convention:

DEAR SIR:—In formally accepting the nomination of the National Union Republican Convention, of the 21st of May, instant, it seems proper that some statement of my views, beyond the mere acceptance of the nomination, should be expressed. The proceedings of the convention were marked with wisdom, moderation and patriotism, and, I believe, express the feelings of the great mass of those who sustained their country through its trials. I endorse their resolutions, and, if elected to the office of President of the United States, it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet and protection everywhere. In times like the present it is impossible, or at least eminently improper, to lay down a policy to be adhered to, right or wrong, through an administration of four years. New political issues, not foreseen, are constantly arising; the views of the public on old ones are constantly changing, and a purely administrative officer should always be left to execute the will of the people. I always have respected that will, and always shall. Peace, and universal prosperity, its sequence, with economy of administration will lighten the burden of taxation, while it constantly reduces the national debt. Let us have peace.

With great respect, your obedient servant.

U. S. GRANT.

COLFAX'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 30, 1868.

Hon. J. R. Hawley, President of the National Union Republican Convention:

DEAR SIR—The platform adopted by the patriotic convention over which you presided, and the resolutions which so happily supplemented it, so entirely agree with my views as to a just national policy, that my thanks are due to the delegates as much for this clear and auspicious declaration of principles, as for the nomination with which I have been honored, and which I gratefully accept.

When a great rebellion, which imperiled the national existence, was at last overthrown, the duty of all others devolving upon those intrusted with the responsibilities of legislation, evidently was to require that the revolted States should be re-admitted to participation in the government against which they had erred only on such a basis as to increase and fortify, not to weaken or endanger, the strength and power of the nation. Certainly no one ought to have claimed that they should be re-admitted under such rule that their organization as States could ever again be used, as at the opening of the war, to defy the national authority or to destroy the national unity. This principle has been the pole-star of those who have inflexibly insisted on the congressional policy your convention so cordially indorsed.

Baffled by executive opposition and by persistent refusals to accept any plan of reconstruction proffered by Congress, justice and public safety at last combined to teach us that only by an enlargement of suffrage in those States could the desired end be attained, and that it was even more safe to give the ballot to those who loved the Union than to those who had sought ineffectually to destroy it. The assured success of this legislation is being written on the adamant of history, and will be our triumphant vindication. More clearly,

too, than ever before does the nation now recognize that the greatest glory of a Republic is, that it throws the shield of its protection over the humblest and weakest of its people, and vindicates the rights of the poor and the powerless as faithfully as those of the rich and the powerful.

I rejoice, too, in this connection, to find in your platform the frank and fearless avowal that naturalized citizens must be protected abroad "at every hazard, as though they were native born." Our whole people are foreigners, or descendants of foreigners. Our fathers established by arms their right to be called a nation. It remains for us to establish the right to welcome to our shores all who are willing, by oaths of allegiance, to become American citizens. Perpetual allegiance, as claimed abroad, is only another name for perpetual bondage, and would make all slaves to the soil where first they saw the light. Our national cemeteries prove how faithfully these oaths of fidelity to their adopted land have been sealed in the life-blood of thousands upon thousands. Should we then be faithful to the dead, if we did not protect their living brethren in the full enjoyment of that nationality, for which, side by side with the native born, our soldiers of foreign birth laid down their lives?

It was fitting, too, that the representatives of a party which had proved so true to national duty in time of war, should speak so clearly in time of peace for the maintenance untarnished of the national honor, national credit and good faith as regards its debt, the cost of our national existence.

I do not need to extend this reply by further comment on a platform which has elicited such hearty approval throughout the land. The debt of gratitude it acknowledges to the brave men who saved the Union from destruction, the frank approval of amnesty based on repentance and loyalty, the demand for the most thorough economy and honesty in the government, the sympathy of the party of liberty with all throughout the world who long for the liberty we here enjoy, and the recognition of the sublime principles of the Declaration of Independence, are worthy of the organization on whose banners they are to be written in the coming contest. Its past record can not be blotted out or forgotten. If there had been no Republican party, slavery would to-day cast its baneful shadow over the Republic. If there had been no Republican party, a free press and free speech would be as unknown from the Potomac to the Rio Grande as ten years ago. If the Republican party could have been stricken from existence when the banner of rebellion was unfurled, and when the response of "no coercion," was heard at the North, we would have had no nation to-day. But for the Republican party, daring to risk the odium of tax and draft laws our flag could not have been kept flying in the field until the long-hoped for victory came. Without a Republican party the Civil Rights bill—the guaranty of equality under the law to the humble and the defenseless, as well as to the strong—would not be to-day upon our national statute book.

With such inspiration from the past, and following the example of the founders of the Republic who called the victorious general of the Revolution to preside over the land his triumphs had saved from its enemies, I can not doubt that our labors will be crowned with success. And it will be a success that will bring restored hope confidence, prosperity and progress, South as well as North, West as well as East, and, above all, the blessings, under Providence, of national Concord and Peace.

Very truly yours,

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

1872.

CALL FOR THE SECOND PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION.

The undersigned, constituting the National Committee designated by the convention held at Chicago on the 20th of May, 1868, hereby call a convention of the Union Republican party, at the city of Philadelphia, on Wednesday, the 5th day of June next, at 12 o'clock, noon, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

Each State is authorized to be represented in the convention by delegates equal to twice the number of senators and representatives to which it will be entitled in the next national Congress, and each organized territory is authorized to send two delegates.

In calling this convention, the committee remind the country that the promises of the Union Republican Convention of 1868 have been fulfilled. The States lately in rebellion have been restored to their former relations to the government. The laws of the country have been faithfully executed, public faith has been preserved, and the national credit firmly established. Governmental economy has been illustrated by the reduction, at the same time, of the public debt and of taxation; and the funding of the national debt at a lower

rate of interest has been successfully inaugurated. The rights of naturalized citizens have been protected by treaties, and immigration encouraged by liberal provisions. The defenders of the Union have been gratefully remembered, and the rights and interests of labor recognized. Laws have been enacted, and are being enforced, for the protection of persons and property in all sections. Equal suffrage has been engrafted on the national Constitution; the privileges and immunities of American citizenship have become a part of the organic law, and a liberal policy has been adopted toward all who engaged in the Rebellion. Complications in foreign relations have been adjusted in the interest of peace throughout the world, while the national honor has been maintained. Corruption has been exposed, offenders punished, responsibility enforced, safe-guards established, and now, as heretofore, the Republican party stands pledged to correct all abuses and carry out all reforms necessary to maintain the purity and efficiency of the public service. To continue and firmly establish its fundamental principles, we invite the co-operation of all the citizens of the United States.

WILLIAM CLAFLIN, of Massachusetts,

Chairman.

WILLIAM E. CHANDLER, of New Hampshire,

Secretary.

JOHN A. PETERS, Maine.

LUKE P. POLAND, Vermont.

L. B. FRIEZE, Rhode Island.

H. H. STARKWEATHER, Connecticut.

JAMES GOPSILL, New Jersey.

WILLIAM H. KEMBLE, Pennsylvania.

HOWARD M. JENKINS, Delaware.

B. R. COWEN, Ohio.

JOHN COBURN, Indiana.

C. B. FARWELL, Illinois.

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, Michigan.

J. T. AVERILL, Minnesota.

DAVID ATWOOD, Wisconsin.

GEORGE W. MCCRARY, Iowa.

C. C. FULTON, Maryland.

FRANKLIN STEARNS, Virginia.

JOHN R. HUBBARD, West Virginia.

WILLIAM SLOAN, North Carolina.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 11, 1872.

THOMAS W. OSBORN, Florida.

L. C. CARPENTER, South Carolina.

JOHN H. CALDWELL, Georgia.

JAMES P. STOW, Alabama.

M. H. SOUTHWORTH, Louisiana.

A. C. FISK, Mississippi.

S. C. POMEROY, Kansas.

B. F. RICE, Arkansas.

JOHN B. CLARK, Missouri.

A. A. BURTON, Kentucky.

HORACE MAYNARD, Tennessee.

E. B. TAYLOR, Nebraska.

JAMES W. NYE, Nevada.

H. W. CORBETT, Oregon.

GEORGE C. GORHAM, California.

J. B. CHAFFEE, Colorado.

W. A. BURLEIGH, Dakota.

SAYLES J. BOWEN, District of Columbia.

DELEGATES BY STATES.

ALABAMA.

At Large.

R. M. Reynolds.

N. B. Cloud.

Lewis E. Parsons.

P. G. Clark.

J. W. Burke.

George E. Spencer.

James P. Stowe.

Paul Strobach.

Districts.

1 D. E. Coon.

Philip Joseph.

2 J. V. McDuffie.

E. M. Kiels.

3 Isaac Heyman.

Wm. V. Turner.

4 W. B. Jones.

W. G. M. Gholson.

5 William Gaston.

P. J. Smith.

6 C. C. Sheets.

S. Bynum.

ARKANSAS.

At Large.

Powell Clayton.

O. A. Hadley.

W. H. Grey.

Dist's (old apportionment)

1 Elisha Baxter.

Stephen Wheeler.

J. H. Johnson.

2 Oliver P. Snyder.

H. A. Millen.

Thomas V. Rankin.

3 J. M. Johnson.

H. H. White.

E. J. Searle.

CALIFORNIA.

Districts.

1 J. B. Southard.

James Otis.

James H. Withington.

2 F. K. Shattuck.

J. W. B. Dickinson.

H. S. Sargent.

3 Charles M. Patterson.

E. Wadsworth.

A. D. Starr.

4 M. D. Boruck.

C. S. Abbott.

Thomas Fallon.

CONNECTICUT.

At Large.

Joseph R. Hawley.

Bartlett Bent.

Sabin L. Sayles.

John Tweedy.

Districts.

1 James D. Frary.

Lucius S. Fuller.

2 Charles Parker.

Jared E. Redfield.

3 Daniel Chadwick.

George S. Moulton.

4 Joseph F. Calhoun.

Israel M. Bullock.

DELAWARE.

At Large.

Henry F. Pickels.

John C. Clark.

Isaac Jump.

James R. Loiland.

Districts.

Charles F. Richards.

Benjamin Burton.

FLORIDA.

At Large.

Josiah T. Walls.

Dennis Eagan.

Frank N. Wicker.

John W. Butler.

Districts.

1 J. H. Armstrong.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

- Hiram Potter, Jr. 18 Robert Harmer. *Districts.*
 2 James W. Johnson. Thomas H. Burgess. George Noble.
 William H. Gleason. 19 George R. Edwards. Josiah Kellogg.
 GEORGIA. Israel A. Powell. Charles A. Morris.
 William Baldwin.
 Thomas Newton.
 John C. Carpenter.
 KENTUCKY.
- At Large.*
 Benjamin Conley.
 Dawson A. Walker.
 John S. Bigby.
 Moses H. Hale.
 Richard H. Whiteley.
 John F. Quarles.
 W. B. Higginbotham.
 James M. Simms.
- At Large.*
 Henry S. Lane.
 Richard W. Thompson.
 George K. Steele.
 T. C. Slaughter.
 C. W. Chapman.
 Sol. Meredith.
 Robert McCary.
 W. H. Russell.
- Districts.*
 1 James C. Denny.
 Levi Ferguson.
 2 Jesse J. Brown.
 W. S. Ferrier.
 3 Joseph I. Irwin.
 H. C. Vincent.
 4 J. C. McIntosh.
 C. C. Binkley.
 5 D. E. Williamson.
 W. C. Sandefur.
 6 Chas. Cruft.
 J. B. Mulky.
 7 John H. Gould.
 George Nebeker.
 8 Thomas Jay.
 M. S. Robinson.
 9 M. L. Bundy.
 George A. Dent.
 10 Frank Macartney.
 W. H. Trammel.
 11 William G. George.
 E. P. Hammond.
- ILLINOIS.
- At Large.*
 Emory A. Storrs.
 Leonard F. Ross.
 Erastus N. Bates.
 George F. Dick.
- Districts.*
 1 J. Y. Scammon.
 Lewis Ellsworth.
 2 Herman Raster.
 James L. Campbell.
 3 Clark W. Upton.
 William Vocke.
 4 J. H. Mayburn.
 A. B. Coon.
 5 John C. Smith.
 S. S. Patterson.
 6 Andrew Crawford.
 J. W. Templeton.
 7 Lyman B. Ray.
 Warren M. Sweetland.
 8 Warren R. Hickok.
 N. S. Stevens.
 9 Enoch Emery.
 George V. Deitrich.
 10 John McKinney, Sr.
 Henry Tubbs.
 11 George W. Burns.
 David Pierson.
 12 Shelby M. Cullom.
 John Moses.
 13 Frank Hoblett.
 Thomas Snell.
 14 Joseph R. Mosser.
 James Knight.
 15 Thomas A. Apperson.
 James Steel.
 16 Henry C. Goodnow.
 J. F. Alexander.
 17 Russell Hinckley.
 A. W. Metcalf.
- At Large.*
 Benjamin F. Simpson.
 Henry Buckingham.
 John A. Martin.
 H. C. Cross.
- Districts.*
 James Speed.
 Wm. Cassius Goodloe.
 Walter Evans.
 John G. Eve.
- Dist's (old apportionment).*
 1 Geo. H. Dobyus.
 Samuel L. Casey.
 2 John B. Bruner.
 Eli H. Murray.
 3 W. B. Craddock.
 R. A. Green.
 4 W. H. Hays.
 T. E. Burns.
 5 Lewis Buckner.
 W. H. Gibson.
 6 J. W. Robbins.
 Benj. P. Gray.
 7 A. H. Adams.
 Wm. R. Fleming.
 8 J. W. Caperton.
 William Berkele.
 9 Thos. A. Davis.
 John Means.
- LOUISIANA.
- At Large.*
 James Lewis.
 Louis Trager.
 E. C. Billings.
 John Ray.
 Geo. W. Carter.
 G. Casanave.
- Districts.*
 1 Jas. B. Wands.
 C. J. Adolph.
 2 W. G. Elliott.
 Mortimer F. Smith.
 3 C. B. Darrell.
 J. Henri Burch.
 4 E. L. Weber.
 Harry Lott.
 5 E. W. Robinson.
 W. F. Southard.
- MAINE.
- At Large.*
 Isaiah Stetson.
 Seth Tisdale.
 Frederick Robie.
 Enoch C. Farrington.
- Districts.*
 1 Stanley T. Pullen.
 John E. Butler.
 2 Frederic E. Shaw.
 Alexander H. S. Davis.
 3 Hiram Bliss, Jr.
 Joseph F. Sanborn.
 4 Sylvanus H. Hussey.
 Ezra C. Brett.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

- 5 Albert G. Jewett.
Joseph T. Grant.
MARYLAND.
- At Large.*
Jacob Tome.
Thomas A. Spence.
Daniel Weisel.
Charles C. Fulton.
- Districts.*
1 William H. Barton.
William Perkins.
2 John T. Ensor.
Wm. L. W. Seabrook.
3 Robert Turner.
Thomas Kelso.
4 Sam'l M. Shoemaker.
John M. McClintock.
5 James A. Gary.
Alexander Randall.
6 Hopewell Hebb.
John L. Linthicum.
- MASSACHUSETTS.
- At Large.*
Alexander H. Rice.
Geo. B. Loring.
P. Emory Aldrich.
William Claffin.
Oliver Ames.
Sylvander Johnson.
- Dist's (old apportionment).*
1 Jonathan Bourne, Jr.
John B. D. Cogswell.
2 Seth Turner.
C. C. Bixby.
3 Robert K. Potter.
Solomon B. Stebbins.
4 Joseph B. Smith.
Richard Beeching.
5 Edwin Patch.
John F. Harris.
6 Eugene L. Norton.
Wm. E. Blunt.
7 Joshua N. Marshall.
Edwin C. Morse.
8 E. B. Stoddard.
Daniel W. Taft.
9 Otis T. Ruggles.
Horatio G. Knight.
10 Henry J. Bush.
H. H. Richardson.
- MICHIGAN.
- At Large.*
E. B. Ward.
George Willard.
Wm. A. Howard.
Perry Hannah.
- Districts.*
1 Newell Avery.
John Greusel.
2 Nathan N. Kendall.
R. A. Beal.
3 Harvey Bush.
J. C. Fitzgerald.
4 George S. Clapp.
James H. Stone.
5 B. D. Pritchard.
H. A. Norton.
6 J. W. Begole.
- D. L. Crossman.
7 Ezra Hazen.
B. W. Huston.
8 C. S. Draper.
James Birney.
9 B. F. Rogers.
J. F. Brown.
- MINNESOTA.
- At Large.*
C. T. Benedict.
A. E. Rice.
D. M. Sabin.
Otto Wallmark.
- Districts.*
1 J. T. Williams.
A. C. Dodge.
2 R. F. Crowell.
C. H. Goodsell.
3 W. E. Hicks.
William S. King.
- MISSISSIPPI.
- At Large.*
O. C. French.
A. Warner.
B. K. Bruce.
A. T. Morgan.
- Districts.*
1 R. W. Flournoy.
L. J. Scurlock.
2 B. Harrington.
James Hill.
3 F. M. Abbott.
A. K. Davis.
4 J. H. Sumner.
William Breck.
5 Edwin Hill.
James Lynch.
6 J. R. Lynch.
A. Parker.
- MISSOURI.
- At Large.*
John B. Henderson.
John F. Benjamin.
George B. Wedley.
- Dist's (old apportionment).*
1 Chauncey I. Filley.
Henry A. Clover.
John C. Orrick.
2 G. A. Finkelnburg.
Henry T. Blow.
E. O. Starard.
3 George A. Moser.
Gustave St. Gem.
B. B. Caboon.
4 W. F. Cloud.
J. M. Filler.
J. P. Ellis.
5 John H. Stover.
M. McMillan.
W. Q. Dallmeyer.
6 William Warner.
R. T. Van Horn.
J. J. Heizel.
7 P. A. Thompson.
N. A. Winters.
John L. Bittinger.
8 A. F. Denny.
S. R. Peters.
- William Bishop.
9 Edwin Draper.
D. P. Dyer.
Theodore Bruere.
- NEBRASKA.
- At Large.*
John I. Redick.
John Roberts.
John S. Bowen.
J. B. Weston.
- Districts.*
John D. Neligh.
Henry M. Atkinson.
- NEVADA.
- At Large.*
L. H. Head.
George M. Sabin.
John G. Grier.
J. W. Haines.
- Districts.*
C. H. Eastman.
C. C. Stevenson.
- NEW HAMPSHIRE.
- At Large.*
Wm. H. Y. Hackett.
Frederick Smith.
James W. Johnson.
Ossian Ray.
- Districts.*
1 Chas. S. Whitehouse.
Albert G. Folsom.
2 Oren C. Moore.
Daniel Barnard.
3 Dexter Richards.
George B. Twitchell.
- NEW JERSEY.
- At Large.*
Cortlandt Parker.
Alexander G. Cattell.
Levi D. Jarrard.
J. Wyman Jones.
- Districts.*
1 John W. Newlin.
Augustus S. Barber.
2 Charles Hewitt.
Isaac W. Carmichael.
3 Amos Clark, Jr.
John W. Herbert.
4 I. I. Blair.
F. A. Potts.
5 George Wurts.
Columbus Beach.
6 Frederick H. Harris.
Daniel Dodd.
7 James Gopsill.
D. S. Gregory.
- NEW YORK.
- At Large.*
Gerrit Smith.
William Orton.
James N. Matthews.
Wm. F. Butler.
Horace B. Clafin.
Stephen B. Moffitt.
- Districts.*
1 John A. King.
Stephen B. French.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

- 2 Henry C. Bowen.
Nelson Shaurman.
- 3 Stewart L. Woodford.
Abram B. Baylis.
- 4 Charles Jones.
David Williams.
- 5 Henry A. Hurlbut.
James Winterbottom.
- 6 William Laimbeer.
Wm. E. Dodge.
- 7 Augustus Weismann.
J. M. Patterson, Jr.
- 8 Charles S. Spencer.
John D. Lawson.
- 9 H. D. Lapaugh.
Joel W. Mason.
- 10 William Haw. Jr.
Salem H. Walls.
- 11 B. Ogden Bradley.
David Robinson.
- 12 Ambrose S. Murray.
C. V. R. Luddington.
- 13 B. Platt Carpenter.
Lewis F. Payne.
- 14 William S. Kenyon.
Samuel Harris.
- 15 Charles H. Adams.
Henry Smith.
- 16 Martin I. Townsend.
James Harper.
- 17 John Hammond.
N. Edson Sheldon.
- 18 William Andrus.
Edward W. Foster.
- 19 Richard Franchot.
Charles S. Lester.
- 20 Leroy E. Bowe.
Robert Bernard.
- 21 Warner Miller.
Alexander Campbell.
- 22 Daniel Walker.
M. D. Barnett.
- 23 Andrew S. Warner.
Alexander M. Holmes.
- 24 R. Nelson Gere.
David Allen Munroe.
- 25 George I. Post.
George W. Jones.
- 26 Jonathan B. Morey.
Daniel Morris.
- 27 William L. Bostwick.
Gordon G. Manning.
- 28 John N. Hungerford.
Abijah J. Welman.
- 29 A. Carter Wilder.
Dan H. Cole.
- 30 Elbert E. Farman.
William Tyrrell.
- 31 John Allen.
John Greiner.
- 32 H. O. Lakin.
Henry Van Aernam.

NORTH CAROLINA.

- At Large.*
Thomas Settle.
Joseph C. Abbott.
Thomas Powers.
James W. Hood.
- Districts.*
1 Lewis Hilliard.

- T. A. Sykes.
- 2 George W. Nason, Jr.
L. G. Estes.
- 3 Edward Cantwell.
George W. Price, Jr.
- 4 James H. Harris.
J. H. Williamson.
- 5 Thomas B. Keogh.
James E. Boyd.
- 6 John McDonald.
James Sinclair.
- 7 J. J. Mott.
George H. Brown.
- 8 Pinkney Rollins.
E. R. Hampton.

OHIO.

- At Large.*
Jacob Mueller.
Samuel Craighead.
J. Madison Bell.
Henry Kessler.
R. B. Hayes.
T. W. Sanderson.
- Dist's (old apportionment).*
1 James W. Sands.
Henry B. Eckleman.
2 Josiah L. Keck.
W. F. Tidball.
3 W. D. Bickham.
J. Kelley O'Neil.
4 Griffith Ellis.
A. G. Conover.
5 David Harpster.
James L. Price.
6 Jeff. Hildebrant.
A. J. Wright.
7 Perry Stewart.
E. F. Noyes.
8 John W. Myers.
S. E. DeWolf.
9 J. G. Sherman.
J. S. York.
10 Wm. Crouse.
P. C. Hays.
11 John B. Gregory.
W. H. Enochs.
12 N. J. Turney.
John S. Brasee.
13 Daniel Applegate.
W. C. Cooper.
14 Aaron Pardee.
L. J. Sprengle.
15 N. H. Van Vorhies.
S. S. Knowles.
16 Isaac Welch.
W. H. Gooderel.
17 Washington Butler.
A. W. Williams.
18 John Huntington.
Jos. Turney.
18 F. G. Servis.
Wm. M. Eames.

OREGON.

- At Large.*
Hiram Smith.
George P. Holman.
Thomas Channan.
B. F. Dowell.

Districts.

- J. P. Booth.
 - M. Peterson.
- PENNSYLVANIA.
- At Large.*
Morton McMichael.
J. W. F. White.
Henry H. Bingham.
M. S. Quay.
A. H. Gross.
David F. Houston.

Districts.

- 1 James N. Kerns.
James Gillinham.
- 2 George H. Smith.
John A. Shermer.
- 3 Geo. Truman, Jr.
Wm. M. Bunn.
- 4 P. A. B. Widener.
Chas. T. Jones.
- 5 John Barlow.
Jos. C. Ferguson.
- 6 Josiah Jackson.
William Ward.
- 7 Amos Henderson.
John Strohm.
- 8 Samuel Frees.
William G. Moore.
- 9 D. O. Hittner.
John C. Pennington.
- 10 Charles Albright.
John Williamson.
- 11 W. R. Smith.
M. Whitmoyer.
- 12 S. F. Barr.
George Meiley.
- 13 Joseph A. Scranton.
L. D. Shoemaker.
- 14 N. C. Ellbra.
P. M. Osterhout.
- 15 Robert W. Foresman.
Jerome B. Potter.
- 16 Edmund Blanchard.
David W. Woods.
- 17 Samuel McCamant.
C. T. Roberts.
- 18 Geo. B. Weistling.
Joseph Pomeroy.
- 19 W. D. Rogers.
Thomas F. Gallagher.
- 20 E. B. Brandt.
W. H. Shibley.
- 21 J. K. Thompson.
A. G. Henry.
- 22 M. S. Humphries.
H. W. Oliver.
- 23 James L. Graham.
H. M. Long.
- 24 C. McCandless.
David M. Boyd.
- 25 A. B. McCartney.
Geo. K. Anderson.
- 26 C. W. Gillfillan.
G. W. Scofield.

RHODE ISLAND.

- At Large.*
Ambrose E. Burnside.
Thos. M. Seabury.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

William Goddard.
Edward L. Freeman.

Districts.

- 1 Nelson W. Aldrich.
Latimer W. Ballou.
- 2 Wm. D. Brayton.
Alanson Steere.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

At Large.

Franklin Moses, Jr.
A. J. Ransier.

Dist's (old apportionment).

- 1 H. J. Maxwell.
S. A. Swails.
F. H. Frost.
- 2 E. W. M. Mackey.
Robert Smalls.
Geo. F. McIntyre.
- 3 R. B. Elliott.
W. B. Nash.
James L. Orr.
- 4 T. J. Mackey.
J. M. Allen.
Joseph Crews.

TENNESSEE.

At Large.

David A. Nunn.
Henry G. Smith.
William Y. Elliott.
E. C. Camp.
J. A. Hatcher.
J. M. Broadnax.

Districts.

- 1 R. R. Butler.
Max. L. Mayer.
- 2 A. J. Ricks.
T. M. Schlier.
- 3 Samuel Bard
Henry Deutsch.
- 4 W. H. Wisener.
George E. Grisham.
- 5 Thos. A. Kercheval.
Moses R. Johnson.
- 6 J. M. Hill.
D. B. Cliffe.
- 7 N. F. Hood.
R. M. Thompson.
- 8 W. A. Mabrey.
A. S. Mitchell.
- 9 Barbour Lewis.
Joseph A. Gronauer.

TEXAS.

At Large.

Webster Flanagan.
A. M. Bryant.
G. T. Ruby.

Dist's (old apportionment).

- 1 J. B. Williamson.
William Chambers.
Thomas Younger.

- 2 W. A. Elliott.
Richard Walker.
F. W. Sumner.
- 3 W. A. Saylor.
Richard Allen.
M. V. McMahon.
- 4 J. W. Talbott.
T. C. Barden.
B. F. Williams.

VERMONT.

At Large.

John Gregory Smith.
Horace Fairbanks.
Benjamin H. Steele.
George W. Grandey.

Districts.

- 1 George A. Tuttle.
George Nichols.
- 2 Jas. Hutchinson, Jr.
William Harris, Jr.
- 3 George Wilkins.
Lawrence Barnes.

VIRGINIA.

At Large.

Edward Daniels.
H. H. Wells, Jr.
C. J. Meuld.
L. H. Chandler.
Lewis McKenzie.
John A. Harman.

Dist's (old apportionment).

- 1 Robert Norton.
P. J. Carter.
- 2 J. H. VanAuken.
R. G. L. Paige.
- 3 John R. Popham.
John Robinson.
- 4 Ross Hamilton.
M. R. Lloyd.
- 5 John Boisseau.
Caesar Perkins.
- 6 Randolph Martin.
C. D. Gray.
- 7 James B. Sener.
Richard H. Lee.
- 8 J. B. Frier.
G. G. Goodell.

WEST VIRGINIA

Districts.

- 1 W. E. Stevenson.
R. W. Simmons.
George Edwards.
C. F. Scott.
- 2 D. D. T. Farnsworth.
J. M. Hagans.
Charles Hooton.
- 3 T. B. Swan.
R. A. Burnap.
John E. Schley.

WISCONSIN.

At Large.

Lucius Fairchild.
C. J. L. Meyer.
Thomas S. Allen.
James Binthiff.

Districts.

- 1 L. S. Blake.
Frank Leland.
- 2 N. S. Green.
E. W. Keyes.
- 3 G. W. Ryland.
A. Ludlow.
- 4 Asahel Finch.
L. F. Frisby.
- 5 John H. Jones.
Otto Troemels.
- 6 George M. Paine.
W. H. H. Wroe.
- 7 J. G. Thorpe.
John Comstock.
- 8 Walter D. McIndoe.
Thaddeus C. Pound.

ARIZONA.

John Titus.
James H. Toole.

COLORADO.

Jerome B. Chaffee.
Geo. M. Chillicothe.

DAKOTA.

(Entitled to two votes;
four delegates admitted.)

J. H. Burdick.
Alexander Hughes.
L. H. Litchfield.
John G. Meade.

DIST. OF COLUMBIA.

Alex. R. Shepard.
John F. Cooke.

IDAHO.

E. J. Curtis.
John R. McBride.

MONTANA.

Wilber F. Sanders.
Lucius B. Church.

NEW MEXICO.

Marsh Giddings.
J. G. Palen.

UTAH.

A. S. Gould.
O. J. Hollister.

WASHINGTON.

James McNaught.
Lyman B. Andrews.

WYOMING.

G. W. Corey.
J. W. Donnellan.

THE PLATFORM.

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country.

1. During eleven years of supremacy, it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic Rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with a firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy towards the Indians. The Pacific Railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite large annual reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not entrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the national Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right—not merely tolerated because they are laws,—and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The national government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage, and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life-tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and to promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who, in the line of duty, became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their

former governments; and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor—the creator of capital—the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box, and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction, and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the federal government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or national government.

17. It is the duty of the general government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and shipbuilding.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator, and a representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader, and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

GRANT'S SECOND LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, June 10, 1872.

Hon. Thomas Settle, President National Republican Convention; Paul Strobach, Elisha Baxter and others, Vice-Presidents:

GENTLEMEN:—Your letter of this date, advising me of the action of the convention held at Philadelphia on the 5th and 6th of this month, and of my unanimous nomination for the Presidency by it, is received. I accept the nomination, and through you return my heartfelt thanks to your constituents for the mark of their confidence and support.

If elected in November, and protected by a kind Providence in health and strength to perform the duties of the high trust conferred, I promise the same zeal and devotion to the good of the whole people, for the future of my official life, as shown in the past. Experience may guide avoiding the mistakes inevitable with novices in all professions and in all occupations.

When relieved from the responsibility of my present trust by the election of a successor, whether it be at the end of this term or at the end of the next, I hope to leave to him as the Executive a country at peace within all its borders, at peace with outside nations, with credit at home and abroad, without embarrassing questions to threaten its future prosperity, with the expression of a desire to see a speedy healing of all bitterness between sections, parties, races, or citizens, and the time when the title of citizen carries with it all the protection and privileges to the humblest that it does to the most exalted.

I subscribe myself, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT.

WILSON'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

WASHINGTON, June 14, 1872.

Hon. Thomas Settle, and others, President and Vice-Presidents National Republican Convention held at Philadelphia:

GENTLEMEN:—Your note of the 10th inst., conveying to me the action of the convention in placing my name in nomination for the office of Vice-President, is before me. I need not give you assurance of my grateful appreciation of the high honor conferred upon me by this action of the fifth national convention of the Republican party.

Sixteen years ago, in the same city, was held the first meeting of men who, amid the darkness of that hour of slave-holding ascendancy and aggression, had assembled in national convention to confer with each other on the exigencies to which that fearful domination had brought this country. After a full conference the highest point of resolve they could reach, the most they dared to recommend, was an avowed purpose to prohibit the existence of slavery in the Territories.

Last week the same party met, by its representatives from thirty-seven States and ten territories, at the same great center of wealth, intelligence and power, to review the past, take note of the present, and indicate the line of action for the future.

As typical facts and headlands of the nation's recent history, there sat on its platform, taking a prominent and honored part in its proceedings, admitted on terms of perfect equality to the leading hotels in the city, not only colored representatives of the race which ten years ago were in abject slavery, but one of the oldest and most prominent of the once despised Abolitionists, to whom was accorded, as to no other, the warmest demonstrations of popular regard and esteem, an ovation, not to him alone, but to the cause he had so ably and for so many years represented, and to men and women, living and dead, who had toiled through long years of obliquy and self-sacrifice for the glorious fruition of that hour. It hardly needed the brilliant summary of its platform to set forth its illustrious achievements. The very presence of those men was alone significant of the victories already achieved, the progress already made, and the great distance which the nation has traveled between the years 1856 and 1872.

But grand as has been its record, the Republican party rests not on its past alone. It looks to the future, and grapples with its problems of duty and danger. It professes, as objects of its immediate accomplishment, complete liberty and equality for all; the enforcement of the present amendments of the national Constitution; reform in the civil service; the national domain to be set apart for homes to the people; the adjustment of duties on imports so as to secure remunerative wages to labor; the extension of bounties to all soldiers and sailors who in the line of duty became disabled; continued and careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration, and guarding with zealous care the rights of all adopted citizens; abolition of the franking privilege, and speedy reduction of the rates of postage; reduction of the national debt and rates of interest, and resumption of specie payment; encouragement of American commerce and of ship-building; suppression of violence and protection of the ballot-box. It also placed on record the opinions and purposes of the party in favor of amnesty, against all forms of repudiation, and in-dorsed the humane and peaceful policy of the administration to the Indians.

But while clearly defining and distinctly announcing the policy of the Republican party on these questions of practical legislation and administration, the convention did not ignore the great social problems which are pressing their claims for solution, and which demand the most careful study and wise consideration. Foremost stands the labor question. Concerning the relation of capital and labor, the Republican party accepts the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital and labor, the creation of capital, the largest opportunities and just share of mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization. To woman, too, and her new demands, it extends the hand of grateful recognition, and proffers its most respectful inquiry. It recognizes her noble devotion to the country and freedom; welcomes her admission to wider fields of usefulness, and the calm and careful consideration of the nation.

To guard well what has already been secured, to work out faithfully and wisely what is now in hand, and to consider the questions which are looming up to view but a little way before us, the Republican party is to-day what it was in the gloomy days of slavery, rebellion and reconstruction—a national necessity. It appeals, therefore, to the patriotic and liberty-loving; to the just and humane; to all who would dignify labor; to all who would educate, elevate and lighten the burdens of the sons and daughters of toil. With its great record, the work still to be done, and under the great soldier whose historic renown and whose successful administration for the last three years begot such popular

confidence, the Republican party may confidently, in the language of the convention you represent, "start on a new march to victory."

Having accepted thirty-six years ago the distinguishing doctrines of the Republican party of to-day; having, during the years of that period, for their advancement, subordinated all to her issues, acting in and co-operating with political organizations with whose leading doctrines I sometimes had neither sympathy nor belief; having labored incessantly for many years to found and build up the Republican party, and having, during its existence, taken an humble part in its grand work, I gratefully accept the nomination thus tendered, and shall endeavor, if it shall be ratified by the people, faithfully to perform the duty it imposes.

Respectfully yours,

HENRY WILSON.

1876.

CALL FOR THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION.

WASHINGTON, January 13, 1876.

The next Union Republican National Convention, for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, will be held in the city of Cincinnati, on Wednesday, the 14th day of June, 1876, at 12 o'clock, noon, and will consist of delegates from each State equal to twice the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, and of two delegates from each organized territory and the District of Columbia.

In calling the conventions for the election of delegates, the committees of the several States are recommended to invite all Republican electors, and all other voters, without regard to past political differences or previous party affiliations, who are opposed to reviving sectional issues, and desire to promote friendly feeling and permanent harmony throughout the country by maintaining and enforcing all the constitutional rights of every citizen, including the full and free exercise of the right of suffrage without intimidation and without fraud; who are in favor of the continued prosecution and punishment of all official dishonesty, and of an economical administration of the government by honest, faithful and capable officers; who are in favor of making such reforms in government as experience may from time to time suggest; who are opposed to impairing the credit of the nation by depreciating any of its obligations, and in favor of sustaining in every way the national faith and financial honor; who hold that the common-school system is the nursery of American liberty, and should be maintained absolutely free from sectarian control; who believe that, for the promotion of these ends, the direction of the government should continue to be confided to those who adhere to the principles of 1776, and support them as incorporated in the Constitution and the laws; and who are in favor of recognizing and strengthening the fundamental principle of national unity in this centennial anniversary of the birth of the Republic.

E. D. MORGAN, *Chairman*.

WM. E. CHANDLER, *Secretary*.

DELEGATES BY STATES.

ALABAMA.

At Large.

Jeremiah Harlason.
Willard Warner.
Samuel F. Rice.
Wm. H. Smith.

Districts.

- 1 M. D. Wickersham.
Frank H. Threatt.
- 2 Robert A. Knox.
Hershal D. Cashin.
- 3 M. S. Patterson.
Robert T. Smith.
- 4 James V. McDuffie.
G. S. W. Lewis.
- 5 Charles H. Miller.
Wm. H. Nichols.
- 6 J. A. Cowdery.
William Miller.
- 7 Joseph W. Burke.
Robert A. Mosely.

8 J. R. Caffrey.

Thos. Masterson.

ARKANSAS.

Powell Clayton.
S. W. Dorsey.
John M. Peck.
John McClure.
M. W. Benjamin.
Joseph Brooks.
Henry M. Cooper.
Asa Hodges.
James Torraus.
M. W. Gibbs.
O. A. Hadley.
O. P. Snyder.
R. A. Dawson.
J. F. Vaughn.
J. H. Clendenning.
Wm. Keener.
H. A. Miller.

R. A. Caldwell.
John H. Johnson.
W. P. Walsh.
J. N. Sarber.
E. A. Fulton.
Frank Gallagher.
C. C. Waters.

CALIFORNIA.

At Large.

Alexander G. Abell.
Charles F. Reed.
Geo. S. Evans.
J. M. Pierce.

Districts.

- 1 Isaac Hecht.
John Martin.
- 2 L. H. Foote.
E. H. Dyer.
- 3 A. P. Whitney.
N. D. Rideout.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

- 4 Josiah Belden.
M. E. Gonzales.
COLORADO.
Jerome B. Chaffee.
J. B. Belford.
John L. Routt.
W. B. Osborn.
Henry McAlister.
Geo. W. Morgan.
CONNECTICUT.
At Large.
Joseph R. Hawley.
Stephen W. Kellogg.
Joseph Selden.
John T. Rockwell.
Districts.
1 Martin J. Sheldon.
Dwight Marcy.
2 Lynde Harrison.
John M. Douglass.
3 John A. Tibbits.
John M. Hall.
4 Samuel Fessenden.
W. B. Rudd.
DELAWARE.
Eli R. Sharp.
David W. Moore.
J. H. Hoffecker.
J. R. Lofland.
James Scott.
R. G. Smith.
FLORIDA.
At Large.
S. B. Conover.
W. J. Purman.
John G. Long.
John R. Scott.
Districts.
1 Manuel Gorin.
Peter W. Bryant.
2 Harrison Reed.
J. W. Menard.
GEORGIA.
At Large.
Henry P. Farrow.
James Atkins.
Henry M. Turner.
George Wallace.
Districts.
1 John H. De Vaux.
J. T. Collins.
2 Edward C. Wade.
Francis P. Putney.
3 S. Wise Parker.
Elbert Head.
4 Randolph L. Mott.
Walter H. Johnson.
5 G. B. Chamberlain.
Jones O. Winbush.
6 Jefferson F. Long.
James B. DeVaux.
7 Wm. L. Goodwin.
J. N. VanMeter.
8 Edwin Belcher.
C. H. Prince.
- 9 Isham S. Fannin.
Madison Davis.
ILLINOIS.
At Large.
Joseph Robbins.
Robert G. Ingersoll.
Green B. Raum.
George S. Bangs.
Districts.
1 Sydney Smith.
Geo. M. Bogue.
2 John McArthur.
S. K. Dow.
3 F. W. Palmer.
Chas. B. Farwell.
4 Wm. Coffin.
E. E. Ayers.
5 R. L. Burchell.
Alexander Walker.
6 A. R. Mock.
Joel W. Hopkins.
7 Jeremiah Evarts.
Geo. N. Chittenden.
8 Joseph F. Culver.
A. Buck.
9 Thomas A. Boyd.
Enoch Emery.
10 D. G. Tennicliiff.
David McDill.
11 J. M. Davis.
George W. Ware.
12 William Prescott.
N. W. Branson.
13 C. R. Cummings.
R. B. Latham.
14 D. D. Evans.
L. J. Bond.
15 Benson Wood.
Thomas J. Golden.
16 James S. Martin.
George S. McCord.
17 John I. Rinaker.
H. S. Baker.
18 William McAdams.
Isaac Clements.
19 C. D. Ham.
W. A. Robinson.
INDIANA.
At Large.
Rich'd W. Thompson.
Will Cumback.
James N. Tyner.
Thomas M. Browne.
Districts.
1 William Heilman.
R. T. Kercheval.
2 Laz Noble.
N. R. Peckinpaugh.
3 J. H. McCampbell.
Simeon Stansifer.
4 J. H. Tripp.
William J. Baird.
5 R. M. Haworth.
John Schwartz.
6 Simon T. Powell.
Asbury Steele.
7 L. M. Campbell.
J. C. S. Harrison.
8 Amazi L. Munson.
- William K. Edwards.
M. H. Bunnell.
Henry Taylor.
10 E. S. Merrifield.
Edwin Nicar.
11 K. G. Shryock.
J. R. Gray.
12 George Arnold.
A. W. Delong.
13 B. L. Davenport.
James S. Frazer.
IOWA.
At Large.
Hiram Price.
James F. Wilson.
John Y. Stone.
George D. Perkins.
Districts.
1 Frank Hatton.
Samuel M. Clark.
2 Wm. T. Shaw.
E. S. Bailey.
3 W. G. Donnan.
A. F. Tipton.
4 S. W. Mackenzie.
J. H. Bush.
5 S. F. Cooper.
E. T. Johnson.
6 R. L. Tilden.
S. G. Smith.
7 J. J. Steadman.
R. C. Webb.
8 John T. Baldwin.
M. L. Brooks.
9 A. C. Call.
J. D. Hunter.
KANSAS.
At Large.
David P. Lowe.
F. M. Shaw.
T. Dwight Thatcher.
A. L. Redden.
O. H. Sheldon.
Cyrus Leland, Jr.
A. J. Banta.
Albert H. Horton.
T. C. Sears.
William Martindale.
KENTUCKY.
At Large.
J. M. Harlan.
W. H. Wadsworth.
W. C. Goodloe.
Robert Boyd.
Districts.
1 J. T. Long.
J. R. Puryear.
2 E. H. Murray.
E. R. Weir, Sr.
E. L. Motley.
E. G. Sebrce.
4 W. H. Hays.
T. E. Burns.
5 James Speed.
Madison Minnis.
6 J. J. Landram.
J. W. Finnell.
7 T. O. Shackelford.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.*

- Gabriel Burdett.**
 8 A. R. Burnam.
 T. Z. Morrow.
 9 J. H. Wilson.
 H. C. Rainey.
 10 W. W. Culbertson.
 Reuben Gudgell.
LOUISIANA.
At Large.
 William P. Kellogg.
 S. B. Packard.
 P. B. S. Pinchback.
 W. G. Brown.
Districts.
 1 C. J. Adolphe.
 W. F. Loan.
 2 H. Dumas.
 R. H. Chadbourne.
 3 Chester B. Darrall.
 Pierre Landry.
 4 George L. Smith.
 J. Y. Kelso.
 5 David Young.
 G. B. Hamlet.
 6 C. E. Nash.
 J. H. Burch.
MAINE.
At Large.
 Nelson Dingley, Jr.
 Josiah H. Drummond.
 John L. Stevens.
 Frank Cobb.
Districts.
 1 John B. Brown.
 James M. Stone.
 2 W. P. Frye.
 Enoch Foster, Jr.
 3 R. B. Shepard.
 Edwin Flye.
 4 Charles A. Boutelle.
 Josiah B. Mayo.
 5 Eugene Hale.
 S. L. Milliken.
MARYLAND.
At Large.
 Joseph B. Pugh.
 John L. Thomas, Jr.
 C. C. Fulton.
 Edward Wilkins.
Districts.
 1 E. G. Waters.
 William Perkins.
 2 John T. Ensor.
 W. A. McKillup.
 3 Robert Turner.
 Peter Thompson.
 Sam'l M. Shoemaker.
 Samuel Chase.
 5 W. G. Tuck.
 J. A. Gary.
 6 F. M. Darby.
 L. H. Steiner.
MASSACHUSETTS.
At Large.
 E. R. Hoar.
 Richard H. Dana, Jr.
 Paul A. Chadbourne.
 John M. Forbes.
Districts.
 1 Wm. T. Davis.
 Robert T. Davis.
 2 John E. Sanford.
 Edward L. Pierce.
 3 Henry D. Hyde.
 J. Feit Osgood.
 4 Alpheus Hardy.
 C. R. McLean.
 5 James M. Shute.
 James F. Dwinall.
 6 George B. Loring.
 Henry Carter.
 7 Wm. A. Russell.
 C. H. Waters.
 8 James F. Clark.
 J. R. Lowell.
 9 A. J. Bartholomew.
 George F. Hoar.
 10 James F. Moore.
 William Whiting.
 11 Edward Learned.
 S. R. Phillips.
MICHIGAN.
At Large.
 H. P. Baldwin.
 Wm. A. Howard.
 J. J. Woodman.
 D. L. Filer.
Districts.
 1 W. G. Thompson.
 Herman Keifer.
 2 Rice A. Beal.
 Charles Rynd.
 3 W. H. Withington.
 E. S. Lacey.
 4 N. A. Hamilton.
 George Hannahs.
 5 O. B. Watson.
 B. D. Pritchard.
 6 Wm. L. Smith.
 W. S. George.
 7 J. C. Waterbury.
 S. J. Tomlinson.
 8 Theo. F. Shepard.
 H. H. Hoyt.
 9 W. H. C. Mitchell.
 John C. Merriam.
MINNESOTA.
At Large.
 Alexander Ramsey.
 Theo. Sander.
Districts.
 1 J. B. Wakefield.
 M. C. Fenness.
 W. G. Ward.
 2 John T. Ames.
 Albert Knight.
 L. Boegen.
 3 R. B. Langdon.
 N. P. Clark.
 D. M. Sabin.
MISSISSIPPI.
At Large.
 Blanche K. Bruce.
 Adelbert Ames.
 J. L. Alcorn.
 R. C. Powers.
Districts.
 1 J. M. Bynum.
 F. H. Little.
 2 George M. Buchanan.
 J. T. Settle.
 3 Jason Niles.
 T. J. White.
 4 H. W. Warren.
 J. J. Spellman.
 5 Jas. A. Haskins.
 M. Shaughnessey.
 6 C. W. Clark.
 J. D. Cessor.
MISSOURI.
At Large.
 B. F. Loan.
 R. T. VanHorn.
 G. A. Finkelnberg.
 James T. Smith.
 1 Hugo Auler.
 George Bain.
 2 Chauncey I. Filley.
 M. A. Rosenblatt.
 3 Wm. H. Cornell.
 John H. Pohlman.
 4 Augustus St. Gem.
 John A. Weber.
 5 Amos P. Foster.
 W. J. Wallace.
 6 H. E. Havens.
 A. L. Cahn.
 7 Milo Blair.
 Mack J. Leaming.
 8 D. S. Twitchell.
 A. U. Holcomb.
 9 A. E. Wyatt.
 Chas. G. Comstock.
 10 M. A. Lowe.
 J. P. Jones.
 11 A. F. Denny.
 M. L. DeMott.
 12 J. Sands.
 S. W. Birch.
 13 Theodore Breuere.
 T. J. C. Fagg.
NEBRASKA.
 N. R. Pinney.
 R. G. Brown.
 L. W. Osborn.
 Albinus Nance.
 H. S. Kaley.
 C. F. Bayha.
NEVADA.
 John P. Jones.
 C. N. Harris.
 Frank Bell.
 R. S. Clapp.
 Thomas Wren.
 A. A. Curtis.
NEW HAMPSHIRE.
At Large.
 Daniel Hall.
 Nathaniel White.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.*

C. H. Burns.
Ira Colby, Jr.
Districts.
1 Alonzo Nute.
George W. Marston.
2 E. A. Straw
Jesse Gault.
3 Benjamin F. Whidden.
Thomas C. Rand.
NEW JERSEY.

At Large.
Wm. J. Sewell.
Frederick A. Potts.
George A. Halsey.
Garret A. Hobart.

Districts.
1 Richard S. Leaming.
Wm. E. Potter.
2 Fred. W. Roebeling.
James N. Stratton.
3 Wm. A. Newell.
Wm. J. Magie.
4 John L. Blair.
Isaiah N. Dilts.
5 Henry C. Pitney.
J. Wyman Jones.
6 John L. Blake.
S. V. C. Van Kenschlaer
7 L. H. Kendrick.
M. T. Newbold.

NEW YORK.

At Large.
Alonzo B. Cornell.
Henry H. Garnett.
Theo. M. Pomeroy.
James M. Mathews.

Districts.
1 L. Bradford Prince.
George Wm. Curtis.
2 Abiel A. Law.
Silas B. Dutcher.
3 Stewart L. Woodford
Benj. D. Silliman.
4 Jacob Worth.
David Williams.
5 William Orton.
Abraham Lent.
6 Benj. K. Phelps.
A. J. Dittenhoefer.
7 DeWitt C. Wheeler.
Thomas Murphy.
8 George F. Merklece.
John D. Lawson.
9 Marshall O. Roberts.
Joel W. Mason.
10 Clarence A. Seward.
Rufus B. Cowing.
11 Edwin D. Morgan.
George Opdyke.
12 Wm. H. Robertson.
James W. Husted.
13 John H. Ketcham.
Jacob W. Hoystradt.
14 Edward M. Madden.
John W. Ferdon.
15 William S. Kenyon.
Joshua Fiero, Jr.
16 Charles E. Smith.

John F. Smyth.
17 Isaac V. Baker, Jr.
Gilbert Robertson, Jr.
18 George Cahoon.
Franklin W. Tobey.
19 Wells S. Dickinson.
Henry R. James.
20 James M. Marvin.
Stephen Sanford.
21 Hugh G. Crozier.
Samuel S. Edick.
22 Amos V. Smiley.
James C. Feeter.
23 Charles M. Dennison.
Arthur B. Johnson.
24 John C. Churchill.
Benj. R. Wendell.
25 George N. Crouse.
Frank Hiscock.
26 John H. Camp.
William B. Woodin.
27 Hathorn Burt.
John S. Sheppard.
28 Thos. C. Platt.
Giles W. Hotchkiss.
29 Wm. M. Smith.
Harlow Hakes.
30 Charles E. Fitch.
Henry A. Glidden.
31 Wolcott J. Humphrey.
William Poole.
32 Philip Becker.
Sherman S. Rogers.
33 Walter L. Sessions.
Alonzo Hawley.

NORTH CAROLINA.

At Large.
Thos. Powers.
James H. Harris.
William H. Wheeler.
Virgil S. Lusk.

Districts.
1 Poleman John.
J. J. Martin
2 W. P. Mabson.
E. R. Page.
3 James Heaton.
Daniel L. Russell.
4 William A. Smith.
Richard C. Badger.
5 Thomas M. Owen.
Thomas J. Keogh.
6 J. R. Nocho.
R. M. Norment.
7 J. J. Mott.
T. M. Cooper.
8 John G. Heap.
Pinckney Rollins.

OHIO.

At Large.
Benjamin F. Wade.
Edward F. Noyes.
J. Warren Keifer.
Wm. H. Upson.
Districts.
1 Benjamin Eggleston.
Christian Moerlein.
2 Henry Kessler.

L. C. Weir.
3 H. L. Morey.
Frank Browning.
4 Wm. D. Bickham.
B. Collins.
5 James L. Price.
James Irvine.
6 N. M. Howard.
Earl W. Merry.
7 Samuel H. Hurst.
John A. Smith.
8 H. W. Smith.
A. R. Byrket.
9 T. C. Jones.
Hylas Sabin.
10 R. P. Buckland.
J. B. Rothchild.
11 H. C. Jones.
S. H. Bright.
12 L. J. Critchfield.
John Groce.
13 E. L. Lybarger.
J. L. McIlvaine.
14 D. W. Wilson.
H. C. Carhart.
15 V. B. Horton.
Jewett Palmer.
16 J. T. Updegraff.
John Lemmox.
17 C. Aultman.
J. A. Ambler.
18 A. S. McClure.
Geo. T. Perkins.
19 H. B. Perkins.
George H. Ford.
20 Edwin Cowles.
Julius C. Schenck.
OREGON.
J. C. Tolman.
J. B. David.
B. C. Van Houghton.
J. H. Foster.
H. K. Hines.
H. W. Scott.

PENNSYLVANIA.

At Large.
J. D. Cameron.
Wm. R. Leeds.
Henry M. Hoyt.
R. W. Mackey.
Districts.
Henry H. Bingham.
Wm. J. Pollock.
John L. Hill.
Morton McMichael.
George W. Fairman.
M. Hall Stanton.
Wm. B. Mann.
W. H. Kemble.
J. M. Byram.
Joseph Johnson.
H. T. Darlington.
Alan Wood, Jr.
G. E. Darlington.
J. Smith Putney.
W. S. McManus.
E. E. Griesemer.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.*

- B. F. Eshleman.
 Henry S. Eberly.
 H. J. Reeder.
 E. B. Young.
 Charles Albright.
 D. A. Beckley.
 J. B. VanBergen.
 H. W. Palmer.
 Lin Bartholomew.
 Daniel P. Miller.
 Samuel F. Barr.
 J. W. Grove.
 J. E. Carmalt.
 W. T. Davis.
 J. R. Bowen.
 Lucius Rogers.
 John Cessna.
 Edward Scull.
 John Stewart.
 John Wister.
 Chas. H. Mullen.
 Ed. McPherson.
 H. T. Harvey.
 T. H. Murray.
 D. S. Atkinson.
 Andrew Stewart.
 C. L. Magee.
 J. H. Hampton.
 H. W. Oliver, Jr.
 J. A. Chambers.
 M. S. Quay.
 W. S. Moore.
 R. Ruloffson.
 Simon Truby.
 L. G. Linn.
 Henry C. Bloss.
 Thomas M. Walker.
 E. W. Smiley.
- RHODE ISLAND.**
 Charles C. VanZandt.
 Charles Nourse.
 Nelson W. Aldrich.
 Gorham P. Pomroy.
 Edward L. Freeman.
 Henry Howard.
 Isaac F. Williams.
 James M. Pendleton.
- SOUTH CAROLINA.**
At Large.
 Robert B. Elliott.
 D. H. Chamberlain.
 Richard H. Gleaves.
 J. J. Patterson.
Districts.
 1 Stephen A. Swails.
 Joseph H. Rainey.
 2 H. G. Worthington.
 Wm. J. McKinley.
 3 Henry C. Corwin.
 Wm. B. Nash.
 4 A. S. Wallace.
 John Winsmith.
 5 Robert Smalls.
 Lawrence Cain.
- TENNESSEE.**
At Large.
 J. M. Thornburg.
 J. C. Napier.
- David A. Nunn.
 J. T. Wilder.
- Districts.*
 1 R. R. Butler.
 T. H. Reeves.
 2 E. C. Camp.
 Wm. Rule.
 3 A. G. Sharp.
 T. L. Cate.
 4 James Peacock.
 W. L. Waters.
 5 J. A. Warder.
 W. Y. Elliott.
 6 H. H. Harrison.
 J. H. Burres.
 7 M. H. Weir.
 G. W. Blackburn.
 8 S. W. Hawkins.
 E. G. Ridgeley.
 9 A. A. Freeman.
 J. W. Boyd.
 10 Edward Shaw.
 Wm. M. Randolph.
- TEXAS.**
At Large.
 Edmund J. Davis.
 S. H. Russell.
 A. Zadek.
 A. B. Norton.
Districts.
 1 L. W. Cooper.
 S. T. Newton.
 2 A. G. Malloy.
 F. W. Minor.
 3 I. L. L. McCall.
 L. W. Williams.
 4 R. Allen.
 J. R. Burns.
 5 N. W. Cuney.
 S. A. Hackworth.
 6 J. P. Newcomb.
 Wm. Billings.
- VERMONT.**
At Large.
 Luke P. Poland.
 Wheelock G. Veazie.
 George Howe.
 George H. Biglow.
Districts.
 1 Mason S. Colburn.
 Fred E. Woodbridge.
 2 Warren C. French.
 Roswell Farnham.
 3 Silas P. Carpenter.
 John L. Mason.
- VIRGINIA.**
At Large.
 W. H. H. Stowell.
 John F. Lewis.
 Richard H. Carter.
 W. N. Stevens.
Districts.
 1 J. B. Sener.
 P. J. Carter.
 2 J. F. Dezendorf.
 J. M. Dawson.
 3 O. H. Russell.
 J. W. Poindexter.
- 4 W. L. Fernald.
 Ross Hamilton.
 5 D. S. Lewis.
 J. B. Dehaven.
 6 J. H. Rives.
 George V. Case.
 7 J. W. Porter.
 Joseph Harrison.
 8 Wm. Miller.
 O. Blanchard.
 9 Jacob Wagner.
 W. S. Oakey.
- WEST VIRGINIA.**
At Large.
 Thos. H. Logan.
 Waitman L. Willey.
 James W. Davis.
 R. W. Simmons.
Districts.
 1 W. E. Stevenson.
 N. Goff, Jr.
 2 John E. Schley.
 E. W. S. Moore.
 3 Z. D. Ramsdall.
 Eugene Dana.
- WISCONSIN.**
At Large.
 David Atwood.
 Philetus Sawyer.
 James H. Howe.
 Mark Douglass.
Districts.
 1 Elihu Enos.
 James Bintliff.
 2 Elisha W. Keyes.
 James T. Lewis.
 3 Wm. H. Brisbane.
 Ephraim Bowen.
 4 Edward Sanderson.
 Irving M. Bean.
 5 Cal. E. Lewis.
 J. H. Mead.
 6 R. L. D. Potter.
 George Grimmer.
 7 E. O. Rudd.
 John Comstock.
 8 Geo. C. Ginty.
 Myron H. McCord.
- ARIZONA.**
 R. C. McCormick.
 DeForest Porter.
- DAKOTA.**
 Alex. Hughes.
 A. McHench.
- DISTRICT COLUMBIA.**
 Sayles J. Bowen.
 A. M. Green.
- IDAHO.**
 D. P. Thompson.
 Austin Savage.
- MONTANA.**
 W. F. Sanders.
 R. O. Hickman.
- NEW MEXICO.**
 S. B. Axtell.
 Wm. Breeden.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.*

UTAH.

James B. McKean.
George A. Black.

WASHINGTON.

Elwood Evans.
Thos. T. Miner.

WYOMING.

J. M. Carey.
Wm. Hinton.

THE PLATFORM.

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of the government of the people by the people for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories, and with high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party, in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the national and State governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and protected abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, and, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the Union, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, are duties to which the Republican party is sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent Constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States; and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their Constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and chief executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress, signed by President Grant, the national government assumed to remove any doubt of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to public creditors, and solemnly pledged its faith "to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and the national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the Constitution, the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office, the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the house of representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that senators and representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule for appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service and the right of citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to their country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs. We will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be speedy, thorough, and unsparing.

7. The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American republic; and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any school or institution under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations,

which, so far as possible, should be so adjusted as to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We re-affirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to adopted American citizens that is given to native born, and all necessary laws be passed to protect immigrants, in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress fully to investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians on the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women, by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government. And in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate in the territories that relic of barbarism, polygamy; and we demand such legislation as will secure this end, and the supremacy of American institutions in all the territories.

14. The pledges which our nation has given to our soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled. The grateful people will always hold those who periled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth, that a success thus achieved would re-open sectional strife, and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the house of representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with re-asserting and applauding in the national capitol the sentiments of unrepentant Rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower house of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government;—and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs; and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people, for his patriotism and his eminent service in war and in peace.

HAYES'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, July 8, 1876.

Hon. Edward McPherson, Hon. William A. Howard, Hon. Joseph H. Rainey, and others, Committee of the Republican National Convention:

GENTLEMEN:—In reply to your official communication of June 17, by which I am informed of my nomination for the office of President of the United States by the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati, I accept the nomination with gratitude, hoping that, under Providence, I shall be able, if elected, to execute the duties of the high office as a trust for the benefit of all the people.

I do not deem it necessary to enter upon any extended examination of the declaration of principles made by the convention. The resolutions are in accord with my views, and I heartily concur in the principles they announce. In several of the resolutions, however, questions are considered which are of such importance that I deem it proper briefly to express my convictions in regard to them. The fifth resolution adopted by the convention is of paramount interest. More than forty years ago a system of making

appointments to office grew up, based upon the maxim, "To the victors belong the spoils." The old rule, the true rule, that honesty, capacity and fidelity constitute the only real qualifications for office, and that there is no other claim, gave place to the idea that party services were to be chiefly considered. All parties, in practice, have adopted this system. It has been essentially modified since its first introduction; it has not, however, been improved. At first the President, either directly or through the heads of departments, made all the appointments. But gradually the appointing power, in many cases, passed into the control of members of Congress. The offices in these cases have become not merely rewards for party services, but rewards for services to party leaders. This system destroys the independence of the separate departments of the government. It tends directly to extravagance and official incapacity; it is a temptation to dishonesty; it hinders and impairs that careful supervision and strict accountability by which alone faithful and efficient public service can be secured; it obstructs the prompt removal and sure punishment of the unworthy; in every way it degrades the civil service and the character of the government. It is felt, I am confident, by a large majority of the members of Congress, to be an intolerable burden and an unwarrantable hindrance to the proper discharge of their legitimate duties. It ought to be abolished. The reform should be thorough, radical and complete. We should return to the principles and practice of the founders of the government, supplying by legislation, when needed, that which was formerly the established custom. They neither expected nor desired from the public officers any partisan service. They meant that public officers should give their whole service to the government and to the people. They meant that the officer should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished and the performance of his duties satisfactory. If elected, I shall conduct the administration of the government upon these principles, and all Constitutional powers vested in the executive will be employed to establish this reform.

The declaration of principles by the Cincinnati convention makes no announcement in favor of a single Presidential term. I do not assume to add to that declaration, but, believing that the restoration of the civil service to the system established by Washington, and followed by the early Presidents, can be best accomplished by an executive who is under no temptation to use the patronage of his office to promote his own re-election, I desire to perform what I regard as a duty in stating now my inflexible purpose, if elected, not to be a candidate for election to a second term.

On the currency question I have frequently expressed my views in public, and I stand by my record on this subject. I regard all the laws of the United States relating to the payment of the public indebtedness, the legal tender notes included, as constituting a pledge and moral obligation of the government which must in good faith be kept. It is my conviction that the feeling of uncertainty inseparable from an irredeemable paper currency, with its fluctuations of value, is one of the great obstacles to a revival of confidence and business, and to a return of prosperity. That uncertainty can be ended in but one way—the resumption of specie payments. But the longer the instability of our money system is permitted to continue, the greater will be the injury inflicted upon our economical interests, and all classes of society. If elected, I shall approve every appropriate measure to accomplish the desired end, and shall oppose any step backward.

The resolution with respect to the public school system is one which should receive the hearty support of the American people. Agitation upon this subject is to be apprehended, until by Constitutional amendment the schools are placed beyond all danger of sectarian control or interference. The Republican party is pledged to secure such an amendment.

The resolution of the convention on the subject of the permanent pacification of the country, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all of their Constitutional rights, is timely and of great importance. The condition of the Southern States attracts the attention and commands the sympathy of the people of the whole Union. In their progressive recovery from the effects of the war, their first necessity is an intelligent and honest administration of government which will protect all classes of citizens in their official and private rights. What the South most needs is "peace," and peace depends upon the supremacy of the law. There can be no enduring peace if the Constitutional rights of any portion of the people are habitually disregarded. A division of political parties resting merely upon sectional lines is always unfortunate, and may be disastrous. The welfare of the South, alike with that of every other part of this country, depends upon the attractions it can offer to labor and immigration, and to capital. But laborers will not go and capital will not be ventured where the Constitution and the laws are set at defiance, and distraction, apprehen-

sion and alarm take the place of peace-loving and law-abiding social life. All parts of the Constitution are sacred, and must be sacredly observed—the parts that are new no less than the parts that are old. The moral and national prosperity of the Southern States can be most effectually advanced by a hearty and generous recognition of the rights of all by all—a recognition without reserve or exception. With such a recognition fully accorded, it will be practicable to promote, by the influence of all legitimate agencies of the general government, the efforts of the people of those States to obtain for themselves the blessings of honest and capable local government. If elected, I shall consider it not only my duty, but it will be my ardent desire, to labor for the attainment of this end. Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern States that if I shall be charged with the duty of organizing an administration, it will be one which will regard and cherish their truest interests—the interests of the white and of the colored people both and equally; and which will put forth its best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will wipe out forever the distinction between North and South in our common country.

With a civil service organized upon a system which will secure purity, experience, efficiency and economy, a strict regard for the public welfare solely in appointments, and a speedy, thorough and unsparing prosecution and punishment of all public officers who betray official trusts; with a sound currency; with education, unsectarian and free to all; with simplicity and frugality in public and private; and with a fraternal harmony pervading the people of all sections and classes, we may reasonably hope that the second century of our existence as a nation will, by the blessings of God, be pre-eminent as an era of good feelings, and a period of progress, prosperity and happiness.

Very respectfully, your fellow-citizen,

R. B. HAYES.

WHEELER'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

MALONE, NEW YORK, July 15, 1876.

Hon. Edward McPherson and others of the Republican National Convention.

GENTLEMEN:—I received, on the 6th inst., your communication advising me that I had been unanimously nominated by the National Convention of the Republican party, held at Cincinnati on the 14th ultimo, for the office of Vice-President of the United States, and requesting my acceptance of the same, and asking my attention to the summary of Republican doctrines contained in the platform adopted by the convention.

A nomination made with such unanimity of action implies a confidence on the part of the convention which inspires my profound gratitude. It is accepted with the sense of the responsibility which may follow. If elected, I shall endeavor to perform the duties of the office in the fear of the Supreme Ruler, and in the interests of the whole country.

To the summary of doctrines enunciated by the convention I give my cordial assent. The Republican party has intrenched in the organic law of our land the doctrine that liberty is the supreme, unchangeable law for every foot of American soil. It is the mission of that party to give full effect to this principle by "securing to every American citizen competent liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political and public rights." This will be accomplished only when the American citizen, without regard to color, shall wear this panoply of citizenship as fully and as securely in the cane-brakes of Louisiana as on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

Upon the question of our Southern relations, my views were recently expressed as a member of the committee of the United States House of Representatives upon Southern affairs. These views remain unchanged, and were thus expressed: We, of the North, delude ourselves in expecting that the masses of the South, so far behind in many of the attributes of improvement and civilization, are, in brief periods of ten or fifteen years, to be transformed into our model Northern communities. That can only come through a long course of patient waiting to which no one can now set certain bounds.

There will be a good deal of unavoidable friction which will call for forbearance, and which will have to be relieved by the temperate, fostering care of the government. One of the most potent if not indispensable agencies in this direction will be the devising of some system to aid in the education of the masses. The fact that there are whole counties in Louisiana in which there is not a solitary school house is full of suggestion. We compelled these people to remain in the Union, and now duty and interest demand that we leave no just means untried to make them good, loyal citizens.

How to diminish the friction, how to stimulate the elevation of this portion of the country, are problems addressing themselves to our best and wisest statesmanship. The foundation for these efforts must be laid in satis-

giving the Southern people that they are to have equal, exact justice accorded to them. Give them to the fullest extent every blessing which the government confers upon the most favored. Give them no just cause for complaint, and then hold them, by every necessary means, to an exact, rigid observance of all their duties and obligations, under the Constitution and its amendments, to secure to all within their borders manhood and citizenship, with every right thereto belonging.

The just obligations to public creditors created when the government was in the throes of threatened dissolution, and as an indispensable condition of its salvation, guaranteed by the lives and blood of thousands of its brave defenders, are to be kept with religious faith, as are all the pledges subsidiary thereto and confirmatory thereof.

In my judgment, the pledge of Congress of January 14, 1875, for the redemption of the notes of the United States in coin, is the plighted faith of the nation; and national honor, simple honesty, and justice to the people whose permanent welfare and prosperity are dependent upon true money as the basis of their pecuniary transactions, all demand the scrupulous observance of this pledge, and it is the duty of Congress to supplement it with such legislation as shall be necessary for its strict fulfillment.

In our system of government, intelligence must give safety and value to the ballot; hence the common schools of the land should be preserved in all their vigor, while in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, they and all their endowments should be secured by every possible and proper guaranty against every form of sectarian influence or control.

There should be the strictest economy in expenditures of government consistent with its effective administration, and all unnecessary offices should be abolished. Offices should be conferred only upon the basis of high character and particular fitness, and should be administered only as public trusts, and not for private advantage.

The foregoing are chief among the cardinal principles of the Republican party, and to carry them into full, practical effect, is the work it now has in hand. To the completion of its great mission we address ourselves in hope and confidence, cheered and stimulated by the recollection of its past achievements, remembering that, under God, it is to that party that we are indebted in this centennial year of our existence for a preserved, unbroken Union; for the fact that there is no master or slave throughout our broad domains; and that emancipated millions look upon the ensign of the Republic as the symbol of the fulfilled declaration that all men are created free and equal, and the guaranty of their own equality, under the law, with the most highly favored citizen of the land.

To the intelligence and conscience of all who desire good government, good-will, good money and universal prosperity, the Republican party, not unmindful of the imperfections and shortcomings of human organizations, yet with the honest purpose of its masses promptly to retrieve all errors and to summarily punish all offenders against the laws of the country, confidently submits its claim for the continued support of the American people.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM A. WHEELER.

1880.

CALL FOR THE THIRD CHICAGO CONVENTION.

WASHINGTON, January, 1880.

A national convention of the Republican party will meet at Chicago, Wednesday, 2d day of June next for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice-President at the next election. Republicans and all who will co-operate with them in supporting the nominees of the party, are invited to choose two delegates from each Congressional district, four at large from each State, two from each Territory and two from the District of Columbia, to represent them in the convention.

J. DONALD CAMERON, *Chairman*.

THOS. B. KEOUGH, *Secretary*.

DELEGATES BY STATES.

ALABAMA.

At Large.

George Turner.
Ben. S. Turner.
J. A. Thomasson.
Geo. M. Braxdall.

Districts.

1 James Gillette.
Allen Alexander.
2 Paul Strobach.
Geo. W. Washington.
3 Isaac Heyman.

Wm. Youngblood.
4 Wm. J. Stevens.
Jas. T. Rapier.
5 L. E. Parsons, Jr.
H. C. Bryan.
6 W. S. Bird.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

- N. W. Trimble.
 7 Wm. H. Smith.
 Willard Warner.
 8 J. M. Hinds.
 A. W. McCullough.
 ARKANSAS.
At Large.
 S. W. Dorsey.
 Powell Clayton.
 M. W. Gibbs.
 H. B. Robinson.
Districts.
 O. P. Snyder.
 J. H. Johnson.
 O. A. Hadley.
 Jacob Trieber.
 Ferdinand Havis.
 S. H. Holland.
 Jas. K. Barnes.
 Julius A. Barnes.
- CALIFORNIA.
At Large.
 J. C. Wilmerding.
 E. A. Davis.
 Socrates Huff.
 John Mansfield.
Districts.
 1 Samuel Mosgrove.
 John A. Benson.
 2 Creed Haymond.
 J. K. Doak.
 3 H. T. Fairbanks.
 Joseph Kuss.
 4 D. S. Payne.
 F. M. Pixley.
- COLORADO.
 John L. Routt.
 Lafayette Head.
 Amos Steck.
 Geo. T. Clark.
 John A. Ellet.
 M. N. Magone.
- CONNECTICUT.
At Large.
 H. C. Robinson.
 J. M. Douglas.
 A. Brandegee.
 Sam'l. Fessenden.
Districts.
 1 Andrew S. Upson.
 Wm. M. Corbin.
 2 W. C. Hough.
 H. B. Bigelow.
 3 Daniel Chadwick.
 Jeremiah Olney.
 4 Edgar S. Tweedy.
 N. Taylor Baldwin.
- DELAWARE.
 C. Febiger.
 Levi G. Clark.
 N. B. Smithers.
 Jas. R. Lofland.
 Benj. Burton.
 Albert Curry.
- FLORIDA.
At Large.
 W. W. Hicks.
 V. J. Shipman.
 Sherman Conant.
 Joseph E. Lee.
Districts.
 R. S. Smith.
 F. C. Humphries.
 E. I. Alexander.
 James Dean.
- GEORGIA.
At Large.
 E. C. Wade.
 W. A. Pledger.
 Edwin Belcher.
 J. F. Long.
Districts.
 1 L. B. Toomer.
 Floyd Snelson.
 2 B. F. Brineberry.
 John Few.
 3 Jack Brown.
 Elbert Head.
 4 R. D. Locke.
 J. C. Beale.
 5 A. E. Buck.
 H. A. Rucker.
 6 W. W. Brown.
 J. B. Deveaux.
 7 A. M. Middlebrooks.
 W. B. Higginbotham.
 8 C. H. Prince.
 Judson W. Lyons.
 9 S. A. Darnelle.
 Madison Davis.
- ILLINOIS.
At Large.
 John A. Logan.
 E. A. Storrs.
 Green B. Raum.
 D. T. Littler.
Districts.
 1 W. J. Campbell.
 E. G. Keith.
 2 A. M. Wright.
 R. S. Tutbill.
 3 W. Hesing.
 Elliot Anthony.
 4 C. W. Marsh.
 Lot B. Smith.
 5 R. E. Logan.
 Wm. H. Holcomb.
 6 J. E. Edsall.
 John P. Hand.
 7 E. F. Bull.
 E. W. Willard.
 8 J. B. Wilson.
 R. J. Hanna.
 9 John A. Gray.
 W. S. Gale.
 10 Henry Tebbs.
 John Fletcher.
 11 O. B. Hamilton.
 Thos. G. Black.
 12 G. M. Brinkerhoff.
 Cas. M. Eames.
 13 F. Low.
- E. D. Blinn.
 14 John V. Harris.
 J. W. Haworth.
 15 W. H. Barlow.
 A. P. Green.
 16 J. M. Truitt.
 Louis Krueghoff.
 17 W. E. Kieffner.
 E. Guelsch.
 18 C. O. Pattier.
 John M. Davis.
 19 C. W. Pavey.
 W. H. Williams.
- IOWA.
At Large.
 Benj. Harrison.
 D. B. Kumler.
 G. W. Friedley.
 B. W. Langdon.
Districts.
 1 A. Gilchrist.
 W. M. Hoggatt.
 2 J. B. Glover.
 S. J. Kerchival.
 3 W. A. Slemmons.
 J. H. Friedley.
 4 J. H. Crozier.
 F. Adkinson.
 5 D. A. Beem.
 J. H. Homan.
 6 Milton Peden.
 Thos. M. Little.
 7 R. G. Hawkins.
 J. B. McFadden.
 8 Wm. R. McKeen.
 E. H. Nabaker.
 9 B. K. Higginbotham.
 G. F. Chittenden.
 10 Frank S. Bedell.
 J. W. Weimer.
 11 J. J. Todd.
 J. F. Naile.
 12 Wm. M. Clapp.
 Chas. K. Baxter.
 13 C. Studebaker.
 Landon C. Rose.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

- 9 W. D. Lucas.
B. H. Harkness.
KANSAS.
J. A. Martin.
P. Hutchinson.
G. H. Case.
Simon Matz.
B. F. Simpson.
S. S. Benedict.
B. W. Perkins.
P. B. Plumb.
Wm Thompson.
H. W. Walcott.
T. C. Sears.
S. A. Day.
T. J. Anderson.
John M. Steele.
KENTUCKY.
At Large.
Walter Evans.
Wm. O. Bradley.
John D. White.
J. H. Jackson.
Districts.
1 J. R. Puryear.
J. H. Happy.
2 A. H. Clark.
E. C. Hubbard.
3 W. G. Hunter.
Geo. T. Blakely.
4 E. H. Hobson.
J. W. Lewis.
5 Silas F. Miller.
Jas. F. Buckner.
6 J. E. Hamilton.
J. H. Barbour.
7 R. P. Stoll.
Wm. Brown.
8 J. K. Faulkner.
Logan McKee.
9 A. E. Adams.
A. T. Wood.
10 W. W. Culbertson.
M. C. Hutchins.
LOUISIANA.
At Large.
H. C. Warmouth.
James Lewis.
J. T. Ludeling.
A. J. Dumont.
Districts.
1 W. P. Kellogg.
Don A. Pardee.
2 Richard Simms.
A. S. Badger.
3 Samuel Wakefield.
A. H. Leonard.
4 Wm. Harper.
J. S. Matthews.
5 W. L. McMillen.
David Young.
6 J. H. Burch.
Jack Wherten.
MAINE.
At Large.
Eugene Hale.
J. R. Bodwell.
E. T. Gile.
A. A. Strout.
Districts.
1 W. W. Thomas, Jr.
J. R. Libbey.
2 Wm. P. Frye.
J. W. Wakefield.
3 J. H. Manley.
S. S. Marble.
4 Lewis Baker.
L. Powers.
5 L. G. Downes.
J. S. Case.
MARYLAND.
At Large.
James A. Gary.
L. Lowndes, Jr.
J. M. Harris.
Jacob Tome.
Districts.
1 C. T. Westcott.
S. Mallalien.
2 J. A. J. Creswell.
J. J. Weaver, Jr.
3 D. P. West.
W. W. Johnson.
4 W. J. Hooper.
H. J. Brown.
5 J. P. Crane.
J. W. Belt.
6 U. Buhrman.
B. H. Miller.
MASSACHUSETTS.
At Large.
G. F. Hoar.
C. R. Codman.
J. E. Sanford.
J. H. Seelye
Districts.
1 C. W. Clifford.
A. Eldridge.
2 W. C. Lovering.
F. A. Hobart.
3 Phineas Pierce.
C. Burnham.
4 E. C. Fitz.
J. O. Weatherbee.
5 H. C. Lodge.
Daniel Russell.
6 Dudley Porter.
N. A. Horton.
7 G. S. Boutwell.
G. A. Marden.
8 R. M. Morse, Jr.
G. W. Johnson.
9 W. S. B. Hopkins.
William Knowlton.
10 Alpheus Harding.
Timothy Merrick.
11 Wellington Smith.
M. B. Whitney.
MICHIGAN.
At Large.
J. F. Joy.
O. D. Conger.
Perry Hannah.
E. C. Watkins.
Districts.
1 W. G. Thompson.
D. O. Farrand.
2 J. D. Ronan.
L. R. Penfield.
3 C. D. Randall.
Morgan Bates.
4 A. H. Morrison.
J. W. French.
5 Geo. A. Farr.
A. B. Watson.
6 Charles Kipp.
J. M. Adams.
7 B. W. Huston.
William Jenny.
8 E. O. Avery.
Thomas N. Stevens.
9 J. H. Chandler.
D. A. Blodgett.
MINNESOTA.
At Large.
D. Sinclair.
A. O. Whipple.
D. M. Sabin.
D. Morrison.
Districts.
1 A. C. Wedge.
J. V. Daniels.
2 Marcus Johnson.
Geo. Bryant.
3 E. F. Drake.
C. F. Kindred.
MISSISSIPPI.
At Large.
Blanche K. Bruce.
James Hill.
G. M. Buchanan.
H. C. Carter.
Districts.
1 W. H. Kennon.
Geo. C. McKee.
2 H. C. Niles.
J. R. Smith.
3 G. W. Gayles.
F. M. Libby.
4 Samuel P. Hurst.
W. W. Bell.
5 G. C. Chandler.
C. W. Clark.
6 R. H. Montgomery.
R. F. Beck
MISSOURI.
At Large.
Chauncey I. Filley.
R. T. VanHorn.
H. E. Haveus.
David Wagner.
Districts.
1 Nicholas Berg.
John A. Weber.
2 T. B. Rodgers.
J. W. Wheeler.
3 J. H. Pohlman.
T. G. Allen.
4 Wm. Ballantine.
James Lindsay.
5 H. E. Baker.
T. A. Lowe.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

- 6 Robert McBeth.
W. E. Maynard.
7 A. D. Jaynes.
A. G. Hollenbeck.
8 Wm. J. Terrell.
L. C. Slavens.
9 S. C. McCluskey.
N. Fred Essig.
10 Thos. D. Neal.
George Hall.
11 T. J. Whitman.
H. N. Cook.
12 H. M. Hiller.
James E. Adams.
13 Richard A. Buckner.
Stuart Carkener.
- NEBRASKA.
At Large.
J. W. Dawes.
L. Crounse.
J. L. Mitchell.
W. Gaslin, Jr.
D. A. Lewis.
N. R. Persinger.
- NEVADA.
At Large.
E. Strother.
W. W. Bishop.
C. C. Stevenson.
T. D. Edwards.
J. J. Meigs.
M. D. Foley.
- NEW HAMPSHIRE.
At Large.
W. E. Chandler.
D. H. Buffum.
Ruel Durkee.
B. F. Prescott.
Districts.
1 C. M. Murphy.
Joel Eastman.
2 Charles Holman.
J. G. Sturgis.
3 S. W. Hale.
A. L. Brown.
- NEW JERSEY.
At Large.
J. Kilpatrick.
W. J. Sewall.
G. A. Halsey.
W. W. Phelps.
Districts.
1 C. H. Sinnickson.
Samuel Hopkins.
2 John S. Irick.
J. S. Schultz.
3 J. F. Babcock.
Chilion Robbins.
4 N. W. Voorhees.
W. A. Stiles.
5 H. L. Butler.
A. A. Vance.
6 E. L. Joy.
A. P. Condit.
7 James Gossip.
B. W. Throckmorton.
- NEW YORK.
At Large.
Roscoe Conkling.
J. W. Hoysradt.
C. A. Arthur.
J. D. Warren.
Districts.
1 John Birdsall.
S. S. Hawkins.
2 James Jordan.
A. F. Learned.
3 F. A. Schroder.
Albert Daggett.
4 Jacob Worth.
B. F. Tracy.
5 E. Pierrepont.
E. W. Stoughton.
6 C. E. Cornell.
DeW. C. Wheeler.
7 J. M. Patterson, Jr.
J. J. O'Brien.
8 J. D. Lawson.
Charles Blackie.
9 J. W. Mason.
S. B. French.
10 Levi P. Morton.
Bernard Biglin.
11 Thomas Murphy.
Jacob Hess.
12 W. H. Robertson.
J. W. Husted.
13 L. F. Payn.
J. B. Dutcher.
14 M. D. Stivers.
B. G. Wales.
15 Geo. H. Sharpe.
Rufus H. King.
16 Harry R. Pierson.
Chas. P. Easton.
17 John M. Francis.
J. V. Baker, Jr.
18 W. W. Rockwell.
Oliver Abel, Jr.
19 Wells S. Dickinson.
Henry R. James.
20 Webster Wagner.
George West.
21 Ferris Jacobs, Jr.
David Wilber.
22 J. P. Douglass.
Sidney Sylvester.
23 A. B. Johnson.
Wm. H. Comstock.
24 Geo. M. Case.
Charles L. Kennedy.
25 Dennis McCarthy.
James J. Belden.
26 Wm. B. Woodin.
John B. Murray.
27 Francis O. Mason.
Geo. N. Hicks.
28 Thos. C. Platt.
Orlow W. Clapham.
29 Chester S. Cole.
Chas. J. Langdon.
30 Edward A. Frost.
Henry A. Bruner.
31 Geo. G. Hoskins.
John E. Pound.
- 32 Ray V. Pierce.
John Nice.
33 Norman M. Allen.
Loren B. Sessions.
- NORTH CAROLINA.
At Large.
W. P. Canady.
D. H. Starbuck.
J. H. Harris.
Rufus Barringer.
Districts.
1 Samuel T. Carrow.
Palemon John.
2 Isreal B. Abbott.
Clayburn Faison.
3 Geo. W. Price, Jr.
O. H. Blocker.
4 Isaac J. Young.
Stewart Ellison.
5 Thos. B. Keogh.
J. W. Harden.
6 O. J. Spears.
W. R. Myers.
8 W. W. Rollins.
D. C. Pierson.
7 Thos. N. Cooper.
John J. Mott.
- OHIO.
At Large.
Wm. Dennison.
James A. Garfield.
Charles Foster
Warner M. Bateman
Districts.
1 Benj. Butterworth.
Albert Schwill.
2 Henry Kessler.
Chas. Fleischmann.
3 B. W. McClung.
A. R. Cramer.
4 W. D. Bickham.
F. G. Thompson.
5 Joseph Morris.
J. W. Conklin.
6 J. M. Ritchie.
W. W. Touvelle.
7 Marcus Boggs.
Alphonso Hart.
8 C. D. Wright.
J. F. Cowey.
9 W. C. Cooper.
Amos Glover.
10 I. F. Mack.
D. M. Harkness.
11 Wm. Nash.
Daniel Will.
12 F. C. Sessions.
John Groce.
13 A. W. Train.
Jas. Buckingham.
14 H. C. Hedges.
S. Hunt.
15 R. M. Stimson.
John W. Doherty.
16 J. S. Pearce.
J. D. Taylor.
17 J. H. Tripp.
A. W. Jones.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

- 18 W. H. Williams.
L. A. Sheldon.
19 Evan Morris.
J. C. Beatty.
20 S. T. Everett.
James Barnett.
OREGON.
At Large.
E. J. Northup.
O. P. Tompkins.
D. C. Ireland.
G. H. Williams.
H. W. Scott.
John H. Mitchell.
PENNSYLVANIA.
At Large.
M. S. Quay.
Jas. McManes.
J. H. Brown.
C. L. Magee.
Districts.
1 Wm. J. Pollock.
Wm. S. Douglass.
2 Wm. R. Leeds.
D. H. Lane.
3 Wm. L. Smith.
David Monat.
4 Wm. E. Bowan.
H. Disston.
5 Thos. I. Power.
Adam Albright.
6 Amos Gartside.
Wm. B. Waddell.
7 Caleb N. Taylor.
8 Chester N. Farr.
S. R. Deppen.
9 A. I. Kauffman.
W. K. Seltzer.
10 H. J. Ruder.
Harrison Bortz.
11 C. G. Jadwin.
W. A. M. Grier.
12 J. J. Albright.
Alex. Farnham.
13 Samuel A. Losch.
W. S. Morehead.
14 J. D. Cameron.
C. H. Bergner.
15 O. D. Kinney.
C. C. Jadwin.
16 W. H. Armstrong.
Thos. L. Kane.
17 John Cassna.
David Over.
18 J. G. Isenberg.
B. F. Wagenseller.
19 James Hersch.
John Hays.
20 James A. Beaver.
W. L. Brosius.
21 Geo. Huff.
S. M. Burley.
22 W. C. Moreland.
James A. McDevitt.
23 W. B. Rodgers.
Jas. H. Lindsay.
24 I. R. Harrah.
John McKinley.
- 25 Jos. Buffington.
James E. Long.
26 Thos. Robinson.
J. I. Gordon.
27 C. M. Reed.
Harrison Allen.
RHODE ISLAND.
At Large.
J. P. Sanborn.
C. H. Handy.
Thos. W. Chace.
David L. Aldrich.
I. M. Pot'er.
A. K. Goodwin.
W. A. Pirce.
H. A. Jencks.
SOUTH CAROLINA.
At Large.
E. W. M. Mackey.
E. M. Brayton.
K. B. Elliott.
Samuel Lee.
Districts.
1 D. M. McCall.
W. A. Havne.
2 W. N. Taft.
C. C. Bowen.
3 W. M. Fine.
C. M. Wilder.
4 S. T. Pioneer.
Wilson Cook.
5 W. J. Whipper.
W. F. Myers.
TENNESSEE.
At Large.
L. C. Houck.
H. H. Harrison.
J. M. Thornburgh.
David A. Nunn.
Districts.
1 R. R. Butler.
J. L. Rogers.
2 E. J. Sanford.
J. M. Cordell.
3 W. S. Tipton.
W. T. Cate.
4 H. L. W. Cheatham.
J. S. Smith.
5 W. H. Wisener.
W. Y. Elliott.
6 S. O. W. Brandon.
W. H. Young.
7 A. M. Hughes, Sr.
B. A. J. Nixon.
8 T. C. Muse.
E. G. Ridgely.
9 R. W. Hall.
Hunt Sumerville.
10 Fred R. Hunt.
Larkin Williams.
TEXAS.
At Large.
E. J. Davis.
W. Flanagan.
A. B. Norton.
W. H. Holland.
- Districts.*
1 G. M. Dilley.
W. Chambers.
2 A. G. Malloy.
W. H. Hokes.
3 C. C. Binkley.
D. A. Robinson.
4 J. G. Tracy.
W. R. Chase.
5 N. W. Cuney.
R. H. Marvin.
6 A. Siemering.
E. H. Terrill.
VERMONT.
At Large.
J. G. Smith.
Frederick Billings.
J. W. Stewart.
G. W. Hooker.
Districts.
1 L. B. Cross.
J. G. McCullough.
2 G. G. Benedict.
C. S. Page.
3 J. B. Mead.
Henry C. Belden.
VIRGINIA.
At Large.
Peter J. Carter.
J. W. Poindexter.
D. S. Lewis.
Jos. Jorgensen.
Districts.
1 J. W. Woltz.
L. R. Stewart.
2 Geo. E. Bowden.
Robt. Norton.
3 O. H. Russell.
Josiah Crump.
4 W. L. Fernald.
James D. Brady.
5 Wm. H. Pleasants.
H. C. Harris.
6 J. F. Wilson.
W. R. Watkins.
7 F. F. Ware.
J. Donovan.
8 L. L. Lewis.
Wm. Brown.
9 W. O. Austin.
C. C. Tompkins.
WEST VIRGINIA.
At Large.
A. W. Campbell.
W. J. Burley.
S. P. McCormick.
John H. Riley.
Districts.
1 C. D. Hubbard.
A. C. Moore.
2 J. T. Hoke.
J. M. Hagens.
3 J. W. Davis.
J. Ressler.
WISCONSIN.
At Large.
J. B. Cassoday.
Edward Sanderson.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.*

Thos. B. Scott.	8 S. W. Hunt.	MONTANA.
G. Van Steenwyk.	I. Stephenson.	Henry N. Blake.
<i>Districts.</i>	ARIZONA.	R. E. Fisk.
1 J. V. Quarles.	A. P. K. Safford.	NEW MEXICO.
Cbas. Palmetier.	Levi Rashford.	Wm. Breedon.
2 A. J. Turner.	DAKOTA.	Wm. L. Rynerson.
Geo. E. Bryant.	Porter Warner.	UTAH.
3 Wm. E. Carter.	C. F. McCoy.	C. W. Bennett.
N. L. James.	DISTRICT OF COLUM-	E. A. Thomas.
4 E. M. Rogers.	BIA.	WASHINGTON.
F. C. Winkler.	John F. Cooke.	Thos. J. Minor.
5 W. H. Hemschmeyer.	Almon M. Clapp.	Thos. H. Brents.
J. C. Wedge.	IDAHO.	WYOMING.
6 P. Sawyer.	Geo. L. Shoup.	M. C. Brown.
L. Howland.	J. A. Brown.	W. A. Carter.
7 J. M. Rusk.		
F. L. Gilson.		

THE PLATFORM.

The Republican party, in national convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the federal government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration:

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It re-constructed the Union of the States, with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone. It transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our paper currency from 33 per cent. to the par of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where 6 per cent. bonds sold at eighty-six to that where 4 per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

Under its administration, railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860, to more than 82,000 miles in 1879. Our foreign trade has increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,115,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$265,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government, beside the accruing interest on the public debt, and has disbursed annually more than \$30,000,000 for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. It has paid \$880,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$150,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived; labor is in demand; wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. - We affirm that the work of the Republican party for the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend it to the favor of the nation; that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the Union should be perpetuated, and that the liberty secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to other generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce already increasing should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of confederated States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to the States; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national, and not by the State tribunal.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the national government to aid that work to the

extent of its Constitutional power. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States, and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of one State, but by the aggregate genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influence of secret sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We, therefore, recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each State, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We affirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; that we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our sea-coast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of the fifteen years since their final victory. To do them honor is, and shall forever be, the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as a matter of grave concernment, under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes, in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to him for a Presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive; and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his vetoes interposed between the people and attempted partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the national government and the control of place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage, and have devised fraudulent ballots and invented fraudulent certifications of returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress, to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, rescued by the courage and actions of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movement of the government depended; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of the Rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overdone its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom and in lvidual equality.

The equal, steady and complete enforcement of laws, and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunity guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the nation. The dangers of a solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to the citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must perform. A nation can not safely relegate this duty to the States. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all honest opinions must there find free expression. To this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony that may be possible; and we submit to the practical, sensible people of these United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the national government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring dis-

trust and confusion where there is now order, confidence and hope.

9. The Republican party, adhering to a principle affirmed by its last national convention, of respect to the Constitutional rule covering appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive department of the government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service; and that the power of removal for cause, with due responsibility for the good conduct of subordinates, shall accompany the power of appointment.

GARFIELD'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

MENTOR, OHIO, July 10, 1880.

DEAR SIR:—On the evening of the 8th of June last I had the honor to receive from you, in the presence of the committee of which you were chairman, the official announcement that the Republican National Convention at Chicago had that day nominated me as their candidate for President of the United States. I accept the nomination, with gratitude for the confidence it implies, and with a deep sense of the responsibilities it imposes. I cordially indorse the principles set forth in the platform adopted by the convention. On nearly all the subjects of which it treats, my opinions are on record among the published proceedings of Congress. I venture, however, to make special mention of some of the principal topics which are likely to become subjects of discussion.

Without reviewing the controversies which have been settled during the last twenty years, and with no purpose or wish to revive the passions of the late war, it should be said that while the Republicans fully recognize and will strenuously defend all the rights retained by the people, and all the rights reserved to the States, they reject the pernicious doctrine of State supremacy which so long crippled the functions of the national government, and, at one time brought the Union very near to destruction. They insist that the United States is a nation, with ample power of self-preservation; that its Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land; that the right of the nation to determine the method by which its own legislature shall be created can not be surrendered without abdicating one of the fundamental powers of government; that the national laws relating to the election of representatives in Congress shall neither be violated nor evaded; that every elector shall be permitted, freely and without intimidation, to cast his lawful ballot at such election and have it honestly counted, and that the potency of his vote shall not be destroyed by the fraudulent vote of any other person. The best thoughts and energies of our people should be directed to those great questions of, national well-being in which all have a common interest. Such efforts will soonest restore to perfect peace those who were lately in arms against each other; for justice and good-will will out-last passion. But it is certain that the wounds of the war can not be completely healed, and the spirit of brotherhood can not fully pervade the whole country, until every citizen, rich or poor, white or black, is secure in the free and equal enjoyment of every civil and political right guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws. Wherever the enjoyment of these rights is not assured, discontent will prevail, immigration will cease, and the social and industrial forces will continue to be disturbed by the migration of laborers and the consequent diminution of prosperity. The national government should exercise all its Constitutional authority to put an end to these evils; for all the people and all the States are members of one body, and no member can suffer without injury to all.

The most serious evils which now afflict the South arise from the fact that there is not such freedom and toleration of political opinion and action that the minority party can exercise an effective and wholesome restraint upon the party in power. Without such restraint, party rule becomes tyrannical and corrupt. The prosperity which is made possible in the South by its great advantages of soil and climate will never be realized until every voter can freely and safely support any party he pleases.

Next in importance to freedom and justice, is popular education, without which neither justice nor freedom can be permanently maintained. Its interests are intrusted to the States and to the voluntary action of the people. Whatever help the nation can justly afford should be generously given to aid the States in supporting common schools; but it would be unjust to our people and dangerous to our institutions to apply any portion of the revenues of the nation or of the States to the support of sectarian schools. The separation of the Church and the State in everything relating to taxation should be absolute.

On the subject of national finances my views have been so frequently

and fully expressed that little is needed in the way of additional statement. The public debt is now so well secured, and the rate of annual interest has been so reduced by refunding, that rigid economy in expenditures and the faithful application of our surplus revenues to the payment of the principal of the debt will gradually but certainly free the people from its burdens, and close with honor the financial chapter of the war.

At the same time, the government can provide for all its ordinary expenditures, and discharge its sacred obligations to the soldiers of the Union, and to the widows and orphans of those who fell in its defense. The resumption of specie payments, which the Republican party so courageously and successfully accomplished, has removed from the field of controversy many questions that long and seriously disturbed the credit of the government and the business of the country. Our paper currency is now as national as the flag, and resumption has not only made it everywhere equal to coin, but has brought into use our store of gold and silver. The circulating medium is more abundant than ever before; and we need only to maintain the equality of all our dollars to insure to labor and capital a measure of value from the use of which no one can suffer loss. The great prosperity which the country is now enjoying should not be endangered by any violent changes or doubtful financial experiments.

In reference to our customs laws, a policy should be pursued which will bring revenue to the Treasury, and will enable the labor and capital employed in our great industries to compete fairly in our own markets with the labor and capital of foreign producers. We legislate for the people of the United States, not for the whole world; and it is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitor. Our country can not be independent unless its people with their abundant natural resources, possesses the requisite skill, at any time, to clothe, arm and equip themselves for war, and in time of peace to produce all the necessary implements of labor. It was the manifest intention of the founders of the government to provide for the common defense not by standing armies alone, but by raising among the people a greater army of artisans, whose intelligence and skill should powerfully contribute to the safety and glory of the nation.

Fortunately for the interests of commerce, there is no longer any formidable opposition to appropriations for the improvement of our harbors and great navigable rivers, provided that the expenditures for that purpose are strictly limited to works of national importance. The Mississippi river, with its great tributaries, is of such vital importance to so many millions of people that the safety of its navigation requires exceptional consideration. In order to secure to the nation the control of all its waters, President Jefferson negotiated the purchase of a vast territory, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific ocean. The wisdom of Congress should be invoked to devise some plan by which that great river shall cease to be a terror to those who dwell upon its banks, and by which its shipping may safely carry the industrial products of 25,000,000 of people. The interests of agriculture, which is the basis of all our material prosperity, and in which seven-twelfths of our population are engaged, as well as the interests of manufactures and commerce, demand that the facilities for cheap transportation shall be increased by the use of all our great water-courses.

The material interests of this country, the traditions of its settlement and the sentiment of our people have led the government to offer the widest hospitality to emigrants who seek our shores for new and happier homes, willing to share the burdens as well as the benefits of our society, and intending that that their posterity shall become an indistinguishable part of our population. The recent movement of the Chinese to our Pacific coast partakes but little of the qualities of such an immigration, either in its purposes or its result. It is too much like an importation, to be welcomed without restrictions; too much like an invasion, to be looked upon without solicitude. We can not consent to allow any form of servile labor to be introduced among us under the guise of immigration. Recognizing the gravity of this subject, the present administration, supported by Congress, has sent to China a commission of distinguished citizens for the purpose of securing such a modification of the existing treaty as will prevent the evils likely to arise from the present situation. It is confidently believed that these diplomatic negotiations will be successful without the loss of commercial intercourse between the two powers, which promises a great increase of reciprocal trade and the enlargement of our markets. Should these efforts fail, it will be the duty of Congress to mitigate the evils already felt and prevent their increase by such restrictions as, without violence or injustice, will place upon a sure foundation the peace of our communities and the freedom and dignity of labor.

The appointment of citizens to the various executive and judicial offices of the government is, perhaps, the most difficult of all duties which the Constitution has imposed on the Executive. The convention wisely de-

mands that Congress shall co-operate with the Executive department in placing the civil service on a better basis. Experience has proved that, with our frequent changes of administration, no system of reform can be made effective and permanent without the aid of legislation. Appointments to the military and naval service are so regulated by law and custom as to leave but little ground for complaint. It may not be wise to make similar regulations by law for the civil service. But, without invading the authority or necessary discretion of the Executive, Congress should devise a method that will determine the tenure of office and greatly reduce the uncertainty which makes that service so uncertain and unsatisfactory. Without depriving any officer of his rights as a citizen, the government should require him to discharge all his official duties with intelligence, efficiency and faithfulness. To select wisely from our vast population those who are best fitted for the many offices to be filled requires an acquaintance far beyond the range of any one man. The Executive should, therefore, seek and receive the information and assistance of those whose knowledge of the communities in which the duties are to be performed best qualifies them to aid in making the wisest choice.

The doctrines announced by the Chicago convention are not the temporary devices of a party to attract votes and carry an election; they are deliberate convictions, resulting from a careful study of the spirit of our institutions, the events of our history, and the best impulses of our people. In my judgment, these principles should control the legislation and administration of the government. In any event, they will guide my conduct until experience points out a better way.

If elected, it will be my purpose to enforce strict obedience to the Constitution and the laws, and to promote, as best I may, the interest and honor of the whole country, relying for support upon the wisdom of Congress, the intelligence and patriotism of the people, and the favor of God.

With great respect, I am very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

To the HON. GEORGE F. HOAR,
Chairman of the Committee.

ARTHUR'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

NEW YORK, July 15, 1880.

DEAR SIR:—I accept the position assigned me by the great party whose action you announce. This acceptance implies approval of the principles declared by the convention, but recent usage permits me to add some expression of my own views.

The right and duty to secure honesty and order in popular elections is a matter so vital that it must stand in front. The authority of the national government to preserve from fraud and force elections at which its own officers are chosen is a chief point on which the two parties are plainly and intensely opposed. Acts of Congress for ten years have, in New York and elsewhere, done much to curb the violence and wrong to which the ballot and the count have been again and again subjected—sometimes despoiling great cities, sometimes stifling the voice of a whole State, often seating, not only in Congress but on the Bench and in legislatures, numbers of men never chosen by the people. The Democratic party, since gaining possession of the two Houses of Congress, has made these just laws the object of bitter ceaseless assault, and, despite all resistance, has hedged them with restrictions cunningly contrived to baffle and paralyze them. This aggressive majority boldly attempted to extort from the Executive his approval of various enactments destructive of these election laws, by revolutionary threats that a Constitutional exercise of the veto power would be punished by withholding the appropriations necessary to carry on the government. And these threats were actually carried out by refusing the needed appropriations, and by forcing an extra session of Congress, lasting for months and resulting in concessions to this usurping demand, which are likely, in many States, to subject the majority to the lawless will of a minority.

Ominous signs of public disapproval alone subdued this arrogant power into a sullen surrender for the time being of a part of its demands. The Republican party has strongly approved the stern refusal of its representatives to suffer the overthrow of statutes believed to be salutary and just. It has always insisted, and now insists, that the government of the United States of America is empowered and in duty bound to effectually protect the elections denoted by the Constitution as national.

More than this, the Republican party holds, as a cardinal point in its creed, that the government should, by every means known to the Constitution, protect all American citizens everywhere in the full enjoyment of their civil and political rights. As a great part of its work of reconstruction the Republican party gave the ballot to the emancipated slave as his right and

defense. A large increase in the number of members of Congress and of the Electoral College from the former slaveholding States was the immediate result. The history of recent years attests in evidence that in many ways and in many places—especially where their number has been great enough to endanger Democratic control—the very men by whose elevation to citizenship this increase of representation was effected have been debased and robbed of their voice and their vote. It is true that no State statute or constitution in so many words denies or abridges the exercise of their political rights, but the modes employed to bar their way are no less effectual. It is a suggestive and startling thought that the increased power derived from the enfranchisement of a race now denied its share in governing the country, wielded by those who lately sought the overthrow of the government, is now the sole reliance to defeat the party which represented the sovereignty and nationality of the American people in the greatest crisis in our history. Republicans cherish none of the resentments which may have animated them during the actual conflict of arms. They long for a full and real reconciliation between the sections which were needlessly and lamentably at strife. They sincerely offer the hand of goodwill, but they ask in return a pledge of good faith. They deeply feel that the party whose career is so illustrious in great and patriotic achievement, will not fulfill its destiny until peace and prosperity are established in all the land, nor until liberty of thought, conscience and action, and equality of opportunity, shall be not merely cold formalities of statute, but living birthrights, which the humble may confidently claim and the powerful dare not deny.

The resolution referring to the public service seems to me deserving of approval. Surely no man should be the incumbent of an office the duties of which he is, for any cause, unfit to perform, who is lacking in the ability, fidelity or integrity which a proper administration of such office demands. This sentiment would, doubtless, meet with general acquiescence; but opinion has been widely divided upon the wisdom and practicability of the various reformatory schemes which have been suggested, and of certain proposed regulations governing appointments to public office. The efficiency of such regulations has been distrusted, mainly because they have seemed to exalt mere educational and abstract tests above general business capacity, and even special fitness for the particular work in hand. It seems to me that the rules which should be applied to the management of the public service may properly conform, in the main, to such as regulate the conduct of successful private business. Original appointments should be based upon ascertained fitness. The tenure of office should be stable. Positions of responsibility should, so far as practicable, be filled by the promotion of worthy and efficient officers. The investigation of all complaints and the punishment of all official misconduct should be prompt and thorough. These views, which I have long held, repeatedly declared and uniformly applied when called upon to act, I find embodied in the resolution, which, of course, I approve. I will add that, by the acceptance of public office, whether high or low, one does not, in my judgment, escape any of his responsibilities as a citizen or lose or impair any of his rights as a citizen, and that he should enjoy absolute liberty to think, and speak, and act in political matters according to his own will and conscience, provided only that he honorably, faithfully and fully discharges all his official duties.

The resumption of specie payments—one of the fruits of Republican policy—has brought the return of abundant prosperity and the settlement of many distracting questions. The restoration of sound money, the large reduction of our public debt and of the burden of interest, the high advancement of the public credit—all attest the ability and courage of the Republican party to deal with such financial problems as may hereafter demand solution. Our paper currency is now as good as gold, and silver is performing its legitimate function for the purpose of change. The principles which should govern the relations of these elements of the currency are simple and clear. There must be no deteriorated coin, no depreciated paper. And every dollar, whether of metal or paper, should stand the test of the world's fixed standard.

The value of popular education can hardly be overstated. Although its interests must, of necessity, be chiefly confided to voluntary effort and the individual action of the several States, they should be encouraged, so far as the Constitution permits, by the generous co-operation of the national government. The interests of the whole country demand that the advantages of our common school system should be brought within the reach of every citizen, and that no revenues of the nation or of the States should be devoted to the support of sectarian schools.

Such changes should be made in the present tariff and system of taxation as will relieve any overburdened industry or class, and enable our manufacturers and artisans to compete successfully with those of other lands.

The government should aid works of internal improvement national in

their character, and should promote the development of our water-courses and harbors wherever the general interests of commerce require.

Four years ago, as now, the nation stood at the threshold of a Presidential election, and the Republican party, in soliciting a continuance of its ascendancy, founded its hope of success not upon its promises but upon its history. Its subsequent course has been such as to strengthen the claims which it then made to the confidence and support of the country. On the other hand, considerations more urgent than have ever before existed forbid the accession of its opponents to power. Their success, if success attends them, must chiefly come from the united support of that section which sought the forcible disruption of the union, and which, according to all the teachings of our past history, will demand ascendancy in the councils of the party to whose triumph it will have made by far the largest contribution.

There is the gravest reason for apprehension that exorbitant claims upon the public treasury, by no means limited to the hundreds of millions already covered by bills introduced in Congress within the past four years, would be successfully urged if the Democratic party should succeed in supplementing its present control of the national legislature by electing the Executive also.

There is danger in intrusting the control of the whole law-making power of the government to a party which has in almost every Southern State repudiated obligations quite as sacred as those to which the faith of the nation now stands pledged.

I do not doubt that success awaits the Republican party, and that its triumph will assure a just, economical and patriotic administration.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. A. ARTHUR.

To the HON. GEORGE F. HOAR,

President of the Republican National Convention.

1884.

CALL FOR THE FOURTH CHICAGO CONVENTION.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 12, 1883.

A National Republican Convention will meet at Chicago, Illinois, on Tuesday, June 3, 1884, at 12 o'clock, noon, for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice-President at the next election.

The Republican electors of the several States, and all other voters, without regard to past political differences, who are in favor of elevating and dignifying American labor, protecting and extending home industries, giving free popular education to the masses of the people, securing free suffrage and an honest counting of ballots, effectually protecting all human rights in every section of our common country, and who desire to promote friendly feeling and permanent harmony throughout the land by maintaining a national government pledged to these objects and principles, are cordially invited to send from each State four delegates at large, from each congressional district two delegates, and for each representative at large two delegates to the convention.

The delegates at large shall be chosen by popular delegate State conventions, called on not less than twenty days' published notice, and held not less than thirty days, nor more than sixty days before the time fixed for the meeting of the national convention.

The Republicans of the various congressional districts shall have the option of electing their delegates at separate popular delegate conventions, called on similar notice, and held in the congressional districts at any time within the fifteen days next prior to the meeting of the State conventions, or by subdivisions of the State conventions into district conventions; and such delegates shall be chosen in the latter method if not elected previous to the meeting of the State convention. All district delegates shall be accredited by the officers of such district conventions.

Two delegates shall be allowed from each Territory and from the District of Columbia, similarly chosen.

Notices of contests shall be given to the National Committee, accompanied by full printed statements of the grounds of contest, which shall also be made public; and preference in the order of hearing and determining contests shall be given by the convention according to the dates of the reception of such notices and statements by the National Committee.

D. M. SABIN, *Chairman.*

JOHN A. MARTIN, *Secretary.*

DELEGATES BY STATES.

ALABAMA.

At Large.

George Turner.
C. C. Sheets.
G. W. Braxdall.
J. C. Duke.

Districts.

- 1 F. H. Threet.
- Jas. E. Slaughter.
- 2 Paul Strobach.
- Geo. W. Washington.
- 3 Isaac Heyman.
- Wm. Youngblood.
- 4 H. A. Carson.
- W. J. Stevens.
- 5 L. E. Parsons, Jr.
- W. J. Anthony.
- 6 A. A. Mabson.
- L. J. Washington.
- 7 R. A. Moseley.
- Arthur Bingham.
- 8 A. W. McCollough.
- P. J. Crenshaw.

ARKANSAS.

At Large.

Powell Clayton.
Henry M. Cooper.
Logan H. Roots.
M. W. Gibbs.

Districts.

- 1 Jacob Treiber.
- S. H. Holland.
- 2 J. H. Johnson.
- Ferd Havis.
- 3 A. A. Tufts.
- Geo. H. Thompson.
- 4 M. W. Benjamin.
- Jacob Yoes.
- 5 L. L. Gregg.
- Kidder Kidd.

CALIFORNIA.

At Large.

Thomas R. Bard
Wm. W. Morrow.
George A. Knight.
Horace Davis.

Districts.

- 1 Chauncey C. Bush.
- Byron O. Carr.
- 2 William H. Parks.
- George W. Schell.
- 3 William Johnston.
- Eli S. Dennison.
- 4 David McClure.
- Charles F. Crocker.
- 5 Adolph B. Spreckels.
- Maurice C. Blake.
- 6 David C. Reed.
- Oregon Saunders

COLORADO

At Large.

W. A. Hamill.
S. H. Elbert.
C. C. Davis.
Alex. Gullett.
A. L. Emigh.
B. F. Crowell.

CONNECTICUT.

At Large.

A. Brandegee.
F. Miles.
S. E. Merwin, Jr.
J. L. Houston.

Districts.

- 1 V. B. Chamberlain.
- Ralph P. Gilbert.
- 2 L. Munson.
- John G. Edmonds.
- 3 Ira G. Briggs.
- Eugene S. Boss.
- 4 O. R. Filer.
- Eben Hill.

DELAWARE.

At Large.

Washington Hastings
John Pilling.
George V. Massey.
John H. Hoffecker.
Wm. J. Stewart.
Daniel J. Layton.

FLORIDA.

At Large.

Dennis Fgan.
Joseph E. Lee.
J. D. Cole.
W. G. Stuart.

Districts.

- 1 James M. Coombs.
- A. C. Lightburn.
- 2 J. G. Long.
- H. W. Chandler.

GEORGIA.

At Large.

A. E. Buck.
W. A. Pledger.
L. M. Pleasants.
C. D. Forsythe.

Districts.

- 1 A. Wilson.
- James Blue.
- 2 C. W. Arnold.
- Cæsar Few.
- 3 Elbert Head.
- E. S. Small.
- 4 W. H. Johnson.
- J. C. Beall.
- 5 J. E. Bryant.
- W. D. Moore.
- 6 W. W. Brown.
- P. O. Holt.
- 7 G. P. Burnett.
- J. Q. Gasset.
- 8 M. A. Wood.
- Madison Davis.
- 9 W. T. B. Wilson.
- J. B. Gaston.
- 10 W. F. Holden.
- R. R. Wright.

ILLINOIS.

At Large.

Shelby M. Cullom.
John M. Hamilton.
Burton C. Cook.

Clark E. Carr.

Districts.

- 1 J. L. Woodard.
- Abner Taylor.
- 2 W. H. Ruger.
- C. E. Piper.
- 3 George R. Davis.
- J. R. Wheeler.
- 4 S. B. Raymond.
- L. C. Collins, Jr.
- 5 L. M. Kelly.
- C. E. Fuller.
- 6 Norman Lewis.
- O. C. Town.
- 7 S. G. Baldwin.
- H. T. Noble.
- 8 R. W. Willett.
- J. A. Bell.
- 9 S. T. Rogers.
- Thomas Vennum.
- 10 W. W. Wright.
- R. H. Whiting.
- 11 C. V. Chandler.
- C. A. Ballard.
- 12 A. C. Matthews.
- W. W. Berry.
- 13 William Jayne.
- Dietrich C. Smith.
- 14 J. W. Fifer.
- George K. Ingham.
- 15 Charles G. Eckart.
- L. S. Wilcox.
- 16 Charles Churchill.
- Harrison Black.
- 17 John I. Rinaker.
- J. M. Truitt.
- 18 R. A. Halbert.
- H. F. Reuter.
- 19 T. S. Ridgway.
- C. T. Strattan.
- 20 T. M. Simpson.
- William McAdams.

INDIANA.

At Large.

R. W. Thompson.
Benj. H. Harrison.
John H. Baker.
Morris McDonald.

Districts.

- 1 James C. Veatch.
- Frank B. Posey.
- 2 George G. Reily.
- W. R. Gardner.
- 3 D. M. Alsbaugh.
- A. P. Charles.
- 4 J. O. Cravens.
- Eugene G. Hay.
- 5 Joseph I. Irwin.
- W. A. Montgomery.
- 6 C. H. Burchenal.
- J. H. Millett.
- 7 H. C. Adams.
- L. T. Michener.
- 8 William C. Smith.
- W. R. McKeen
- 9 Geo. B. Williams.
- A. C. Daily.
- 10 S. P. Thompson.
- Geo. W. Holman.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

- 11 J. B. Kenner.
Jonas Votaw.
- 12 Oscar A. Simons.
Orville Carver.
- 13 Joseph D. Oliver.
George Moon.
- IOWA.
- At Large.*
J. S. Clarkson.
W. G. Donnan.
John Y. Stone.
N. M. Hubbard.
- Districts.*
1 Dennis A. Morrison.
William Wilson, Jr.
2 John Hilsinger.
W. T. Shaw.
3 H. C. Hemenway.
W. H. Morris.
4 A. G. Stewart.
O. H. Lyon.
5 J. W. Willett.
Merritt Greene, Jr.
6 H. S. Winslow.
Calvin Manning.
7 C. H. Gatch.
E. W. Weeks.
8 W. H. Christie.
W. M. Wilson.
9 E. A. Consigney.
T. M. C. Logan.
10 R. S. Benson.
C. C. T. Mason.
11 T. B. Funk.
J. D. Ainsworth.
- KANSAS.
- At Large.*
P. B. Plumb.
James S. Merritt.
J. G. Woods.
A. W. Mann.
- Districts.*
1 Cyrus Leland.
Henry E. Insley.
2 J. P. Root.
R. Aikman.
3 J. R. Hallowell.
W. P. Hackney.
4 George R. Peck.
William Martindale.
5 E. C. Culp.
E. A. Berry.
6 J. S. McDowell.
C. C. Wood.
7 J. W. Ady.
R. L. Walker.
- KENTUCKY.
- At Large.*
W. O. Bradley.
Walter Evans.
W. W. Culbertson.
John W. Lewis.
- Districts.*
1 Edward Farley.
P. C. Bragg.
2 J. Z. Moore.
J. J. Landis.
3 W. L. Hazelip
- Allen Allensworth.
4 G. P. Jolly.
Edward J. Hilpp.
5 John Mason Brown.
Silas F. Miller.
- Contestants.*
A. E. Wilson.
E. Minton.
- 6 Joseph A. Scarlett.
D. M. Comingore.
7 William C. Goodloe.
Richard P. Stoll.
8 Robert Boyd.
George Denny, Jr.
9 G. M. Thomas.
J. S. Bradford.
10 Andrew J. Auxier.
J. C. Eversole.
11 R. A. Buckner.
H. G. Trimble.
- LOUISIANA.
- At Large.*
Wm. Pitt Kellogg.
Andrew J. Dumont.
P. B. S. Pinchback.
A. S. Badger.
- Districts.*
1 Robert F. Guichard.
W. B. Merchant.
2 P. T. Herwig.
Henry Demars.
3 George Drury.
L. A. Martinet.
4 Albert H. Leonard.
William Harper.
5 Frank Morey.
E. W. Hall.
6 Louis J. Souer.
Clifford Morgan.
- MAINE.
- At Large.*
J. R. Bodwell.
George C. Wing.
J. S. Wheelwright.
Josiah H. Drummond.
- Districts.*
1 Albion Little.
Charles E. Hussey.
2 A. F. Crockett.
R. B. Fuller.
3 J. M. Haynes.
Andrew P. Wiswell.
4 Austin Harris.
E. A. Thompson.
- MARYLAND.
- At Large.*
Hart B. Holton.
L. N. Phillips.
James Wallace.
T. S. Hodson.
- Districts.*
1 Charles T. Westcott.
James C. Mullikin.
2 John T. Ensor.
Henry M. Clabaugh.
- 3 William Coath.
D. Pinkney West.
4 James W. Jordan.
Henry W. Rodgers.
5 James A. Gary.
William G. Green.
6 J. McPherson Scott.
Geo. L. Wellington.
- MASSACHUSETTS.
- At Large.*
George F. Hoar.
William W. Crapo.
John D. Long.
Henry Cabot Lodge.
- Districts.*
1 Jonathan Bourne.
Frank S. Stevens.
2 Eben L. Ripley.
Frank M. Ames.
3 Henry P. Kidder.
Edward L. Pierce.
4 Jesse M. Gove.
C. T. Gallagher.
5 John F. Andrews.
Ephraim Stearns.
6 Carroll D. Wright.
Amos F. Breed.
7 E. H. Haskell.
George W. Cate.
8 F. T. Greenhalge.
Andrew C. Stone.
9 Robert R. Bishop.
Joseph G. Ray.
10 William W. Rice.
T. C. Bates.
11 Chester C. Conant.
Rodney Wallace.
12 Henry S. Hyde.
Levi L. Brown.
- MICHIGAN.
- At Large.*
Roswell G. Horr.
William F. Swift.
Julius C. Burrows.
Samuel C. Watson.
- Districts.*
1 R. A. Alger.
Willett S. Morey.
2 W. A. Underwood.
Joseph T. Jacobs.
3 Edwin C. Nichols.
W. H. Powers.
4 Seth T. Reed.
Josiah Andrews.
5 George W. Webber.
Henry F. Thomas.
6 M. D. Chatterton.
J. E. Sawyer.
7 John P. Sanborn.
R. B. Noble.
8 W. S. Turck.
William E. Watson.
9 Abel Anderson.
Martin P. Gale.
10 H. H. Aplin.
G. W. Dell.
11 Samuel M. Stephenson.
Seth C. Moffatt.

*Admitted, with half a vote each.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—Continued.

MINNESOTA.

At Large.

Dwight M. Sabin.
Cushman K. Davis.
C. H. Graves.
O. B. Gould.

Districts.

- 1 Thos. H. Armstrong.
- 2 C. H. Conkey.
- 3 A. M. Crosby.
- 4 L. Z. Rogers.
- 5 E. V. Canfield.
- 6 Liberty Hall.
- 7 R. B. Langdon.
- 8 Stinford Newell.
- 9 Alphonso Barto.
- 10 H. G. Page.

MISSISSIPPI.

At Large.

B. K. Bruce.
James Hill.
J. M. Bynum.
R. F. Beck.

Districts.

- 1 H. C. Powers.
- 2 W. H. Kennon.
- 3 John S. Burton.
- 4 D. J. T. Matthews.
- 5 W. H. Allen.
- 6 Wesley Crayton.
- 7 J. W. Longstreet.
- 8 H. H. Harrington.
- 9 William M. Hancock.
- 10 F. C. Granberry.
- 11 John R. Lynch.
- 12 C. A. Simpson.
- 13 J. A. Galbreath.
- 14 Thomas Richardson.

MISSOURI.

At Large.

R. T. Van Horn.
John B. Henderson.
B. M. Prentiss.
H. E. Havens.

Districts.

- 1 J. T. Barber.
- 2 R. D. Cramer.
- 3 J. H. Turner.
- 4 A. W. Mullens.
- 5 J. H. Thomas.
- 6 Ira B. Hyde.
- 7 A. C. Dawes.
- 8 O. C. Hill.
- 9 John B. Jones.
- 10 William Warner.
- 11 W. S. Shirk.
- 12 Oden Guitar.
- 13 Theo. Bruere.
- 14 M. G. Reynolds.
- 15 Henry C. Meyer.
- 16 John C. Bensieck.
- 17 Chauncey I. Filley.
- 18 J. H. McLean.
- 19 Fred W. Mott.
- 20 K. W. Webber.
- 21 Edward Neuenhahn.
- 22 E. D. Sankey.
- 23 Charles H. Burton.

- 13 W. D. Tyler.
- 14 Jos. B. Upton.
- 15 Norman Gibbs.
- 16 A. B. Carroll.
- 17 Byrd Duncan.
- 18 NEVADA.

At Large.

M. D. Foley.
C. C. Stevenson.
S. L. Lee.
John Dixon.
J. H. Rand.
A. J. Blair.

NEW JERSEY.

At Large.

Wm. Walter Phelps.
John J. Gardner.
William J. Sewell.
J. Frank Fort.

Districts.

- 1 Isaac T. Nichols.
- 2 Thomas B. Harned.
- 3 Mahlon Hutchinson.
- 4 Wm. H. Skirm.
- 5 James R. English.
- 6 John W. Herbert.
- 7 John I. Blair.
- 8 William H. Long.
- 9 Watts Cooke.
- 10 William H. Howell.
- 11 Herman Lehlback.
- 12 William Riker, Jr.
- 13 James Gopsill.
- 14 John Ramsey.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

At Large.

Charles H. Sawyer.
George H. Stowell.
Edward H. Rollins.
Joseph B. Clark.

Districts.

- 1 Charles D. McDuffie.
- 2 Warren Brown.
- 3 Frank D. Currier.
- 4 Henry B. Atherton.

NEW YORK.

At Large.

Theodore Roosevelt.
Andrew D. White.
John I. Gilbert.
Edwin Packard.

Districts.

- 1 Geo. William Curtis.
- 2 John M. Crane.
- 3 Silas B. Dutcher.
- 4 Edward H. Hobbs.
- 5 Andrew D. Baird.
- 6 George L. Pease.
- 7 William H. Beard.
- 8 Martin N. Day.
- 9 Clark D. Rhinehart.
- 10 George C. Bennett.
- 11 John J. O'Brien.
- 12 John H. Brady.
- 13 John D. Lawson.
- 14 Charles N. Taintor.

- 8 Robert G. McCord.
- 9 John Collins.
- 10 George Hilliard.
- 11 J. M. Patterson.
- 12 Michael Cregan.
- 13 Bernard Biglin.
- 14 John R. Lydecker.
- 15 Anson G. McCook.
- 16 Edmund Stephenson.
- 17 William Dowd.
- 18 Frank Raymond.
- 19 John A. Egleston.
- 20 Wm. H. Robertson.
- 21 James W. Husted.
- 22 Benjamin B. Odell.
- 23 David J. Blauvelt.
- 24 B. Platt Carpenter.
- 25 Hamilton Fish, Jr.
- 26 Thomas Cornell.
- 27 Duncan Ballantine.
- 28 Martin I. Townsend.
- 29 Henry G. Burleigh.
- 30 James Lamb.
- 31 James A. Houck.

Contestants.

- George Campbell.¹
- Hiram Griggs.¹
- 20 John Kellogg.
- 21 George West.
- 22 John Hammond.
- 23 George Chahoon.
- 24 George A. Bagley.
- 25 Leslie W. Russell.
- 26 William E. Scripture.
- 27 A. M. Lampher.
- 28 Hobart Krum.
- 29 Titus Sheard.
- 30 Henry L. Duguid.
- 31 Carroll E. Smith.
- 32 Milton De Lano.
- 33 Thomas C. Platt.
- 34 David M. Osborne.
- 35 Theron G. Youmans.
- 36 Jeremiah W. Dwight.
- 37 Walter Lloyd Smith.
- 38 Stephen T. Hoyt.
- 39 George R. Cornwell.
- 40 Leonard Burritt.
- 41 Hulburt H. Warner.
- 42 Jas. W. Wadsworth.
- 43 Edmund L. Pitts.
- 44 James D. Warren.
- 45 Josiah Jewett.
- 46 Lee R. Sanborn.
- 47 George L. Urban, Jr.
- 48 Frank S. Smith.
- 49 Norman M. Allen.

NEBRASKA.

At Large.

John M. Thurston.
N. S. Harwood.
John Jensen.
George W. Brooks.

Districts.

- 1 Church Howe,

¹ Admitted, with half a vote each; the sitting members remain on the same basis.

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.*

- | | | | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 2 | E. L. Reed. | 17 | Chas. H. Baltzell. | 22 | C. L. Magee. |
| | W. T. Scott. | | N. R. Patterson. | | William Flynn. |
| | George W. Burton. | 18 | C. H. Andrews. | 23 | Thos. M. Bayne. |
| 3 | C. P. Mathewson. | | William Monaghan. | | E. M. Byers. |
| | J. H. McCall. | 19 | E. L. Lampson. | 24 | Ernest F. Atchison. |
| NORTH CAROLINA. | | | | John W. Wallace. | |
| <i>At Large.</i> | | 20 | J. O. Converse. | 25 | J. B. Henderson. |
| | J. J. Mott. | | A. L. Conger. | | A. C. Howard. |
| | W. S. Dockery. | 21 | T. D. Loomis. | 26 | W. H. H. Riddle. |
| | James H. Harris. | | Edwin Cowies. | | Thos. C. Cochrane. |
| | James E. O'Hara. | | A. C. Hord. | 27 | Joseph Johnson. |
| Districts. | | | OREGON. | | |
| 1 | J. B. Hill. | <i>At Large.</i> | | RHODE ISLAND. | |
| | E. A. White. | | Joseph N. Dolph. | <i>At Large.</i> | |
| 2 | John C. Dancy. | | Owen N. Denny. | | Gorham P. Pomroy. |
| | Isaac J. Young. | | J. M. Swift. | | Frank M. Bates. |
| 3 | L. W. Humphrey. | | W. J. McConnell. | | Ellery H. Wilson. |
| | John S. Leary. | | A. G. Hovey. | | D. G. Littlefield. |
| 4 | Chas. D. Upchurch. | | John T. Apperson. | Districts. | |
| | John Willinson. | PENNSYLVANIA. | | | |
| 5 | Thomas B. Keogh. | <i>At Large.</i> | | 1 | Wm. A. Stedman. |
| | Pat. H. Winston, Jr. | | Hamilton Disston. | | John C. Burrington. |
| 6 | W. W. Jenkins. | | James McManes. | 2 | Thomas C. Peckham. |
| | E. J. Pennypacker. | | William H. Jessup. | | Albert L. Chester. |
| 7 | H. C. Cowles. | | Joseph W. Lee. | SOUTH CAROLINA. | |
| | A. S. Richardson. | | Lewis Emery. | <i>At Large.</i> | |
| 8 | W. S. Pearson. | | P. L. Kimberly. | | Robert Smalls. |
| | L. L. Green. | Districts. | | | E. M. Brayton. |
| 9 | J. B. Eaves. | 1 | H. H. Bingham. | | W. N. Taft. |
| | T. J. Candler. | | William J. Pollock. | | Samuel Lee. |
| OHIO. | | | 2 | William R. Leeds. | Districts. |
| <i>At Large.</i> | | | David H. Lane. | 1 | J. M. Freeman. |
| | J. B. Foraker. | 3 | Samuel B. Gilpin. | | Eli H. Webster. |
| | Wm. McKinley, Jr. | | Harry Hunter. | 2 | Paris Simpkins. |
| | Marcus A. Hanna. | 4 | Alexander Crowe, Jr. | | S. E. Smith. |
| | W. H. West. | | W. Edwood Rowan. | 3 | E. F. Blodgett. |
| Districts. | | 5 | John I. Thompson. | | R. W. Boone. |
| 1 | Luke A. Staley. | | John Ruhl. | 4 | Wilson Cook. |
| | W. B. Smith. | 6 | B. F. Fisher. | | C. M. Wilder. |
| 2 | Amos Smith, Jr. | | Richard Young. | 5 | C. C. McCoy. |
| | Charles Fleischman. | 7 | J. P. Hale Jenkins. | | E. H. Dibble. |
| 3 | Henry Lee Morey. | | Robert M. Yardley. | 6 | E. H. Deas. |
| | M. J. W. Holter. | 8 | Samuel R. Deppen. | | D. T. Corbin. |
| 4 | S. Craighead. | | F. S. Livingood. | 7 | W. H. Thompson. |
| | A. R. Byrket. | 9 | Lewis S. Hartman. | | T. B. Johnston. |
| 5 | J. S. Robinson. | | Edwin L. Reinhold. | TENNESSEE. | |
| | Joseph Morris. | 10 | W. S. Kirkpatrick. | <i>At Large.</i> | |
| 6 | A. M. Pratt. | | Samuel Thomas. | | L. C. Houk. |
| | J. N. High. | 11 | J. C. Brown. | | J. C. Napier. |
| 7 | R. W. McMahon. | | James Cruikshank. | | T. F. Cassels. |
| | W. C. Lemmert. | 12 | Henry M. Boies. | | W. P. Brownlow. |
| 8 | O. T. Martin. | | Hubbard B. Payne. | Districts. | |
| | G. M. Eichelberger. | 13 | J. Y. Sollenberger. | 1 | A. H. Pettibone. |
| 9 | Theo. E. Duncan. | | J. A. M. Passmore. | | John W. Brown. |
| | J. F. Locke. | 14 | Horace Brock. | 2 | W. C. Chandler. |
| 10 | C. L. Luce. | | Jacob Wagner. | | W. C. Chumlea. |
| | John B. Rice. | 15 | Galusha A. Grow. | 3 | H. F. Griscom. |
| 11 | Alphonso Hart. | | F. F. Lyon. | | F. V. Brown. |
| | Charles W. Boyd. | 16 | E. G. Schieffelin. | 4 | B. W. Burford. |
| 12 | O. B. Gould. | | C. W. Hill. | | John Pruitt. |
| | H. S. Bundy. | 17 | D. J. Morrell. | 5 | W. Y. Elliott. |
| 13 | C. D. Firestone. | | E. D. Scull. | | William M. Ekin. |
| | C. E. Groce. | 18 | John Stewart. | 6 | H. L. W. Cheatham. |
| 14 | W. J. Schriver. | | S. E. Duffield. | | B. J. Hadley. |
| | A. W. Vorhees. | 19 | William H. Lannius. | 7 | A. M. Hughes, Jr. |
| 15 | H. C. Van Voorhis. | | Jacob A. Kitzmiller. | | Richard Harris. |
| | E. L. Lybarger. | 20 | E. A. Irvin. | 8 | S. W. Hawkins. |
| 16 | E. G. Johnson. | | J. C. Thornton. | | J. C. Watson. |
| | W. L. Sewell. | 21 | John K. Ewing. | 9 | M. E. Bell. |
| | | | James E. Sayres. | | |

DELEGATES BY STATES.—*Continued.*

- S. A. McElwee.
 10 Carter Harris.
 James H. Smith.
 TEXAS.
- At Large.*
 C. C. Binckley.
 Robert Zapp.
 M. W. Cuney.
 Richard Allen.
- Districts.*
 1 R. Parish.
 J. J. Evans.
 2 A. Buckitt.
 H. L. Davis.
 3 Webster Flanagan.
 Simon Berge.
 4 A. G. Malloy.
 Henry Carter.
 5 O. T. Lyons.
 F. R. Cleaves.
 6 John S. Witmer.
 J. C. Ackers.
 7 L. W. Renfrew.
 M. R. Ferguson.
 8 Henry Green.
 A. J. Rosenthal.
 9 Nathan Patton.
 Henry Blount.
 10 J. C. Degress.
 R. Hanschke.
 11 Robert Campbell.
 J. McConnell.
 VERMONT.
- At Large.*
 J. Gregory Smith.
 Redfield Proctor.
 Frederick Billings.
 B. D. Harris.
- Districts.*
 1 A. B. Valentine.
 Henry Ballard.
 2 B. F. Fifield.
 Truman C. Fletcher.
 VIRGINIA.
- At Large.*
 William Mahone.
 Wm. H. Pleasants.
 S. M. Yost.
- Frank S. Blair.
 James D. Brady.
 A. A. Dodson.
Districts.
 1 Duff Green.
 L. R. Stewart
 2 Harry Libby.
 Jordan Thompson.
 3 W. C. Elam.
 J. Anderson Taylor.
 4 W. E. Gaines.
 A. W. Harris.
 5 William E. Sims.
 Winfield Scott
 6 James A. Frazer.
 Jas. M. McLaughlin.
 7 L. S. Walker.
 J. L. Dunn.
 8 Thomas G. Popham.
 Robert L. Mitchell.
 9 D. F. Houston.
 H. C. Wood.
 WEST VIRGINIA.
- At Large.*
 B. B. Dovener.
 Wm. M. O. Dawson.
 E. L. Buttrick.
 Warren Miller.
- Districts.*
 1 C. D. Thompson.
 T. B. Jacobs.
 2 Arnold C. Sherr.
 Lamar C. Powell.
 3 Neil Robinson.
 J. W. Heavener.
 4 B. J. Redmond.
 M. C. C. Church.
 WISCONSIN.
- At Large.*
 E. H. Brodhead.
 E. W. Keyes.
 Jonathan Bowman.
 Thomas B. Scott.
- Districts.*
 1 H. A. Cooper.
 John W. Sale.
 2 S. S. Barney.
 W. T. Rambusch.
- 3 Calvert Spensely.
 A. C. Dodge.
 4 Edward Sanderson.
 F. C. Winkler.
 5 J. H. Mead.
 C. A. Estabrook.
 6 Charles B. Clark.
 A. M. Kimball.
 7 O. F. Temple.
 C. M. Butt.
 8 George B. Shaw.
 Horace A. Taylor.
 9 Alexander Stewart.
 O. A. Ellis.
- Territories.*
 ARIZONA.
 Clark Churchill.
 J. H. Stebbins.
 DAKOTA.
 W. E. Nelson.
 J. L. Jolly.
 DIST. OF COLUMBIA.
 Frank B. Conger.
 Perry Carson.
 IDAHO.
 D. P. B. Pride.
 W. N. Shilling.
 MONTANA.
 Wilbur F. Sanders.
 Lee Mantle.
 NEW MEXICO.
 W. H. Llewellyn.
 Eugene Romero.
 UTAH.
 Eli H. Murray.
 Nathan Kimball.
 WASHINGTON.
 George D. Hill.
 John L. Wilson.
 WYOMING.
 John W. Meldrum.
 James France.

THE PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States in National Convention assembled renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent, the safeguard of liberty, and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens.

The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equity of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation; and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government. And it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and peace,

have endeared him to the hearts of the American people. In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity; and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is the most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duty shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity. Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our most earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus. The Republican party pledges itself to correct the irregularities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminating process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep-husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the Constitutional power of Congress over inter-State commerce.

The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a National Bureau of Labor; the enforcement of the eight-hour law; a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection of a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether at home or abroad, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed to the end that the dangers of free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings for actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil.

We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land-grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation in all cases

where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears Act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike and their pensions begin with the date of disability, and not with the date of application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs. A policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any high sea protect the rights of the American citizens and the interests of American commerce. We call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That the appointment by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the bona fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our Territories and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

The people of the United States; in their organized capacity, constitute a nation, and not a mere confederation of States. The national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained, and which should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved, and the Union kept inviolate.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen of whatever race and color the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.

BLAINE'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

AUGUSTA, ME., July 15, 1881.

The Hon. John B. Henderson and others of the Committee, etc., etc.

GENTLEMEN:—In accepting the nomination for the Presidency tendered me by the Republican National Convention, I beg to express the deep sense of the honor which is conferred and of the duty which is imposed. I venture to accompany the acceptance with some observations upon the questions involved in the contest—questions whose settlement may effect the future of the nation favorably or unfavorably for a long series of years.

In enumerating the issues upon which the Republican party appeals for popular support, the convention has been singularly explicit and felicitous. It has properly given the leading position to the industrial interests of the country as affected by the tariff on imports. On that question the two political parties are radically in conflict. Almost the first act of the Republicans, when they came into power in 1861, was the establishment of the principle of protection to American labor and to American capital. This principle the Republican party has ever since steadily maintained, while on the other hand the Democratic party in Congress has for fifty years persistently warred upon it. Twice within that period our opponents have destroyed tariffs arranged for protection, and since the close of the civil war, whenever they have controlled the House of Representatives, hostile legislation has been attempted—never more conspicuously than in their principal measure at the late session of Congress.

Revenue laws are in their very nature subject to frequent revision in order that they may be adapted to changes and modifications of trade. The Republican party is not contending for the permanency of any particular statute.

The issue between the two parties does not have reference to a specific law. It is far broader and far deeper. It involves a principle of wide application and beneficent influence, against a theory which we believe to be unsound in conception and inevitably hurtful in practice. In the many tariff revisions which have been necessary for the past twenty-three years, or which may hereafter become necessary, the Republican party has maintained and will maintain the policy of protection to American industry, while our opponents insist upon a revision, which practically destroys that policy. The issue is thus distinct, well defined and unavoidable. The pending election may determine the fate of protection for a generation. The overthrow of the policy means a large and permanent reduction in the wages of the American laborer; besides involving the loss of vast amounts of American capital invested in manufacturing enterprises. The value of the present revenue system to the people of the United States is not a matter of theory, and I shall submit no argument to sustain it. I only invite attention to certain facts of official record which seem to constitute a demonstration.

In the census of 1850 an effort was made, for the first time in our history, to obtain a valuation of all the property in the United States. The attempt was in a large degree unsuccessful. Partly from lack of time, partly from prejudice among many who thought the inquiries foreshadowed a new scheme of taxation, the returns were incomplete and unsatisfactory. Little more was done than to consolidate the local valuation used in the States for purposes of assessment, and that, as everyone knows, differs widely from a complete exhibit of all the property.

In the census of 1860, however, the work was done with great thoroughness—the distinction between “assessed” value and “true” value being carefully observed. The grand result was that the “true value” of all the property in the States and Territories (excluding slaves) amounted to \$14,000,000,000. This aggregate was the net result of the labor and savings of all the people within the area of the United States from the time the first British colonists landed in 1607 down to the year 1860. It represented the fruit of the toil of 250 years.

After 1860 the business of the country was encouraged and developed by a protective tariff. At the end of every twenty years the total property of the United States, as returned by the census of 1880, amounted to the enormous aggregate of \$44,000,000,000. This great result was attained, notwithstanding the fact that countless millions had in the interval been wasted in the progress of a bloody war. It thus appears that while our population between 1860 and 1880 increased 60 per cent. the aggregate property of the country increased 214 per cent.—showing a vastly enhanced wealth *per capita* among the people. Thirty thousand millions of dollars had been added during these twenty years to the permanent wealth of the nation.

These results are regarded by the older nations of the world as phenomenal. That our country should surmount the peril and the cost of a gigantic war and for an entire period of twenty years make an average gain to its wealth of \$125,000,000 per month surpasses the experience of all other nations, ancient or modern. Even the opponents of the present revenue system do not pretend that in the whole history of civilization any parallel can be found to the material progress of the United States, since the accession of the Republican party to power.

The period between 1860 and to-day has not been one of material prosperity only. At no time in the history of the United States has there been such progress in the moral and philanthropic field. Religious and charitable institutions, schools, seminaries and colleges, have been founded and endowed far more generously than at any previous time in our history. Greater and more varied relief has been extended to human suffering, and the entire progress of the country in wealth has been accompanied and dignified by a broadening and elevation of our national character as a people.

Our opponents find fault that our revenue system produces a surplus. But they should not forget that the law has given a specific purpose to which all of the surplus is profitably and honorably applied—the reduction of the public debt and the consequent relief of the burden of taxation. No dollar has been wasted, and the only extravagance with which the party stands charged is the generous pensioning of soldiers, sailors and their families—an extravagance which embodies the highest form of justice in the recognition and payment of a sacred debt. When reduction of taxation is to be made, the Republican party can be trusted to accomplish it in such form as will most effectively aid the industries of the nation.

A frequent accusation by our opponents is that the foreign commerce of the country has steadily decayed under the influence of the protective tariff. In this way they seek to array the importing interest against the Republican party. It is a common and yet radical error to confound the commerce of the

country with its carrying trade--an error often committed innocently and sometimes designedly--but an error so gross that it does not distinguish between the ship and the cargo. Foreign commerce represents the exports and imports of a country regardless of the nationality of the vessel that may carry the commodities of exchange. Our carrying trade has from obvious causes suffered many discouragements since 1860, but our foreign commerce has in the same period steadily and prodigiously increased--increased indeed at a rate and to an amount which absolutely dwarf all previous developments of our trade beyond the sea. From 1870 to the present time the foreign commerce of the United States, (divided with approximate equality between exports and imports), reached the astounding aggregate of twenty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$24,000,000,000). The balance in this vast commerce inclined in our favor, but it would have been much larger if our trade with the countries of America, elsewhere referred to, had been wisely adjusted.

It is difficult even to appreciate the magnitude of our export trade since 1860, and we can gain a correct conception of it only by comparison with preceding results in the same field. The total exports from the United States from the Declaration of Independence in 1776, down to the day of Lincoln's election in 1860, added to all that had previously been exported from the American Colonies from their original settlement, amounted to less than \$9,000,000,000. On the other hand our exports from 1860 to the close of the last fiscal year exceeded \$12,000,000,000--the whole of it being the product of American labor. Evidently a protective tariff has not injured our export trade when, under its influence, we exported in twenty-four years 40 per cent. more than the total amount that had been exported in the entire previous history of American commerce. All the details, when analyzed, correspond with this gigantic result. The commercial cities of the Union never had such growth as they have enjoyed since 1860. Our chief emporium, the city of New York with its dependencies, has within that period doubled her population and increased her wealth five-fold. During the same period the imports and exports which have entered and left her harbor are more than double in bulk and value the whole amount imported and exported by her between the settlement of the first Dutch colony on the island of Manhattan and the outbreak of the civil war in 1860.

The agricultural interest is by far the largest in the nation, and is entitled in every adjustment of revenue laws to the first consideration. Any policy hostile to the fullest development of agriculture in the United States must be abandoned. Realizing this fact the opponents of the present system of revenue have labored very earnestly to persuade the farmers of the United States that they are robbed by a protective tariff, and the effort is thus made to consolidate their vast influence in favor of free trade. But happily the farmers of America are intelligent and can not be misled by sophistry when conclusive facts are before them. They see plainly that during the past twenty-four years, wealth has not been acquired in one section or by one interest at the expense of another section or another interest. They see that the agricultural States have made even more rapid progress than the manufacturing States.

The farmers see that in 1860 Massachusetts and Illinois had about the same wealth--between eight and nine hundred million dollars each--and that in 1880 Massachusetts had advanced to \$2,600,000,000, while Illinois had advanced to \$3,200,000,000. They see that New Jersey and Iowa were just equal in population in 1860 and that in twenty years the wealth of New Jersey was increased by the sum of \$850,000,000, while the wealth of Iowa was increased by the sum of \$1,500,000,000. They see that the nine leading agricultural States of the West have grown so rapidly in prosperity that the aggregate addition to their wealth since 1860 is almost as great as the wealth of the entire country in that year. They see that the South, which is almost exclusively agricultural, has shared in the general prosperity and that having recovered from the loss and devastation of war, has gained so rapidly that its total wealth is at least the double of that which it possessed in 1860, exclusive of slaves.

In these extraordinary developments the farmers see the helpful impulse of a home market, and they see that the financial and revenue system, enacted since the Republican party came into power, has established and constantly expanded the home market. They see that even in the case of wheat, which is our chief cereal export, they have sold, in the average years since the close of the war, three bushels at home to one they have sold abroad, and that in the case of corn, the only other cereal which we export to any extent, one hundred bushels have been used at home to three and a half bushels exported. In some years the disparity has been so great that for every peck of corn exported one hundred bushels have been consumed in the home market. The farmers see that in the increasing competition from the grain fields of Russia and from the distant plains of India, the growth of the home market becomes daily of

greater concern to them and that its impairment would depreciate the value of every acre of tillable land in the Union.

Such facts as these, touching the growth and consumption of cereals at home, give us some slight conception of the vastness of the internal commerce of the United States. They suggest also that, in addition to the advantages which the American people enjoy from protection against foreign competition, they enjoy the advantages of absolute free-trade over a larger area and with a greater population than any other nation. The internal commerce of our thirty-eight States and nine Territories is carried on without let or hindrance, without tax, detention or governmental interference of any kind whatever. It spreads freely over an area of three and a half million square miles—almost equal in extent to the whole continent of Europe. Its profits are enjoyed to-day by fifty-six millions of American freemen, and from this enjoyment no monopoly is created. According to Alexander Hamilton, when he discussed the same subject in 1790, "the internal competition which takes place does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the prices of articles to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed." It is impossible to point to a single monopoly in the United States that has been created or fostered by the industrial system which is upheld by the Republican party.

Compared with our foreign commerce these domestic exchanges are inconceivably great in amount—requiring merely as one instrumentality as large a mileage of railway as exists to-day in all the other nations of the world combined. These internal exchanges are estimated by the Statistical Bureau of the Treasury Department to be annually twenty times as great in amount as our foreign commerce. It is into this vast field of home trade—at once the creation and the heritage of the American people—that foreign nations are striving by every device to enter. It is into this field that the opponents of our present revenue system would freely admit the countries of Europe—countries into whose internal trade we could not reciprocally enter; countries to which we should be surrendering every advantage of trade; from which we should be gaining nothing in return.

A policy of this kind would be disastrous to the mechanics and workingmen of the United States. Wages are unjustly reduced when an industrious man is not able by his earnings to live in comfort, educate his children, and lay by a sufficient amount for the necessities of age. The reduction of wages inevitably consequent upon throwing our home market open to the world, would deprive them of the power to do this. It would prove a great calamity to our country. It would produce a conflict between the poor and the rich, and in the sorrowful degradation of labor would plant the seeds of public danger.

The Republican party has steadily aimed to maintain just relations between labor and capital, guarding with care the rights of each. A conflict between the two has always led in the past and will always lead in the future to the injury of both. Labor is indispensable to the creation and profitable use of capital, and capital increases the efficiency and value of labor. Whoever arrays the one against the other is an enemy of both. That policy is wisest and best which harmonizes the two on the basis of absolute justice. The Republican party has protected the free labor of America so that its compensation is larger than is realized in any other country. It has guarded our people against the unfair competition of contract labor from China and may be called upon to prohibit the growth of a similar evil from Europe. It is obviously unfair to permit capitalists to make contracts for cheap labor in foreign countries to the hurt and disparagement of the labor of American citizens. Such a policy (like that which would leave the time and other conditions of home labor exclusively in the control of the employer,) is injurious to all parties—not the least so to the unhappy persons who are made the subjects of the contract. The institutions of the United States rest upon the intelligence and virtue of all the people. Suffrage is made universal as a just weapon of self-protection to every citizen. It is not the interest of the Republic that any economic system should be adopted which involves the reduction of wages to the hard standard prevailing elsewhere. The Republican party aims to elevate and dignify labor—not to degrade it.

As a substitute for the industrial system which under Republican administration has developed such extraordinary prosperity, our opponents offer a policy which is but a series of experiments upon our system of revenue—a policy whose end must be harm to our manufactures and greater harm to our labor. Experiment in the industrial and financial system is the country's greatest dread, as stability is its greatest boon. Even the uncertainty resulting from recent tariff agitation in Congress has hurtfully affected the business of the entire country. Who can measure the harm to our shops and our homes, to our farms and our commerce, if the uncertainty of perpetual tariff agitation is to be inflicted upon the country? We are in the midst of an abundant

harvest; we are on the eve of a revival of general prosperity. Nothing stands in our way but the dread of a change in the industrial system which has wrought such wonders in the last twenty years, and which with the power of increased capital will work still greater marvels of prosperity in the twenty years to come.

Our foreign relations favor our domestic development. We are at peace with the world—at peace upon a sound basis with no unsettled questions of sufficient magnitude to embarrass or distract us. Happily removed by our geographical position from participation or interest in those questions of dynasty or boundary which so frequently disturb the peace of Europe, we are left to cultivate friendly relations with all, and are free from possible entanglements in the quarrels of any. The United States has no cause and no desire to engage in conflict with any power on earth, and we may rest in assured confidence that no power desires to attack the United States.

With the nations of the Western Hemisphere we should cultivate closer relations and for our common prosperity and advancement we should invite them all to join with us in an agreement that, for the future, all international troubles in North or South America shall be adjusted by impartial arbitration and not by arms. This project was part of the fixed policy of President Garfield's administration, and it should, in my judgment be renewed. Its accomplishment on this continent would favorably affect the nations beyond the sea, and thus powerfully contribute at no distant day to the universal acceptance of the philanthropic and Christian principle of arbitration. The effect even of suggesting it for the Spanish American States has been most happy and has increased the confidence of those people in our friendly disposition. It fell to my lot as Secretary of State, in June, 1881, to quiet apprehension in the Republic of Mexico, by giving the assurance in an official dispatch that "there is not the faintest desire in the United States for territorial extension south of the Rio Grande. The boundaries of the two Republics have been established in conformity with the best jurisdictional interests of both. The line of demarkation is not merely conventional. It is more. It separates a Spanish-American people from a Saxon-American people. It divides one great nation from another with distinct and natural finality."

We seek the conquests of peace. We desire to extend our commerce, and in an especial degree with our friends and neighbors on this continent. We have not improved our relations with Spanish America as wisely and as persistently as we might have done. For more than a generation the sympathy of those countries has been allowed to drift away from us. We should now make every effort to gain their friendship. Our trade with them is already large. During the last year our exchanges in the Western Hemisphere amounted to \$350,000,000—nearly one-fourth of our entire foreign commerce. To those who may be disposed to under-rate the value of our trade with the countries of North and South America, it may be well to state that their population is nearly or quite 50,000,000—and that, in proportion to aggregate numbers, we import nearly double as much from them as we do from Europe. But the result of the whole American trade is in a high degree unsatisfactory. The imports during the past year exceeded \$225,000,000, while the exports were less than \$125,000,000—showing a balance against us of more than \$100,000,000. But the money does not go to Spanish America. We send large sums to Europe in coin or its equivalent to pay European manufacturers for the goods which they send to Spanish America. We are but paymasters for this enormous amount annually to European factors—an amount which is a serious draft, in every financial depression, upon our resources of specie.

Can not this condition of trade in great part be changed? Can not the market for our products be greatly enlarged? We have made a beginning in our effort to improve our trade relations with Mexico, and we should not be content until similar and mutually advantageous arrangements have been successively made with every nation of North and South America. While the great powers of Europe are steadily enlarging their colonial domination in Asia and Africa, it is the especial province of this country to improve and expand its trade with the nations of America. No field promises so much. No field has been cultivated so little. Our foreign policy should be an American policy in its broadest and most comprehensive sense—a policy of peace, of friendship, of commercial enlargement.

The name of American which belongs to us in our national capacity must always exalt the just pride of patriotism. Citizenship of the Republic must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it. The American citizen, rich or poor, native or naturalized, white or colored, must everywhere walk secure in his personal and civil rights. The Republic should never accept a lesser duty, it can never assume a nobler one, than the protection of the humblest man who owes it loyalty—protection at home, and protection which should follow him abroad, into whatever land he may go upon a lawful errand

I recognize, not without regret, the necessity for speaking of two sections of our common country. But the regret diminishes when I see that the elements which separated them are fast disappearing. Prejudices have yielded and are yielding, while a growing cordiality warms the Southern and the Northern heart alike. Can any one doubt that between the sections confidence and esteem are to-day more marked than at any period in the sixty years preceding the election of President Lincoln? This is the result in part of time, and in part of Republican principles applied under the favorable conditions of uniformity. It would be a great calamity to change these influences under which Southern commonwealths are learning to vindicate civil rights, and adapting themselves to the conditions of political tranquility and industrial progress. If there be occasional and violent outbreaks in the South against this peaceful progress, the public opinion of the country regards them as exceptional, and hopefully trusts that each will prove the last.

The South needs capital and occupation, not controversy. As much as any part of the North, the South needs the full protection of the revenue laws which the Republican party offers. Some of the Southern States have already entered upon a career of industrial development and prosperity. These, at least, should not lend their electoral votes to destroy their own future.

An effort to unite the Southern States upon issues that grow out of the memories of the war, will summon the Northern States to combine in the assertion of that nationality which was their inspiration in the civil struggle. And thus great energies which should be united in a common industrial development will be wasted in hurtful strife. The Democratic party shows itself a foe to Southern prosperity by always invoking and urging Southern political consolidation. Such a policy quenches the rising instinct of patriotism in the heart of the Southern youth; it revives and stimulates prejudice; it substitutes the spirit of barbaric vengeance for the love of peace, progress and harmony.

The general character of the civil service of the United States under all administrations has been honorable. In the one supreme test—the collection and disbursement of revenue—the record of fidelity has never been surpassed in any nation. With the almost fabulous sums which were received and paid during the late war, scrupulous integrity was the prevailing rule. Indeed, throughout that trying period, it can be said to the honor of the American name, that unfaithfulness and dishonesty among civil officers were as rare as misconduct and cowardice on the field of battle.

The growth of this country has continually and necessarily enlarged the civil service, until now it includes a vast body of officers. Rules and methods of appointment which prevailed when the number was smaller have been found insignificant and impracticable, and earnest efforts have been made to separate the great mass of ministerial officers from partisan influence and personal control. Impartiality in the mode of appointment to be based on qualification and security of tenure to be based on faithful discharge of duty are the two ends to be accomplished. The public business will be aided by separating the legislative branch of the government from all control of appointments, and the executive department will be relieved by subjecting appointments to fixed rules, and thus removing them from the caprices of favoritism. But there should be rigid observance of the law which gives in all cases of equal competency the preference to the soldiers who risked their lives in defense of the Union.

I entered Congress in 1863, and in a somewhat prolonged service I never found it expedient to request or recommend the removal of a civil officer except in four instances, and then for non-political reasons which were instantly conclusive with the appointing power. The officers in the district, appointed by Mr. Lincoln in 1861 upon the recommendation of my predecessor, served, as a rule, until death or resignation. I adopted, at the beginning of my service the test of competitive examination for appointments to West Point and maintained it so long as I had the right by law to nominate a cadet. In the case of many officers I found that the present law, which arbitrarily limits the term of the commission, offered a constant temptation to changes for mere political reasons. I have publicly expressed the belief that the essential modification of that law would be in many respects advantageous.

My observation in the Department of State confirmed the conclusion of my legislative experience, and impressed me with the conviction that the rule of impartial appointment might with advantage be carried beyond any existing provision of the civil service law. It should be applied to appointments in the consular service. Consuls should be commercial sentinels—encircling the globe with watchfulness for their country's interests. Their intelligence of competency become, therefore, matters of great public concern. No man should be appointed to an American consulate, who is not well instructed in the history and resources of his own country and in the requirements and language of commerce in the country to which he is sent. The

same rule should be applied even more rigidly to Secretaries of Legation in our Diplomatic service. The people have the right to the most efficient agents in the discharge of the public business and the appointing power should regard this as the prior and ulterior consideration.

Religious liberty is the right of every citizen of the Republic. Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to make any law "respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." For a century, under this guarantee, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, have worshiped God according to the dictates of conscience. But religious liberty must not be perverted to the justification of offenses against the law. A religious sect, strongly intrenched in one of the Territories of the Union, and spreading rapidly into four other Territories, claims the right to destroy the great safeguard and muniment of social order, and to practice as a religious privilege that which is a crime punished with severe penalty in every State of the Union. The sacredness and unity of the family must be preserved as the foundation of all civil government, as the source of orderly administration, as the surest guarantee of moral purity.

The claim of the Mormons that they are divinely authorized to practice polygamy should no more be admitted than the claim of certain heathen tribes, if they should come among us, to continue the rite of human sacrifice. The law does not interfere with what a man believes; it takes cognizance only of what he does. As citizens, the Mormons are entitled to the same civil rights as others and to these they must be confined. Polygamy can never receive national sanction or toleration by admitting the community that upholds it as a State in the Union. Like others, the Mormons must learn that the liberty of the individual ceases where the rights of society begin.

The people of the United States, though often urged and tempted, have never seriously contemplated the recognition of any other money than gold and silver—and currency directly convertible into them. They have not done so, they will not do so, under any necessity less pressing than that of desperate war. The one special requisite for the completion of our monetary system is the fixing of the relative values of silver and gold.

The large use of silver as the money of account among Asiatic nations, taken in connection with the increasing commerce of the world, gives the weightiest reasons for an international agreement in the premises. Our government should not cease to urge this measure until a common standard of value shall be reached and established—a standard that shall enable the United States to use the silver from its mines as an auxiliary to gold in settling the balances of commercial exchange.

The strength of the Republic is increased by the multiplication of landholders. Our laws should look to the judicious encouragement of actual settlers on the public domain, which should henceforth be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of those seeking homes. The tendency to consolidate large tracts of land in the ownership of individuals or corporations should, with proper regard to vested rights, be discouraged. One hundred thousand acres of land in the hands of one man is far less profitable to the nation in every way than when its ownership is divided among 1,000 men. The evil of permitting large tracts of the national domain to be consolidated and controlled by the few against the many is enhanced when the persons controlling it are aliens. It is but fair that the public land should be disposed of only to actual settlers and to those who are citizens of the Republic, or willing to become so.

Among our national interests one languishes—the foreign carrying-trade. It was very seriously crippled in our civil war, and another blow was given to it in the general substitution of steam for sail in ocean traffic. With a frontage on the two great oceans, with a freighting larger than that of any other nation, we have every inducement to restore our navigation. Yet the government has hitherto refused its help. A small share of the encouragement given by the government to railways and to manufacturers, and a small share of the capital and the zeal given by our citizens to those enterprises would have carried our ships to every sea and to every port. A law just enacted removes some of the burdens upon our navigation and inspires hope that this great interest may at last receive its due share of attention. All efforts in this direction should receive encouragement.

This survey of our condition as a nation reminds us that material prosperity is but a mockery if it does not tend to preserve the liberty of the people. A free ballot is the safeguard of Republican institutions, without which no national welfare is assured. A popular election, honestly conducted, embodies the very majesty of true government. Ten millions of voters desire to take part in the pending contest. The safety of the Republic rests upon the integrity of the ballot, upon the security of suffrage to the citizen. To deposit a fraudulent vote is no worse crime against constitutional liberty than to obstruct the deposit of an honest vote. He who corrupts suffrage strikes at the very root of free government. He is the arch enemy of the Republic. He for-

gets that in trampling upon the rights of others he fatally imperils his own rights. "It is a good land which the Lord our God doth give us," but we can maintain our heritage only by guarding with vigilance the source of popular power. I am, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

LOGAN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 19, 1884.

To the Hon. John B. Henderson, Chairman of the Committee:

DEAR SIR.—Having received from you on the 24th of June the official notification of my nomination by the National Republican Convention as the Republican candidate for Vice-President of the United States, and considering it to be the duty of every man devoting himself to the public service to assume any position to which he may be called by the voice of his countrymen, I accept the nomination with a grateful heart and a deep sense of its responsibilities; and if elected shall endeavor to discharge the duties of the office to the best of my ability.

The honor, as is well understood, was wholly unsought by me. That it was tendered by the representatives of the party, in a manner so flattering, will serve to lighten whatever labors I may be called upon to perform.

Although the variety of subjects covered in the very excellent and vigorous declaration of principles adopted by the late Convention prohibits, upon an occasion calling for brevity of expression, that full elaboration of which they are susceptible, I avail myself of party usage to signify my approval of the various resolutions of the platform, and to discuss them briefly.

The resolutions of the platform declaring for a levy of such duties "as to afford security to our diversified industries, and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity," meets my hearty approval.

If there be a nation on the face of the earth which might, if it were a desirable thing, build a wall upon its every boundary line, deny communication to all the world, and proceed to live upon its own resources and productions, that nation is the United States. There is hardly a legitimate necessity of civilized communities which can not be produced from the extraordinary resources of our several States and Territories, with their manufactories, mines, farms, timber-lands, and water ways. This circumstance, taken in connection with the fact that our form of government is entirely unique among the nations of the world, makes it utterly absurd to institute comparisons between our own economic systems and those of other governments, and especially to attempt to borrow systems from them. We stand alone in our circumstances, our forces, our possibilities, and our aspirations.

In all successful government it is a prime requisite that capital and labor should be upon the best terms, and that both should enjoy the highest attainable prosperity. If there be a disturbance of the just balance between them, one or the other suffers, and dissatisfaction follows, which is harmful to both.

The lessons furnished by the comparatively short history of our own national life have been too much overlooked by our people. The fundamental article in the old Democratic creed proclaimed almost absolute free trade, and this, too, no more than a quarter of a century ago. The low condition of our national credit, the financial and business uncertainties and general lack of prosperity under that system, can be remembered by every man now in middle life.

Although in the great number of reforms instituted by the Republican party, sufficient credit has not been publicly awarded to that of tariff reform, its benefits have, nevertheless, been felt throughout the land. The principle underlying this measure has been in process of gradual development by the Republican party during the comparatively brief period of its power, and to-day a portion of its antiquated Democratic opponents make unwilling concession to the correctness of the doctrine of an equitably adjusted protective tariff, by following slowly in its footsteps, though a very long way in the rear.

The principle involved is one of no great obscurity, and can be readily comprehended by any intelligent person calmly reflecting upon it. The political and social systems of our trade-competing nations have created working classes miserable in the extreme. They receive the merest stipend for their daily toil, and in the great expense of the necessities of life, are deprived of those comforts of clothing, housing and health-producing food with which wholesome mental and social recreation can alone make existence happy and desirable.

Now, if the products of those countries are to be placed in our markets, alongside of American products, either the American capitalist must suffer in his legitimate profits, or he must make the American laborer suffer, in the attempt to compete with the species of labor above referred to. In the case

of a substantial reduction of pay, there can be no compensating advantages for the American laborer, because the articles of daily consumption which he uses—with the exception of articles not produced in the United States, and easy of being specially provided for, as coffee and tea—are grown in our country, and would not be affected in price by a lowering in duties. Therefore, while he would receive less for his labor, his cost of living would not be decreased. Being practically placed upon the pay of the European laborer, our own would be deprived of facilities for educating and sustaining his family respectably; he would be shorn of the proper opportunities of self-improvement, and his value as a citizen, charged with a portion of the obligations of Government, would be lessened; the moral tone of the laboring classes would suffer, and in turn the interests of capital, and the well being of orderly citizens in general, would be menaced, while one evil would react upon another until there would be a general disturbance of the whole community. The true problem of a good and stable government is how to infuse prosperity among all classes of people—the manufacturer, the farmer, the mechanic, and the laborer alike. Such prosperity is a preventive of crime, a security of capital and the very best guarantee of general peace and happiness.

The obvious policy of our government is to protect both capital and labor by a proper imposition of duties. This protection should extend to every article of American production which goes to build up the general prosperity of our people. The National Convention, in view of the special dangers menacing the wool interests of the United States, deemed it wise to adopt a separate resolution on the subject of its proper protection. This industry is a very large and important one. The necessary legislation to sustain this industry upon a proper basis should be extended.

No one realizes more fully than myself the great delicacy and difficulty of adjusting a tariff so nicely and equitably as to protect every home industry, sustain every class of American labor, promote to the highest point the great agricultural interests, and at the same time to give to one and all the advantages pertaining to foreign production not in competition with our own, thus not only building up our foreign commerce, but taking measures to carry it in our own bottoms.

Difficult as this work appears, and really is, it is susceptible of accomplishment by patient and intelligent labor, and to no hands can it be committed with as great assurance of success as to those of the Republican party.

The Republican party is the indisputable author of a financial and monetary system which it is safe to say has never before been equaled by that of any other nation.

Under the operation of our system of finance the country was safely carried through an extended and expensive war, with a national credit which has risen higher and higher with each succeeding year, until now the credit of the United States is surpassed by that of no other nation, while its securities, at a constantly-increasing premium, are eagerly sought after by investors in all parts of the world.

Our system of currency is most admirable in construction. While all the conveniences of a bill circulation attach to it, every dollar of paper represents a dollar of the world's money-standards, and as long as the just and wise policy of the Republican party is continued, there can be no impairment of the national credit. Therefore, under present laws relating thereto, it will be impossible for any man to lose a penny in the bonds or bills of the United States or in bills of the National Banks.

The advantage of having a bank note in the house which will be as good in the morning as it was the night before, should be appreciated by all.

The convertibility of the currency should be maintained intact, and the establishment of an international standard among all commercial Nations, fixing the relative values of gold and silver coinage, would be a measure of peculiar advantage.

The subjects embraced in the resolutions respectively looking to the promotion of our inter-State and foreign commerce and to the matter of our foreign relations are fraught with the greatest importance to our people.

In respect to inter-State commerce, there is much to be desired in the way of equitable rates and facilities of transportation, that commerce may flow freely between the States themselves, diversity of industries and employments be promoted in all sections of our country, and that the great granaries and manufacturing establishments of the interior may be enabled to send their products to the seaboard for shipment to foreign countries, relieved of vexatious restrictions and discriminations in matters of which it may emphatically be said, "time is money," and also of unjust charges upon articles destined to meet close competition from the products of other parts of the world.

As to our foreign commerce, the enormous growth of our industries, and our surprising production of cereals and other necessities of life, imperatively require that immediate and effective means be taken through peaceful,

orderly, and conservative methods to open markets, which have been and are now monopolized largely by other Nations. This more particularly relates to our sister republics of Spanish America, as also to our friends, the people of the Brazilian empire.

The republics of Spanish America are allied to us by the very closest and warmest feelings, based upon similarity of institutions and government, common aspirations and mutual hopes. The "Great Republic," as they proudly term the United States, is looked upon by their people with affectionate admiration and as the model for them to build upon, and we should cultivate between them and ourselves closer commercial relations, which will bind all together by the ties of friendly intercourse and mutual advantage. Further than this, being small commonwealths, in the military and naval sense of the European powers, they look to us as, at least, a moral defender against a system of territorial and other encroachments which, aggressive in the past, has not been abandoned at this day. Diplomacy and intrigue have done much more to wrest the commerce of Spanish America from the United States than has legitimate commercial competition.

Politically we should be bound to the Republics of our continent by the closest ties, and communication by ships and railroads should be encouraged to the fullest possible extent consistent with a wise and conservative public policy. Above all, we should be upon such terms of friendship as to preclude the possibility of national misunderstandings between ourselves and any of the members of the American Republican family. The best method to promote uninterrupted peace between one and all would lie in the meeting of a general conference or congress, whereby an agreement to submit all international differences to the peaceful decision of friendly arbitration might be reached.

An agreement of this kind would give to our sister Republics confidence in each other and in us, closer communication would at once ensue, reciprocally advantageous commercial treaties might be made, whereby much of the commerce which now flows across the Atlantic would seek its legitimate channels, and inure to the greater prosperity of all the American commonwealths. The full advantages of a policy of this nature could not be stated in a brief discussion like the present.

The United States has grown to be a Government representing more than fifty million people, and in every sense, excepting that of mere naval power, is one of the first nations of the world. As such, its citizenship should be valuable, entitling its possessors to protection in every quarter of the globe. I do not consider it necessary that our Government should construct enormous fleets of approved iron-clads and maintain a commensurate body of seamen in order to place ourselves on a war-footing with the military and naval powers of Europe. Such a course would not be compatible with the peaceful policy of our country, though it seems absurd that we have not the effective means to repel a wanton invasion of our coast and give protection to our coast towns and cities against any power. The great moral force of our country is so universally recognized as to render an appeal to arms by us, either in protection of our citizens abroad or in recognition of any just international right, quite improbable. What we most need in this direction is a firm and vigorous assertion of every right and privilege belonging to our Government or its citizens, as well as an equally firm assertion of the rights and privileges belonging to the general family of American Republics situated upon this continent, when opposed, if ever they should be, by the different systems of Government upon another continent.

An appeal to the right by such a Government as ours could not be disregarded by any civilized nation. In the treaty of Washington we led the world to the means of escape from the horrors of war, and it is to be hoped that the era when all international differences shall be decided by peaceful arbitration is not far off.

The central idea of a Republican form of government is the rule of the whole people as opposed to the other forms which rest upon a privileged class.

Our forefathers, in the attempt to erect a new Government which might represent the advanced thought of the world at that period upon the subject of governmental reform, adopted the idea of the people's sovereignty, and thus laid the basis of our present Republic. While technically a Government of the people, it was in strictness only a Government of a portion of the people, excluding from all participation a certain other portion, held in a condition of absolute, despotic, and hopeless servitude, the parallel to which, fortunately, does not now exist in any modern christian Nation.

With the culmination, however, of another cycle of advanced thought, the American Republic suddenly assumed the full character of a government of the whole people, and four million human creatures emerged from the condition of bondsmen to the full status of freemen, theoretically invested with the same civil and political rights possessed by their former masters. The subsequent legislation which guaranteed by every legal title the citizenship and

full equality before the law in all respects of this previously disfranchised people, amply covers the requirements and secures to them, so far as legislation can, the privileges of American citizenship. But the disagreeable fact of the case is, that while, theoretically, we are in the enjoyment of a Government of the whole people, practically we are almost as far from it as we were in the ante-bellum days of the Republic. There are but a few leading and indisputable facts which cover the whole statement of the case. In many of the Southern States the colored population is in large excess of the white. The colored people are Republicans, as are also a considerable portion of the white people. The remaining portion of the latter are Democrats. In the face of this incontestible truth these States invariably return Democratic majorities. In other States of the South the colored people, although not a majority, form a very considerable body of the population, and with the white Republicans are numerically in excess of the Democrats, yet precisely the same political result obtains—the Democratic party invariably carrying the elections. It is not even thought advisable to allow an occasional or unimportant election to be carried by the Republicans as a “blind” or as a stroke of finesse.

Careful and impartial investigation has shown these results to follow the systematic exercises of physical intimidation and violence, conjoined with the most shameful devices ever practiced in the name of free elections. So confirmed has this result become that we are brought face to face with the extraordinary political fact that the Democratic party of the South relies almost entirely upon the methods stated for its success in National elections.

This unlawful perversion of the popular franchise, which I desire to state dispassionately, and in a manner comporting with the proper dignity of the occasion, is one of deep gravity to the American people—in a double sense.

First. It is in violation, open, direct, and flagrant, of the primary principle upon which our Government is supposed to rest, viz: that the control of the Government is participated in by all legally qualified citizens, in accordance with the plan of popular government, that majorities must rule in the decision of all questions.

Second. It is in violation of the rights and interests of the States wherein are particularly centered the great wealth and industries of the Nation, and which pay an overwhelming portion of the National taxes. The immense aggregation of interests embraced within, and the enormously greater population of these other States of the Union, are subjected every four years to the dangers of a wholly fraudulent show of numerical strength.

Under this system minorities actually attempt to direct the course of National affairs, and though up to this time success has not attended their efforts to elect a President, yet success has been so perilously imminent as to encourage a repetition of the effort at each quadrennial election, and to subject the interests of an overwhelming majority of our people, North and South, to the hazards of illegal subversion.

The stereotyped argument in refutation of these plain truths is, that if the Republican element were really in the majority they could not be deprived of their rights and privileges by a minority; but neither statistics of population, nor the unavoidable logic of the situation, can be overridden or escaped. The colored people of the South have recently emerged from the bondage of their present political oppressors; they have had but few of the advantages of education which might enable them to compete with the whites.

As I have heretofore maintained, in order to achieve the ideal perfection of a popular Government, it is absolutely necessary that the masses should be educated. This proposition applies itself with full force to the colored people of the South. They must have better educational advantages, and thus be enabled to become the intellectual peers of their white brethren, as many of them undoubtedly already are. A liberal school system should be provided for the rising generation of the South, and the colored people be made as capable of exercising the duties of electors as the white people. In the meantime it is the duty of the National Government to go beyond resolutions and declarations on the subject and to take such action as may lie in its power to secure the absolute freedom of national elections everywhere, to the end that our Congress may cease to contain members representing fictitious majorities of their people, thus misdirecting the popular will concerning national legislation, and especially to the end that, in presidential contests, the great business and other interests of the country may not be placed in fear and trembling, lest an unscrupulous minority should succeed in stifling the wishes of the majority. In accordance with the spirit of the last resolution of the Chicago platform, measures should be taken at once to remedy this great evil.

Under our liberal institutions the subjects and citizens of every nation have been welcomed to a home in our midst, and on compliance with our laws to co-operation in our Government. While it is the policy of the Republican party to

encourage the oppressed of other nations, and offer them facilities for becoming useful and intelligent citizens in the legal definition of the term, the party has never contemplated the admission of a class of servile people who are not only unable to comprehend our institutions, but indisposed to become a part of our National family or to embrace any higher civilization than their own. To admit such immigrants would be only to throw a retarding element into the very path of our progress. Our legislation should be amply protective against this danger, and if not sufficiently so now should be made so to the full extent allowed by our treaties with friendly powers.

The subject of civil service administration is a problem that has occupied the earnest thought of statesmen for a number of years past, and the record will show that towards its solution many results of a valuable and comprehensive character have been attained by the Republican party since its accession to power. In the partisan warfare made upon the latter with the view of weakening it in the public confidence, a great deal has been alleged in connection with the abuse of the civil service, the party making the indiscriminate charges seeming to have entirely forgotten that it was under the full sway of the Democratic organization that the motto "To the victors belong the spoils" became a cardinal article in the Democratic creed.

With the determination to elevate our governmental administration to a standard of justice, excellence and public morality, the Republican party has sedulously endeavored to lay the foundation of a system which shall reach the highest perfection under the plastic hand of time and accumulating experience. The problem is one of far greater intricacy than appears upon its superficial consideration, and embraces the sub-questions of how to avoid the abuses possible to the lodgement of an immense number of appointments in the hands of the Executive; of how to give encouragement and to provoke emulation in the various Government employees, in order that they may strive for proficiency and rest their hopes of advancement upon the attributes of official merit, good conduct, and exemplary honesty; and how best to avoid the evils of creating a privileged class in the Government service, who, in imitation of European prototypes, may gradually lose all proficiency and value in the belief that they possess a life-calling only to be taken away in case of some flagrant abuse.

The thinking, earnest men of the Republican party have made no mere wordy demonstration upon this subject; but they have endeavored to quietly perform that which their opponents are constantly promising without performing. Under Republican rule the result has been that, without engrafting any of the objectionable features of the European systems upon our own, there has been a steady and even rapid elevation of the civil service in all of its departments, until it can now be stated, without fear of successful contradiction, that the service is more just, more efficient, and purer in all of its features, than ever before since the establishment of our Government; and if defects still exist in our system, the country can safely rely upon the Republican party as the most efficient instrument for their removal.

I am in favor of the highest standard of excellence in the administration of the civil service, and will lend my best efforts to the accomplishment of the greatest attainable perfection in this branch of our service.

The Republican party came into existence in a crusade against the Democratic institutions of slavery and polygamy. The first of these has been buried beneath the embers of civil war. The party should continue its efforts until the remaining iniquity shall disappear from our civilization under the force of faithfully executed laws.

There are other subjects of importance which I would gladly touch upon did space permit. I limit myself to saying that, while there should be the most rigid economy of governmental administration, there should be no self-defeating parsimony either in our domestic or foreign service. Official dishonesty should be promptly and relentlessly punished. Our obligations to the defenders of our country should never be forgotten and the liberal system of pensions provided by the Republican party should not be imperiled by adverse legislation. The law establishing a Labor Bureau, through which the interests of labor can be placed in an organized condition, I regard as a salutary measure. The eight-hour law should be enforced as rigidly as any other. We should increase our Navy to a degree enabling us to amply protect our coast lines, our commerce, and to give us a force in foreign waters which shall be a respectable and proper representative of a country like our own. The public lands belong to the people, and should not be alienated from them, but reserved for free homes for all desiring to possess them; and, finally, our present Indian policy should be continued and improved upon as our experience in its administration may from time to time suggest.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, sir, Your obedient servant,

JOHN A. LOGAN.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

No.	NAMES.	BORN.	INAUGURATED.	TERM.	DIED.	NATIVE OF	RESIDENCE WHEN ELECTED.	POLITICS.
1	George Washington.....	Feb. 22, 1732	April 30, 1789	8 years.....	Dec. 14, 1799	Virginia.	Virginia.	Federal.
2	John Adams.....	Oct. 30, 1735	Mar. 4, 1797	4 years.....	July 4, 1826	Mass.	Mass.	"
3	Thomas Jefferson.....	April 2, 1743	" 4, 1801	8 years.....	July 4, 1826	Virginia.	Virginia.	Republican.
4	James Madison.....	Mar. 16, 1751	" 4, 1809	8 years.....	June 28, 1837	"	"	"
5	James Monroe.....	April 28, 1759	" 4, 1817	8 years.....	July 4, 1831	"	"	"
6	John Quincy Adams.....	July 11, 1767	" 4, 1825	4 years.....	Feb. 23, 1847	Mass.	Mass.	Coalition.
7	Andrew Jackson.....	Mar. 15, 1767	" 4, 1829	8 years.....	June 8, 1845	Tennessee,	Tennessee,	Democrat.
8	Martin Van Buren.....	Dec. 5, 1782	" 4, 1837	4 years.....	July 24, 1862	New York.	New York.	"
9	Wm. Henry Harrison...	Feb. 9, 1773	" 4, 1841	1 month.....	April 4, 1841	Ohio.	Ohio.	Whig.
10	John Tyler.....	Mar. 29, 1790	April 6, 1841	3 yrs. 11 mos...	Jan. 17, 1862	Virginia.	Virginia.	"
11	James Knox Polk.....	Nov. 2, 1795	Mar. 4, 1845	4 years.....	June 15, 1849	N. Carolina.	Tennessee.	Democrat.
12	Zachary Taylor.....	Nov. 24, 1784	" 4, 1849	1 yr. 4 mos....	July 9, 1850	Virginia.	Louisiana.	Whig.
13	Millard Fillmore.....	Jan. 7, 1800	July 9, 1850	2 yrs. 8 mos..	Mar. 8, 1874	New York.	New York.	"
14	Franklin Pierce.....	Nov. 23, 1804	Mar. 4, 1853	4 years.....	Oct. 8, 1869	New Hamp.	New Hamp.	Democrat.
15	James Buchanan.....	April 23, 1791	" 4, 1857	4 years.....	June 1, 1868	Penn.	Penn.	"
16	Abraham Lincoln.....	Feb. 12, 1809	" 4, 1861	4 yrs. 40 days..	April 15, 1865	Kentucky.	Illinois.	Republican.
17	Andrew Johnson.....	Dec. 29, 1808	April 15, 1865	3 yrs. 10½ mos.	July 31, 1875	N. Carolina.	Tennessee.	"
18	Ulysses S. Grant.....	April 27, 1822	Mar. 4, 1869	8 years.....	.....	Ohio.	Illinois.	"
19	Rutherford B. Hayes.....	Oct. 4, 1822	" 4, 1877	4 years.....	.....	Vermont.	Ohio.	"
20	James A. Garfield.....	Nov. 19, 1831	" 4, 1881	6½ months.....	Sept. 19, 1881	Ohio.	"	"
21	Chester A. Arthur.....	Oct. 5, 1830	Sept. 20, 1881	3 yrs. 5½ mos..	.....	Vermont.	New York.	"

MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	1856.*	1856.	1860.	1864.
Alabama.....				J.S. Johnson..
Arkansas.....				J.S. Turner..
Arizona.....				Jas. Otis.....
California.....		C. Cole	D.M. Cheesman	J.B. Chaffee..
Colorado.....				N.G. Sperry...
Connecticut.....	J.M. Niles...	G. Welles.....	G. Welles.....	N.B. Smithers..
Delaware.....		E. D. Williams	N.B. Smithers	G.M. P. nney..
Dakota.....				Jas. J. Coombs
District of Columbia	L. Clephane ..	L. Clephane...	J. Gerhardt...	C.S. Robinson.
Florida.....				
Georgia.....				
Illinois.....	E.S. Leland ..	N.B. Judd ..	N.B. Judd...	Burt C. Cook..
Indiana.....	Wm. Grose ..	Jas. Ritchie...	S. Meredith ..	J.D. DeFrees..
Iowa.....	A.J. Stevens..	A. J. Stevens.	A. J. Stevens.	D.B. Stubbs ..
Idaho.....				W.H. Wallace..
Kansas.....	C. Robinson..	M. F. Conway.	W. A. Phillips.	Jas. H. Lane..
Kentucky.....	J. G. Fee.....	W. S. Bailey ..	C. M. Clay ..	R.D. Williams.
Louisiana.....				Cushb't Bullit.
Maine.....	A. R. Hallowell	Jos. Bartlett ..	C. J. Gilman..	S. T. Hersey ..
Maryland.....	F. P. Blair ..	Geo. Harris ..	J. F. Waggoner	H. W. Hoffman
Massachusetts	N. P. Banks, Jr	J. Z. Goodrich	J. Z. Goodrich	Wm. Claflin ..
Michigan.....	Chas. Diekey ..	Z. Chandler ..	A. Blair	M. Giddings...
Minnesota.....		M. S. Wilkins'n	J. McKusick ..	Thos. Simpson.
Mississippi.....				
Missouri.....	Jas. Redpath..		A. S. Jones ..	S. H. Boyd.....
Montana.....				N. P. Landford
Nebraska.....		H. Shields....	O. H. Irish....	W. H. H. Waters
Nevada.....				H. D. Morgan..
New Hampshire..	G. G. Fogg....	G. G. Fogg....	G. G. Fogg ..	J. B. Clarke....
New Jersey.....	C. M. Paulison.	J. T. Sherman.	Dening Duer..	M. L. Ward....
New York.....	E. D. Morgan..	E. D. Morgan..	E. D. Morgan..	H. J. Raymond
North Carolina..				D. R. Goodloe..
New Mexico.....				John S. Watts..
Ohio.....	A. P. Stone....	Thos. Spooner	Thos. Spooner.	G. B. Senter....
Oregon.....			W. F. Johnston	E. D. Shattuck.
Pennsylvania.....	D. Wilmot ..	T. Williams..	E. McPherson.	S. A. Purvin'ce
Rhode Island....	Wm. Chase, Jr	Wm. M. Chase.	T. G. Turner..	T. G. Turner...
South Carolina..				
Tennessee.....				J. S. Fowler....
Texas.....				
Utah.....				Jno W. Kerr...
Vermont.....	L. Brainard ..	L. Brainard...	L. Brainard...	A. B. Gardner..
Virginia.....		Geo. Rye	A. Colwell....	W. J. Cowing...
West Virginia...				A. W. Campbell
Wisconsin.....	W. Spooner....	J. H. Tweedy..	Carl Schurz...	S. Judd.....
Washington.....				A. A. Denny...
Wyoming.....				
Chairman.....	E. D. Morgan.	E. D. Morgan.	E. D. Morgan.	M. L. Ward.

*Provisional committee appointed at Pittsburg, February 22, 1856.

COMMITTEE BY YEARS AND STATES.

1868.	1872.	1876.	1880.	1884.
Jas. P. Stowe..	G. E. Spencer.....	J. Harlason...	Paul Strobach.	T. Youngblood
Benj. F. Rice..	Powell Clayton...	P. Clayton...	S. W. Dorsey..	P. Clayton.
.....	John Titus.....	R. M' Cormick.	R. M' Cormick.	C. Churchill.
G. C. Gorham..	G. C. Gorham..	G. C. Gorham..	Horace Davis.	Horace Davis.
Daniel Witter.	E. M. McCook.....	S. H. Elbert..	John L. Routt.	J. B. Chaffee.
H. H. Starkw'r	M. Jewell	M. Jewell..	M. Jewell.	S. Fessenden.
E. G. Bradford	J. Riddle	S. M. Har'ngt'n	C. Febiger.....	Dan. J. Layton
N. Edmunds...	W. H. H. Beadle ..	N. Edmunds...	C. T. McCoy...	Judge Bennett
S. J. Bowen.....	H. D. Cook.....	S. J. Bowen.....	C. B. Purvis...	P. H. Carson.
S. B. Conover..	W. H. Gleason	W. J. Purman..	W. W. Hicks...	Jesse D. Cole.
J. H. Caldwell.	G. S. Fanning ...	J. G. Deveau.	J. B. Deveau.	F. F. Putner.
J. R. Jones.....	J. Y. Scammon...	J. P. Root.	J. A. Logan	D. T. Littler.
C. M. Allen....	O. P. Morton.....	Will Cumback	J. C. New.....	John C. New.
Joshua Tracy.	G. M. Dodge.....	J. Y. Stone ..	J. S. Runnells.	J. S. Clarkson.
J. C. Henley...	J. R. McBride....	T. Donaldson.	Geo. L. Shoup.	John M. Coffin.
J. A. Martin....	John A. Martin...	J. A. Martin...	J. A. Martin...	C. Leland, Jr.
A. A. Burton...	W. C. Goodloe....	W. C. Goodloe.	W. O. Bradley.	J. B. Moore.
M. Southworth	G. C. Casanave....	P. Pinchback.	H. C. Warmuth	Frank Morey.
Lewis Barker..	Wm. P. Frye.....	Wm. P. Frye...	Wm. P. Frye ..	J. M. Haynes.
Chas. C. Fulton	C. C. Fulton.....	C. C. Fulton..	James A. Gary.	J. A. Gary.
Wm. Clafin....	Wm. Clafin.....	J. M. Forbes..	J. M. Forbes...	W. W. Crapo.
M. Giddings...	W. A. Howard....	Z. Chandler...	J. H. Stone....	J. P. Sanborn.
J. T. Averill...	J. T. Averill....	J. T. Averill...	D. M. Sabin...	M. G. Morton.
A. C. Fisk.....	O. C. French.....	G. Buchanan...	G. C. McKee...	John R. Lynch
Benj. F. Loan..	R. T. VanHorn...	C. I. Filley....	C. I. Filley....	R. T. VanHorn
L. S. Wilson....	L. B. Church.....	A. H. Beattie..	A. H. Beattie..	J. A. Smith.
E. B. Taylor...	E. E. Cunningham	L. M. Osborn...	J. W. Dawes...	Church Howe.
C. E. Delong...	J. W. Nye.....	J. P. Jones....	J. W. Mackey..	Thos. Wren.
W. E. Chandler.	W. E. Chandler..	W. E. Chandler	W. E. Chandler	E. H. Rollins.
James Gopsill.	Alex. G. Cattel...	Geo. A. Halsey	G. A. Halsey...	G. H. Hobart.
Horace Greely	E. D. Morgan....	A. B. Cornell...	T. C. Platt....	J. D. Lawson.
W. Sloane.....	J. C. Abbott.....	T. B. Keogh...	W. P. Canady ..	R. Humphrey.
.....	J. G. Pulen.....	S. B. Elkins...	S. B. Elkins...	S. B. Elkins.
B. R. Cowen...	B. R. Cowen....	E. F. Noyes....	W. C. Cooper...	A. L. Conger.
H. H. Corbett..	J. G. Wilson....	H. W. Scott....	D. C. Ireland ..	J. T. Apperson
W. H. Kemble..	Wm. H. Kemble...	W. H. Kemble.	J. D. Cameron.	B. F. Jones.
L. B. Frieze....	Wm. D. Brayton...	N. W. Aldrich..	Wm. A. Pierce.	H. A. Jenks.
J. H. Jenks....	F. J. Moses, Jr...	J. J. Patterson	Samuel Lee....	J. B. Johnson.
W. A. Stokes...	Horace Maynard	Wm. Rule	Wm. Rule.....	W. Brownlow.
A. J. Hamilton	Edmund J. Davis.	E. J. Davis	A. G. Malloy...	C. C. Binckley.
.....	A. S. Gould.....	J. A. McBride..	C. W. Bennett.	C. W. Bennett.
F. W. Park.....	Geo. Nichols....	M. S. Colburn.	G. W. Hooker..	G. W. Hooker.
F. Stearns....	H. H. Wells Jr..	J. B. Sener	S. M. Yost....	Frank S. Blair.
S. D. Karns....	Hanson Criswell..	J. W. Mason....	J. W. Mason...	J. W. Mason.
David Atwood	David Atwood...	Elihu Enos....	Elihu Enos...	E. Sanderson.
.....	L. B. Andrews...	O. Jacobs.....	T. T. Miner....	T. T. Miner.
.....	Wm. T. Jones....	J. M. Carey....	J. M. Carey....	J. M. Carey.
Wm. Clafin.	E. D. Morgan	Z. Chandler. J. D. Cameron.	M. Jewell. D. M. Sabin.	B. F. Jones.

FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIONS.

TERMS.	ADMINISTRATIONS.	SECRETARY OF STATE.
1789 to 1797.	Washington's, Va.....	1789. Thos. Jefferson, Mass.... 1794. Edmund Randolph, Va.... 1795. Timothy Pickering, Mass....
1797 to 1801.	John Adams's, Mass.....	1797. Timothy Pickering, Mass.... 1800. John Marshall, Va.....
1801 to 1809.	Thos. Jefferson's, Va.....	1801. James Madison, Va.....
1809 to 1817.	James Madison's, Va.....	1809. Robert Smith, Md..... 1811. James Monroe, Va.....
1817 to 1825.	James Monroe's, Va.....	1817. John Q. Adams, Mass.....
1825 to 1829.	John Q. Adams's, Mass.....	1825. Henry Clay, Ky.....
1829 to 1837.	Andrew Jackson's, Tenn....	1829. Martin Van Buren, N. Y..... 1831. Edward Livingston, La..... 1833. Louis McLane, Del..... 1834. John Forsythe, Ga.....
1837 to 1841.	Martin Van Buren's, N. Y..	1837. John Forsythe, Ga.....
1841 to 1845.	W. H. Harrison's, Ohio, and John Tyler's, Va.....	1841. Daniel Webster, Mass..... 1843. Hugh L. Legare, S. C..... 1843. Abel P. Upshur, Va..... 1844. John Nelson, Md..... 1844. John C. Calhoun, S. C.....
1845 to 1849.	James K. Polk's, Tenn.....	1845. James Buchanan, Pa.....
1849 to 1853.	Zachary Taylor's, La., and Millard Fillmore's, N. Y..	1849. John M. Clayton, Del..... 1850. Daniel Webster, Mass..... 1852. Edward Everett, Mass.....
1853 - 7.	Franklin Pierce's, N. H....	1853. Wm. L. Macy, N. Y.....
1857 to 1861.	James Buchanan's, Penn..	1857. Lewis Cass, Mich..... 1860. Jeremiah S. Black, Penn.....
1861 to 1869.	Abraham Lincoln's, Ill., and Andrew Johnson's, Tenn.	1861. Wm. H. Seward, N. Y.....
1869 to 1877.	U. S. Grant's, Ill.....	1869. E. B. Washburne, Ill..... 1869. Hamilton Fish, N. Y.....
1877-81.	R. B. Hayes's, Ohio.....	1877. Wm. M. Evarts, N. Y.....
1881 to 1885.	J. A. Garfield's, Ohio, and C. A. Arthur's, N. Y....	1881. James G. Blaine, Maine..... 1881. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, N. J..

FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIONS.—Continued.

SECRETARY OF TREASURY.	†SECRETARY OF WAR.
1789. Alexander Hamilton, N. Y.....	1789. Henry Knox, Mass.....
1795. Oliver Wolcott, Conn.....	1795. Timothy Pickering, Mass.
.....	1796. James McHenry, Md.....
1797. Oliver Wolcott, Conn.....	1797. James McHenry, Md.....
1800. Sam'l Dexter, Mass.....	1800. Sam'l Dexter, Mass.....
.....	1801. Roger Griswold, Conn.....
1801. Sam'l Dexter, Mass.....	1801. Henry Dearborn, Mass.....
1802. Albert Gallatin, Penn.....	.....
.....
1809. Albert Gallatin, Penn.....	1809. William Eustis, Mass.....
1814. G. W. Campbell, Tenn.....	1813. John Armstrong, N. Y.....
1814. Alex J. Dallas, Penn.....	1814. James Monroe, Va.....
.....	1815. Wm. H. Crawford, Ga.....
1817. Wm. H. Crawford, Ga.....	1817. Isaac Shelby, Ky (declined).....
.....	1817. George Graham, Va.....
.....	1817. John C. Calhoun, S. C.....
.....
1825. Richard Rush, Penn.....	1825. James Barbour, Va.....
.....	1828. Peter B. Porter, N. Y.....
1829. Sam'l D. Ingham, Penn.....	1829. John H. Eaton, Tenn.....
1831. Louis McLane, Del.....	1831. Lewis Cass, Mich.....
1833. Wm. J. Duane, Penn.....	.....
1833. Roger B. Taney, Md.....	.....
1834. Levi Woodbury, N. H.....	.....
1837. Levi Woodbury, N. H.....	1837. Joel R. Poinsett, S. C.....
.....
1841. Thos. Ewing, Ohio.....	1841. John Bell, Tenn.....
1841. Walter Forward, Penn.....	1841. J. McLean, Ohio, (declined).....
1843. *Caleb Cushing, Mass.....	1841. John C. Spencer, N. Y.....
1843. John C. Spencer, N. Y.....	1843. *James M. Porter, Penn.....
1844. G. M. Bibb, Ky.....	1844. William Wilkins, Penn.....
1845. Robert J. Walker.....	1845. Wm. L. Marcy, N. Y.....
.....
1849. Wm. M. Meredith, Penn.....	1849. Geo. W. Crawford, Ga.....
1850. Thomas. Corwin, Ohio.....	1850. Edmund Bates, (declined).....
.....	1850. Chas. M. Conrad, La.....
.....
1853. James Guthrie, Ky.....	1853. Jefferson Davis, Miss.....
1857. Howell Cobb, Ga.....	1857. John B. Floyd, Va.....
1860. Philip F. Thomas, Md.....	1861. Joseph Holt, Ky.....
1861. John A. Dix, N. Y.....	.....
1861. Salmon P. Chase, Ohio.....	1861. Simon Cameron, Penn.....
1864. Wm. Pitt, Fessenden, Me.....	1862. E. M. Stanton, Penn.....
1865. Hugh McCulloch, Ind.....	1867. U. S. Grant, Ill. L. Thomas.....
.....	1868. John M. Schofield, Mo.....
1869. Geo. S. Boutwell, Mass.....	1869. John A. Rawlins, Ill.....
1873. Wm. A. Richardson, Mass.....	1869. Wm. T. Sherman, Ohio.....
1874. B. H. Bristow, Ky.....	1869. Wm. W. Belknap, Iowa.....
1876. L. M. Morrill, Me.....	1876. A. Taft, Ohio.....
.....	1876. J. D. Cameron, Penn.....
1877. John Sherman, Ohio.....	1877. Geo. W. McCrary, Iowa.....
1881. Wm. Windom, Minn.....	1881. Robert T. Lincoln, Ill.....
1881. Chas. J. Folger, N. Y.....	.....
.....

* Rejected by Senate.

† During Washington's term Navy was included.

FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIONS.—*Continued.*

TERMS.	ADMINISTRATIONS.	SECRETARY OF NAVY.
1789 to 1797.	Washington's Va .....	.....
1797 to 1801.	John Adams', Mass.	1798. George Cabot Mass, (declined), 1798. Benjamin Stoddart, Md.
1801 to 1809.	Thos. Jefferson's, Va	1801. Benjamin Stoddart, Md. 1802. Robert Smith, Md. 1805. Jacob Crowninshield, Mass.
1809 to 1817.	James Madison's, Va	1809. Paul Hamilton, S. C. 1813. Wm. Jones, Penn. 1814. Benj. W. Crowninshield, Mass.
1817 to 1825.	James Monroe's, Va	1817. B. W. Crowninshield, Mass. 1818. Smith Thompson, N. Y. 1823. John Rogers, Mass. 1823. Sam'l L. Southard, N. J.
1825 to 1829.	John Q. Adams', Mass.	1825. Sam'l L. Southard, N. J.
1829 to 1837.	Andrew Jackson's, Tenn.	1829. John Branch, N. C. 1831. Levi Woodbury, N. H. 1834. Mahlon Dickerson, N. J.
1837 to 1841.	Martin Van Buren's, N. Y.	1837. Mahlon Dickerson, N. J. 1838. James K. Paulding, N. Y.
1841 to 1845.	W. H. Harrison's, and John Tyler's	1841. Geo. E. Badger, N. C. 1841. Abel P. Upsaur, Va. 1843. *David Henshaw, Mass. 1844. Thos. W. Gilmer, Va. 1844. John Y. Mason, Va.
1845 to 1849.	James K. Polk, Tenn.	1845. Geo. Baneroff, Mass. 1846. John Y. Mason, Va.
1849 to 1853.	Zachary Taylor's, La., and Millard Fillmore's, N. Y.	1849. Wm. B. Preston, Va. 1850. Wm. A. Graham, N. C. 1852. John P. Kennedy, Md.
'53 — '57	Franklin Pierce's, N. H.	1853. John C. Dobbin, N. C.
1857 to 1861.	James Buchanan's, Penn.	1857. Isaac Toucey, Conn.
1861 to 1869.	Abraham Lincoln's, Ill., and Andrew Johnson's, Tenn.	1861. Gideon Welles, Conn.
1869 to 1877.	U. S. Grant's, Ill.	1869. Adolph E. Borie, Penn. 1869. Geo. M. Robeson, N. J.
'77 — '81.	R. B. Hayes', Ohio	1877. Richard M. Thompson, Ind.
1881 to 1885.	J. A. Garfield's, Ohio, and C. A. Arthur's, N. Y.	1881. Wm. H. Hunt, La. 1881. Wm. E. Chandler, N. Y.

* Rejected by the Senate.

FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIONS.—*Continued.*

SECRETARY OF INTERIOR.	‡POSTMASTER GENERAL.
.....	1789. Sam'l Osgood, Mass.
.....	1791. Timothy Pickering, Mass.
.....	1795. Joseph Habersham, Ga.
.....
.....	1797. Joseph Habersham, Ga.
.....
.....	1801. Joseph Habersham, Ga.
.....	1802. Gideon Granger, Conn.
.....
.....	1809. Gideon Granger, Conn.
.....	1814. R. J. Meigs, Ohio.
.....
.....	1817. Return J. Meigs, Ohio.
.....	1823. John McLean, Ohio.
.....
.....	1825. John McLean, Ohio.
.....
.....	1829. Wm. T. Barry, Ky.
.....	1835. Amos Kendall, Ky.
.....
.....	1837. Amos Kendall, Ky.
.....	1840. John M. Niles, Conn.
.....
.....	1841. Francis Granger, N. Y.
.....	1841. Chas. A. Wickliffe, Ky.
.....
.....	1845. Cave Johnson, Tenn.
.....
1849. Thos. Ewing, Ohio.	1849. Jacob Collamer, Vt.
1850. James A. Pearce, Md.	1850. N. K. Hall, N. Y.
1850. T. M. T. McKennon, Penn.	1852. S. D. Hubbard, Conn.
1850. A. H. H. Stewart, Va. ....	.....
1853. Robt. McLelland, Mich.	1853. James Campbell, Penn.
1857. Jacob Thompson, Miss.	1857. Aaron V. Brown, Tenn.
.....	1859. Joseph Holt, Ky.
.....	1861. Horatio King, Me.
1861. Caleb B. Smith, Ind.	1861. M. Blair, Md.
1863. John P. Usher, Ind.	1864. Wm. Dennison, Ohio.
1865. James Harlan, Iowa.	1866. A. W. Randall, Wis.
1866. O. H. Browning, Ill. ....	.....
1869. Jacob D. Cox, Ohio.	1869. John A. J. Creswell, Md.
1870. Columbus Delano, Ohio.	1874. Marshall Jewell.
1875. Zach. Chandler, Mich. ....	.....
.....
1877. Carl Schurz, Mo.	1877. David M. Key, Tenn.
1881. Sam'l J. Kirkwood, Iowa.	1881. Thos. L. James, N. Y.
1881. Henry M. Teller, Col.	1881. Timothy O. Howe, Wis.
.....	1883. Walter Q. Gresham, Ind.

‡ Postmaster General did not become a member of the Cabinet until Jackson's administration.

FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIONS.—*Continued.*

TERMS.	ADMINISTRATIONS.	ATTORNEY-GENERAL.
1789 to 1797.	Washington's, Va.....	1789. Edmund Randolph, Va..... 1794. William Bradford, Penn..... 1795. Charles Lee, Va.....
1797 to 1801.	John Adams's, Mass.....	1797. Charles Lee, Va..... 1801. Theophilus Parsons, Mass (declined), 1801. Levi Lincoln, Mass..... 1805. Robert Smith, Md..... 1805. John Breckenridge, Ky..... 1807. Caesar A. Rodney, Del.....
1801 to 1809.	Thos. Jefferson's, Va.....	1809. Caesar A. Rodney, Del..... 1811. Wm Pinckney, Md..... 1814. Richard Rush, Penn.....
1809 to 1817.	James Madison's, Va.....	1817. Richard Rush, Penn..... 1817. William Wirt, Va.....
1817 to 1825.	James Monroe's, Va.....	1825. Wm. Wirt, Va.....
1825 to 1829.	John Q. Adams's, Mass.....	1829. John McPherson Berrien, Ga..... 1831. Roger B. Taney, Md..... 1834. B. F. Butler, N. Y.....
1829 to 1837.	Andrew Jackson's, Tenn....	1837. Benj. F. Butler, N. Y..... 1838. Felix Grundy, Tenn..... 1840. Henry D. Gilpin, Penn..... 1841. John J. Crittenden, Ky..... 1841. Hugh S. Legare, S. C..... 1844. John Nelson, Md.....
1837 to 1841.	Martin Van Buren's, N. Y..	1845. John Y. Mason, Va..... 1846. Nathan Clifford, Maine..... 1848. Isaac Toucey, Conn..... 1849. R. verdv Johnson, Md..... 1850. John J. Crittenden, Ky.....
1841 to 1845.	W. H. Harrison's, Ohio, and John Tyler's.....	1853. Caleb Cushing, Mass..... 1857. Jeremiah S. Black, Penn..... 1860. Edwin M. Stanton, Penn..... 1861. Edward Bates, Mo..... 1864. James Speed, Ky..... 1866. Henry Stambaugh, Ohio..... 1868. Wm. M. Evarts, N. Y..... 1869. E. R. Hoar, Mass..... 1870. Amos T. Akerman, Iowa..... 1871. Geo. A. Williams, Oregon..... 1875. Edwards Pierrepont, N. Y..... 1876. A. Taft, Ohio..... 1877. Chas. Devens, Mass.....
1845 to 1849.	James K. Polk's, Tenn.....	1881. Wayne McVeagh, Penn..... 1881. Benj. F. Brewster, Penn.....
1849 to 1853.	Zachary Taylor's, La., and Millard Fillmore's, N. Y..	
1853-57	Franklin Pierce's, N. H.....	
1857 to 1861.	James Buchanan's, Penn....	
1861 to 1869.	Abraham Lincoln's, Ill., and Andrew Johnson's, Tenn.	
1869 to 1877.	U. S. Grant's, Ill.....	
1877-81	R. B. Hayes's, Ohio.....	
1881 to 1885.	J. A. Garfield's, Ohio, and C. A. Arthur's, N. Y.....	

CITIZENSHIP, WITH THE TOTAL MALE POPULATION, 1880.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	POPULATION.			VOTING POPULATION. Males of 21 Years and Over.			
	Total.	White.	Colored.	White.			Col'd. & Ind.
				Native in the U. S.	Foreign Born.	Total.	
Alabama....	1,262,505	662,185	600,320	136,058	5,403	141,461	118,423
Arizona....	40,440	35,160	5,280	9,790	8,256	18,046	2,352
Arkansas....	802,525	591,531	210,994	129,675	6,475	136,150	46,827
California....	864,694	767,181	97,513	135,209	127,374	262,583	66,809
Colorado....	194,327	191,126	3,201	65,215	26,873	92,088	1,520
Connecticut	622,700	610,769	11,931	118,747	55,012	173,759	3,532
Dakota.....	135,177	133,147	2,030	25,476	25,486	50,962	641
Delaware....	146,608	120,160	26,448	27,447	4,455	31,902	6,396
Dis. Colum.	177,624	118,006	59,618	23,764	8,191	31,955	13,918
Florida.....	269,493	142,605	126,888	30,351	3,859	34,210	27,489
Georgia.....	1,542,180	816,906	725,274	172,044	5,923	177,967	143,471
Idaho.....	32,610	29,013	3,597	7,331	4,338	11,669	3,126
Illinois.....	3,077,871	3,031,151	46,720	505,272	277,889	783,161	13,668
Indiana.....	1,978,301	1,938,798	39,503	414,252	73,446	487,698	10,739
Iowa.....	1,624,615	1,614,600	10,015	287,530	126,103	413,633	3,025
Kansas.....	996,096	952,155	43,941	201,854	53,595	254,949	10,765
Kentucky....	1,648,690	1,337,179	271,511	287,362	30,217	317,579	58,642
Louisiana....	959,946	454,954	484,992	81,777	27,093	108,810	107,977
Maine.....	648,936	646,852	2,084	164,173	22,486	186,659	664
Maryland....	934,943	724,693	210,250	144,586	38,936	183,522	48,584
Massachus's	1,783,085	1,764,782	19,303	326,002	170,690	496,692	5,956
Michigan....	1,636,937	1,614,560	22,377	285,469	176,088	461,557	6,130
Minnesota...	780,773	776,884	3,889	88,622	123,777	212,399	1,086
Mississippi..	1,131,597	479,398	652,199	102,586	5,674	108,254	130,278
Missouri....	2,168,380	2,022,826	145,554	396,322	111,843	508,165	33,042
Montana.....	39,159	35,385	3,774	12,162	7,474	19,636	1,908
Nebraska....	452,402	449,764	2,638	83,334	44,864	128,198	844
Nevada.....	62,266	53,556	8,710	11,442	14,191	25,633	5,622
N. Hampsh'g	346,991	346,229	762	88,790	16,111	104,901	237
New Jersey..	1,131,116	1,092,017	39,099	190,656	99,309	289,965	10,670
New Mexico..	119,565	108,721	10,844	26,423	4,558	30,981	3,095
New York....	5,082,871	5,016,022	66,849	852,094	586,598	1,388,692	20,059
N. Carolina..	1,399,750	867,242	532,508	187,637	2,095	189,732	105,018
Ohio.....	3,198,062	3,117,920	80,142	613,485	191,386	804,871	21,706
Oregon.....	174,768	163,075	11,693	33,006	13,630	51,636	7,993
Pennsylv'nia	4,282,891	4,197,016	85,875	797,532	272,860	1,070,392	23,892
Rhode Island	276,531	269,939	6,592	47,904	27,108	75,012	1,886
S. Carolina..	995,577	391,105	604,472	82,910	3,990	86,900	118,883
Tennessee...	1,542,359	1,138,831	403,528	240,939	9,116	250,055	80,250
Texas.....	1,591,749	1,197,237	394,512	246,018	55,719	301,737	78,639
Utah.....	143,963	142,423	1,540	13,795	18,283	32,078	695
Vermont.....	332,286	331,218	1,068	77,774	17,533	95,307	34
Virginia....	1,512,565	880,858	631,707	198,277	7,971	206,248	128,257
Washington..	75,116	67,199	7,917	15,858	8,343	24,251	3,419
W. Virginia..	618,457	592,537	25,920	123,569	9,208	132,777	6,384
Wisconsin....	1,315,497	1,309,618	5,879	149,463	189,469	338,932	1,550
Wyoming....	20,789	19,437	1,352	6,042	3,196	9,241	939
Total....	50,155,783	43,402,970	6,580,793	8,270,518	3,072,487	11,343,005	1,487,344

1. In the column headed "Colored" are included besides Negroes, Chinese, Japanese and Indians.

2. In California and other Pacific States and Territories the Chinese form the greater portion of the "Colored," and are not voters.

AGGREGATE POPULATION AT EACH CENSUS AS

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	1880.		1870.		1860.		1850.	
TOTAL.....	17	50,155,783	16	38,558,371	13	31,443,321	12	23,191,876
Alabama.....	17	1,262,505	16	996,992	13	964,201	12	771,623
Arizona.....	44	40,440	46	9,658	...	...	...	...
Arkansas.....	25	802,525	26	484,411	25	435,450	26	209,897
California.....	24	864,694	24	560,247	26	379,994	29	92,597
Colorado.....	35	194,327	41	39,864	38	34,277	...	...
Connecticut.....	28	622,700	25	537,454	24	460,147	21	370,792
Dakota.....	40	135,177	45	14,181	42	4,837	...	...
Delaware.....	38	146,608	35	125,015	32	112,216	30	91,523
District of Columbia.....	36	177,624	34	131,700	35	75,080	33	51,678
Florida.....	31	269,433	33	187,748	31	140,424	31	87,445
Georgia.....	13	1,542,180	12	1,184,109	11	1,057,286	9	906,185
Idaho.....	46	32,610	44	14,999	...	...	...	...
Illinois.....	4	3,077,871	4	2,539,891	4	1,711,951	11	851,470
Indiana.....	6	1,978,301	6	1,689,637	6	1,350,428	7	988,416
Iowa.....	10	1,624,615	11	1,194,020	20	674,913	27	192,214
Kansas.....	20	996,066	29	504,559	33	107,206	...	...
Kentucky.....	8	1,648,693	8	1,321,011	9	1,155,684	8	982,405
Louisiana.....	22	939,946	21	726,915	17	708,002	18	517,762
Maine.....	27	648,936	23	626,915	22	628,279	16	583,169
Maryland.....	23	934,943	20	780,894	19	687,049	17	581,034
Massachusetts.....	7	1,783,085	7	1,457,517	7	1,231,066	6	994,514
Michigan.....	9	1,636,937	13	1,184,059	16	749,113	20	397,654
Minnesota.....	26	780,773	28	439,706	30	172,023	36	6,017
Mississippi.....	18	1,131,597	18	827,922	14	791,305	15	606,526
Missouri.....	5	2,168,380	5	1,721,295	8	1,182,012	13	682,044
Montana.....	45	39,159	43	20,595	...	...	...	...
Nebraska.....	30	452,402	36	122,993	39	28,841	...	...
Nevada.....	43	62,266	40	42,491	41	6,857	...	...
New Hampshire.....	31	346,991	31	318,300	27	326,073	22	317,976
New Jersey.....	19	1,131,116	17	906,096	21	672,035	19	489,555
New Mexico.....	41	119,565	37	91,874	34	93,516	32	61,547
New York.....	1	5,082,871	1	4,382,759	1	3,880,735	1	3,097,394
North Carolina.....	15	1,399,750	14	1,071,461	12	992,612	10	869,039
Ohio.....	3	3,198,062	3	2,665,260	3	2,339,511	3	1,080,329
Oregon.....	37	174,768	38	90,923	36	52,465	34	13,294
Pennsylvania.....	2	4,282,891	2	3,521,951	2	2,906,215	2	2,311,786
Rhode Island.....	33	276,531	32	217,353	29	174,620	28	147,515
South Carolina.....	21	995,577	22	705,606	18	703,708	14	668,507
Tennessee.....	12	1,542,359	9	1,258,520	10	1,109,801	5	1,002,717
Texas.....	11	1,591,749	19	818,579	23	604,215	25	213,592
Utah.....	39	143,963	39	86,786	37	40,273	35	11,380
Vermont.....	32	332,286	30	330,551	28	315,098	23	314,120
Virginia.....	14	1,512,565	10	1,225,163	5	1,596,318	4	1,421,661
Washington.....	42	75,116	42	23,955	40	11,594	...	...
West Virginia.....	29	618,457	27	442,014	...	...	...	...
Wisconsin.....	16	1,315,497	15	1,054,670	15	775,881	24	305,391
Wyoming.....	47	20,789	47	9,118	...	...	...	...

NOTE—The narrow column under each census year shows the order of the States and Territories when arranged according to the magnitude of population

CONSTITUTED AT THE DATE OF THAT CENSUS.

1840.		1830.		1820.		1810.		1800.		1790.	
*17,069,453		*12,866,020		9,633,822		7,308,483		5,308,483		3,926,214	
12	590,756	15	309,527	19	127,901	...	...	...	...	...	...
25	97,574	28	30,388	26	14,255	...	...	...	...	...	...
20	309,978	16	297,675	14	275,148	9	261,942	8	251,002	8	237,916
26	75,085	24	76,748	22	72,749	19	72,674	17	64,273	16	59,096
28	43,712	25	39,834	25	33,039	22	24,023	19	14,093	...	...
27	54,477	26	34,730	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	691,392	10	516,823	11	340,985	11	252,433	12	162,686	13	82,548
14	476,183	0	157,445	24	55,162	24	12,282	...	...	...	...
10	685,866	13	343,031	18	147,178	21	24,520	21	5,641	...	...
29	43,112	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6	779,848	6	687,917	6	564,135	7	406,511	9	220,955	14	73,677
19	352,411	19	215,749	17	152,923	18	76,556	...	...	...	...
13	501,793	12	399,455	12	298,269	14	228,705	14	151,719	11	96,540
15	470,019	11	447,044	10	407,350	8	380,546	7	341,548	6	319,728
8	757,699	8	610,408	7	523,159	5	472,010	5	422,845	4	378,787
23	212,267	27	31,639	27	8,765	25	4,762	...	...	...	...
17	375,651	22	156,621	21	75,418	20	40,352	20	8,850	...	...
16	383,702	21	140,455	23	66,557	23	20,845	...	...	...	...
...
22	282,571	18	269,328	15	244,022	16	214,460	11	183,858	10	141,885
18	373,306	14	320,823	13	277,426	12	245,562	10	211,149	9	184,139
1	2,428,921	1	1,918,608	1	1,372,111	2	959,049	3	589,051	5	340,120
7	753,419	5	737,987	4	638,829	4	555,500	4	478,103	3	393,751
3	1,519,467	4	937,903	5	581,295	13	230,760	18	45,365	...	...
2	1,724,032	2	1,348,233	3	1,047,507	3	810,091	2	602,365	2	431,373
24	118,830	23	97,199	20	83,015	17	76,941	16	69,122	15	68,875
11	591,398	9	581,185	8	502,741	6	415,115	6	345,591	7	249,073
5	829,210	7	681,904	9	422,771	10	261,727	15	105,602	17	35,691
...
21	291,948	17	280,652	16	235,966	15	217,895	13	154,465	12	85,425
4	1,229,797	3	1,211,405	2	1,065,116	1	974,600	1	880,200	1	747,610
...
30	30,945	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

*Including 6,101 on public ships in the service of the United States.

†Including 5,318 persons on public ships in the service of the United States.

VOTE OF STATES THAT HAVE RETURNED

STATES.	1856.		1860.		1864.†	
	Electoral Votes.	Popular Plurality.	Electoral Votes.	Plurality of Popular Vote.	Electoral Votes.	Majority Popular Vote.
Alabama.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
California.....	.....	.....	4	637	5	18,293
Colorado.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	6	7,720	6	28,170	6	2,406
Delaware.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	.....	.....	11	11,946	16	30,766
Indiana.....	.....	.....	13	23,528	13	20,189
Iowa.....	4	7,784	4	15,298	8	39,479
Kansas.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	12,750
Louisiana.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	8	28,299	8	36,118	7	17,592
Maryland.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	7,414
Massachusetts.....	13	68,950	13	72,161	12	77,997
Michigan.....	6	19,526	6	23,423	8	16,917
Minnesota.....	.....	.....	4	10,149	4	7,685
Mississippi.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	41,072
Nebraska.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	§2	3,232
New Hampshire.....	5	5,556	5	11,636	5	3,529
New Jersey.....	.....	.....	4	.....¶	.....	.....
New York.....	35	80,129	35	50,136	33	6,749*
North Carolina.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	23	16,623	23	44,378	21	59,586
Oregon.....	.....	.....	3	1,319	3	1,431
Pennsylvania.....	.....	.....	27	89,159	26	20,075
Rhode Island.....	4	4,787	4	4,537	4	5,222
South Carolina.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vermont.....	5	28,992	5	26,959	5	29,098
Virginia.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	12,714
Wisconsin.....	5	13,247	5	21,089	8	17,574
Total.....	114	.....	180	.....	212	.....

*Clear majority.

†Clear majorities in 1864 and 1868, there being only two candidates in the field.

¶Electoral vote not counted.

§One Vacancy.

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

1868.†		1872.		1876.		1880.	
Electoral Votes.	Majority Popular Vote.	Electoral Votes.	Plurality of Popular Vote.	Electoral Votes.	Plurality of Popular Vote.	Electoral Votes.	Plurality of Popular Vote.
8	4,278	10	10,828*	.....	.....	.....	.....
5	3,034	3	3,446*	.....	.....	.....	.....
5	506	6	13,302	6	2,804	13	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	3	2,803
6	3,043	6	4,758	.....	.....	6	2,656
.....	.....	3	909	.....	.....	.....	.....
3	.....	4	2,336*	4	926*	.....	.....
16	51,166	21	57,006	21	19,631	21	40,716
13	9,568	15	22,515	.....	.....	15	6,636
8	46,359	11	60,370	11	59,328	11	78,059
3	17,058	5	34,128	5	40,420	5	61,731
.....	.....	.....	14,634*	8	4,627*	.....	.....
7	28,033	7	32,335*	7	16,477	7	8,868
.....
12	77,069	13	74,212*	13	41,286	13	53,245
8	31,431	11	60,100	11	25,439	11	53,890
4	15,470	5	20,694*	5	24,163	5	40,588
.....	.....	8	34,887*	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	21,232	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3	4,390	3	10,517*	3	14,362	3	26,456
3	1,262	3	2,177*	3	1,075*	.....	.....
5	6,967	5	5,144	5	3,030	5	4,058
.....	.....	9	15,200	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	35	53,455	.....	.....	35	21,033
9	12,168	10	24,675*	.....	.....	.....	.....
21	41,617	22	37,331	22	7,516	22	34,227
.....	.....	3	4,089	3	1,057	3	671
26	28,898	29	137,548	29	17,964	29	37,276
4	6,445	4	8,336*	4	5,075	4	7,416
6	17,064	7	49,587	7	964*	.....	.....
10	30,499	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5	32,122	5	30,554	5	23,838*	5	26,909
.....	.....	11	1,814	.....	.....	.....	.....
5	8,869	5	2,864	.....	.....	.....	.....
8	24,150	10	18,550	10	6,741	10	29,713
.....
214	.....	286	.....	185	.....	214	.....

§California gave Garfield one out of six electoral votes and Hancock seventy-eight plurality of the popular vote.

¶Electors chosen by legislature.

†New Jersey gave Douglas three out of seven electoral votes and 4,44 popular majority.

HISTORY OF STATES AND TERRITORIES.

ORIGINAL COLONIES.	RATIFIED THE CONSTITUT'N.	FIRST SETTLED AT.	BY WHOM.	When settl'd	Area in Sq. Miles.....	Population Nearest Census to date of Admission.	Popula- tion, 1880.
Delaware.....	Dec. 7, 1787.	Cape Henlopen.....	Swedes and Finns.....	1627, 2, 120	59,066	1790	146,608
Pennsylvania.....	Dec. 12, 1787.	On the Delaware river.	William Penn.....	1682, 46,000	434,373	1790	4,282,891
New Jersey.....	Dec. 18, 1787.	Bergen.....	Dutch.....	1620, 8,320	184,198	1790	1,131,116
Georgia.....	Jan. 2, 1788.	Savannah.....	Oglethorpe.....	1733, 58,000	82,548	1790	1,542,180
Connecticut.....	Jan. 9, 1788.	Windsor.....	Puritans.....	1635, 4,750	237,946	1790	622,700
Massachusetts.....	Feb. 6, 1788.	Plymouth.....	Puritans.....	1620, 7,800	378,787	1790	1,783,085
Maryland.....	April 28, 1788.	St. Mary.....	Roman Catholics.....	1634, 11,124	319,728	1790	934,943
South Carolina.....	May 23, 1788.	Port Royal.....	Huguenots.....	1670, 34,000	249,033	1790	995,577
New Hampshire.....	June 21, 1788.	Dover and Portsmouth	Puritans.....	1623, 9,280	141,855	1790	346,991
Virginia.....	June 26, 1788.	Jamestown.....	English.....	1607, 38,348	747,610	1790	1,512,565
New York.....	July 26, 1788.	Manhattan Island.....	Dutch.....	1614, 47,066	340,120	1790	5,082,871
North Carolina.....	Nov. 21, 1789.	Albemarle.....	English.....	1650, 50,704	393,751	1790	1,389,759
Rhode Island.....	May 29, 1790.	Providence.....	Roger Williams.....	1636, 1,936	68,825	1790	276,751
ADMITTED STATES.	ADMITTED INTO THE UNION.	FIRST SETTLED AT.	FORMED FROM WHAT.	When Settl'd	Area in Sq. Miles.....	Population Nearest Census to date of Admission.	Popula- tion, 1880.
Vermont.....	March 4, 1791.	Fort Dummer.....	Territory of New York.....	1764, 10,212	85,339	1791	332,286
Kentucky.....	June 1, 1792.	Lexington.....	Territory of Virginia.....	1775, 37,680	73,077	1792	1,648,690
Tennessee.....	June 1, 1796.	June 1, 1796.	Territory of North Carolina.....	1796, 45,600	77,202	1796	1,542,359
Ohio.....	Nov. 29, 1802.	Marietta.....	Northwest Territory.....	1788, 93,964	41,915	1802	3,198,062
Louisiana.....	April 8, 1812.	Iberville.....	French Territory.....	1699, 41,346	76,556	1811	639,946
Indiana.....	Dec. 11, 1816.	Vincennes.....	Northwest Territory.....	1790, 33,809	63,805	1816	1,978,301
Mississippi.....	Dec. 10, 1817.	Natchez.....	Ter. of S. C., Ga. and Fla. purchase.	1716, 47,156	75,512	1817	1,131,597
Illinois.....	Dec. 3, 1818.	Kaskaskia.....	Northwest Territory.....	1720, 55,410	34,620	1818	1,077,871
Alabama.....	Dec. 14, 1819.		Ter. of S. C., Ga. and Florida, purchased from Spain.....	1766, 50,722	127,901	1820	1,282,505

TERRITORIES.	DATES OF ORGANIZATION.	FROM WHAT.	Area in Sq. Miles.	Population at Census Nearest Organization.	Population in 1880.
Maine.....	March 15, 1820.	Bristol.....	1624 35, 000	298, 289	648, 933
Missouri.....	Aug. 10, 1821.	St. Louis.....	1764 65, 350	66, 586	2, 168, 380
Arkansas.....	June 15, 1836.	Louisiana purchase.....	52, 198	52, 240	802, 525
Michigan.....	Jan. 26, 1837.	On Detroit River.....	1650 56, 451	212, 267	1, 636, 937
Florida.....	March 3, 1845.	Spanish Territory.....	59, 268	151, 477	1, 209, 493
Texas.....	Dec. 29, 1845.	Independent Republic.....	1792 27, 1356	212, 592	239, 493
Wisconsin.....	May 29, 1848.	Green Bay.....	1670 53, 324	305, 391	1, 591, 749
Iowa.....	Dec. 28, 1848.	Dubuque.....	55, 045	81, 920	1, 624, 415
California.....	Sept. 9, 1850.	Pacific Slope.....	188081 42, 597	1850	1, 315, 697
Minnesota.....	May 11, 1858.	St. Peter's River.....	83, 531	172, 023	804, 644
Nebraska.....	Feb. 12, 1859.	By Spaniards.....	45, 274	52, 455	780, 773
Oregon.....	Jan. 29, 1861.	Louisiana purchase.....	81, 318	107, 206	174, 768
West Virginia.....	June 19, 1863.	Louisiana and Mexican purchases.....	23, 000	442, 014	996, 096
Nevada.....	Oct. 31, 1864.	West portion of Virginia.....	104, 125	40, 000	618, 457
Idaho.....	March 1, 1864.	Louisiana purchase.....	75, 935	60, 000	62, 266
Montana.....	May 26, 1864.	Mexican purchase.....	104, 500	150, 000	452, 402
Wyoming.....	July 25, 1868.	Mexican and Louisiana purchases.....	104, 500	150, 000	194, 327
Indian Territory.....					
Alaska.....					
District of Columbia.....					
1 Utah.....	Sept. 9, 1850.	1778-9.....	*64	1800	177, 624
2 New Mexico.....	Sept. 9, 1850.	Mexican purchase.....	84, 476	1850	143, 963
3 Washington.....	Sept. 9, 1850.	Ceded by Mexico and Texas.....	121, 201	1850	119, 565
4 Dakota.....	March 2, 1861.	Louisiana purchase.....	69, 994	1860	15, 594
5 Arizona.....	March 2, 1861.	Louisiana purchase.....	150, 932	1860	75, 116
6 Idaho.....	Feb. 24, 1863.	Mexican purchase.....	113, 916	1870	135, 177
7 Montana.....	May 26, 1864.	Louisiana purchase.....	86, 294	1870	46, 440
8 Wyoming.....	July 25, 1868.	Louisiana purchase.....	143, 776	1870	42, 610
Indian Territory.....		Louisiana and Mexican purchase.....	97, 883	1870	20, 595
Alaska.....		Unsurvey'd.....	68, 991	1870	9, 118
					20, 789

*Maryland ceded 64 square miles, and Virginia ceded 36 square miles, making the District 100 square miles; 36 square miles first ceded by Virginia was afterwards receded to that State.

RESULTS OF NATIONAL CONTESTS.

STATES.	1856.				1860.				
	POPULAR VOTE.				POPULAR VOTE.				
	ELECTORS.	James Buchanan, Democratic.	John C. Fremont, Republican.	M. Fillmore, American.	ELECTORS.	A. Lincoln, Republican.	S. A. Douglas, Ind. Democrat.	J. C. Breckenridge, Democratic.	John Bell, Const. Union.
Alabama.....	9	46,739	.....	28,552	9	.....	13,651	48,831	27,825
Arkansas.....	4	21,910	.....	10,787	4	.....	5,277	28,732	20,094
California.....	4	53,365	20,691	36,165	4	39,173	38,516	34,334	6,817
Colorado.....	6	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	3	34,995	42,715	2,615	3	43,692	15,522	14,641	3,291
Delaware.....	3	8,004	308	6,175	3	3,815	1,023	7,347	3,864
Florida.....	3	6,358	.....	4,833	3	.....	367	8,543	5,437
Georgia.....	10	56,578	.....	42,228	10	.....	11,590	51,889	42,886
Illinois.....	11	105,348	96,189	37,444	11	172,161	160,215	2,404	3,913
Indiana.....	13	118,670	94,375	22,386	13	139,033	115,509	12,295	5,306
Iowa.....	4	36,170	43,954	9,180	4	70,409	55,111	1,048	1,763
Kansas.....	12	.....	.....	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	6	74,642	314	67,416	6	1,364	25,651	53,143	66,058
Louisiana.....	6	22,164	.....	20,709	6	.....	7,625	22,681	20,204
Maine.....	8	39,080	67,379	3,325	8	62,811	26,693	6,368	2,046
Maryland.....	8	39,115	281	47,460	8	2,294	5,966	42,482	41,760
Massachusetts.....	13	39,240	108,190	19,626	13	106,533	34,372	5,939	22,331
Michigan.....	6	52,136	71,762	1,660	6	88,480	65,057	805	405
Minnesota.....	4	.....	.....	.....	4	22,069	11,920	748	62
Mississippi.....	7	35,446	.....	24,195	7	.....	3,283	40,797	25,040
Missouri.....	9	58,164	.....	48,524	9	17,028	58,801	51,317	58,372
Nebraska.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire.....	5	32,789	38,345	422	5	37,519	25,881	2,112	441
New Jersey.....	7	46,943	28,338	24,115	7	58,324	62,801	.....	.....
New York.....	35	195,878	276,007	124,604	35	362,646	312,510	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	10	48,246	.....	36,886	10	.....	2,701	48,339	44,990
Ohio.....	23	170,874	187,497	28,126	23	231,610	187,232	11,405	12,194
Oregon.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	27	230,710	147,510	82,175	27	268,030	16,765	178,871	12,776
Rhode Island.....	4	6,680	11,467	1,675	4	12,244	7,707	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	8*	.....	.....	.....	8*	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	12	73,638	.....	66,178	12	.....	11,350	64,709	69,274
Texas.....	4	31,169	.....	15,639	4	.....	.....	47,548	15,438
Vermont.....	5	10,569	39,561	545	5	33,808	6,849	218	1,969
Virginia.....	15	89,706	291	60,310	15	1,929	16,290	74,323	74,681
West Virginia.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	5	52,843	66,090	579	5	86,110	65,021	888	161
Totals for C'dt's	296	1,838,169	1,341,264	874,534	303	1,866,352	1,375,157	845,763	589,581
Total Popular.....	4,053,967				4,676,853				

*Electors elected by the State legislature.

†Vacancies, States being in rebellion.

‡Not counted.

§ Three out of the eleven votes not counted.

§ Vacancies.

¶ Had all the States voted in 1864 the Electoral vote would have been 314.

¶ Had all the States voted in 1868 the Electoral vote would have been 317.

‡ Scattering, includes the votes of the anti-Masonic and American Alliance tickets.

RESULTS OF NATIONAL CONTESTS—*Continued.*

1864.			1868.			1872.		
POPULAR VOTE.			POPULAR VOTE.			POPULAR VOTE.		
ELECTORS	A. Lincoln, Republican.	G. B. McClellan, Democratic.	ELECTORS	U. S. Grant, Republican.	H. Seymour, Democratic.	ELECTORS	U. S. Grant, Republican.	Horace Greeley, Dem. & Lib. Rep.
+	.....	.....	8	76,366	72,088	10	90,272	79,444
5	62,134	43,841	5	22,112	19,078	6	41,373	37,927
6	44,691	42,285	5	54,583	54,077	6	54,020	40,718
3	8,155	8,767	6	50,995	47,952	6	50,638	45,880
+	.....	.....	3	7,623	10,980	3	11,115	10,206
16	189,496	158,730	3*	.....	.....	4	17,763	15,427
13	150,422	130,233	9	57,134	102,722	11	62,550	76,356
8	89,075	49,596	16	250,303	199,143	21	241,944	184,938
3	16,441	3,691	13	176,548	166,980	15	186,147	163,632
11	27,786	64,301	8	120,399	74,040	11	131,566	71,196
7	61,803	44,211	3	31,048	13,990	5	67,048	32,970
7	40,153	32,739	11	39,566	115,890	12	88,766	99,955
12	126,742	48,745	7	33,263	80,225	8	71,663	57,029
8	91,521	74,604	7	70,493	42,460	7	61,422	29,087
4	25,060	17,375	7	30,438	32,357	8	66,760	67,687
+	.....	.....	12	136,477	59,408	13	133,472	59,260
11	72,750	31,678	8	128,550	97,069	11	138,455	78,355
3	9,826	6,594	4	43,545	28,075	5	55,117	34,423
5	36,400	32,871	8	.....	.....	8	82,175	47,288
7	60,723	68,024	11	86,860	65,628	15	119,196	151,454
33	368,735	361,986	3	9,729	5,439	3	18,329	7,812
+	.....	.....	3	6,480	5,218	3	8,413	6,236
21	265,154	205,568	5	38,191	31,224	5	37,168	31,424
3	9,888	8,457	7	80,131	83,001	9	91,656	76,456
26	296,391	276,316	33	419,883	429,883	35	440,736	387,281
4	13,692	8,470	9	96,769	84,601	10	94,769	70,094
+	.....	.....	21	280,223	238,606	22	281,852	244,321
5	42,419	13,321	3	10,961	11,125	3	11,819	7,730
+	.....	.....	26	342,280	313,382	29	349,589	212,041
5	23,152	10,438	4	12,993	6,548	4	13,665	5,329
8	83,458	65,884	6	62,301	45,237	7	72,290	22,703
293	2,216,067	1,808,725	10	56,628	26,129	12	85,655	94,391
	4,024,792		8	44,167	12,045	8	47,406	66,500
			5	.....	.....	5	41,481	10,927
			5	29,175	20,306	11	93,468	91,654
			8	108,857	84,707	5	32,315	29,451
						10	104,997	86,477
			294	3,015,071	2,709,613	366	3,597,070	2,834,079
								29,408
								5,608
								6,466,165

³ Returning Board's count, Nov. 28, 1876. A majority of 94 to 1,197 was claimed for Tilden by the Democrats, and the opinion of the Supreme Court of Florida gave Tilden 94 majority.

⁴ Returning Board's count. The figures on the face of the returns, when opened by the Board, are claimed to have been: Tilden, 82,326; Hayes, 77,023. Tilden's majority 5,303.

⁵ Of the scattering votes, 10,305 were cast for Neal Dow, "Prohibition"

RESULTS OF NATIONAL CONTESTS.—Continued.

1876.						1880.					
POPULAR VOTE.						POPULAR VOTE.					
ELECTORS.	S. J. Tilden, Democratic.	R. B. Hayes, Republican.	Peter Cooper, Greenback.	G. C. Smith, Temperance.	Scattering	ELECTORS.	J. A. Garfield, Republican.	W. S. Hancock, Democratic.	J. B. Weaver, Greenback.	Scattering	
10	102,002	68,230	.....	.....	.....	10	56,178	90,687	4,642	.....
6	58,071	38,669	289	.....	.....	6	41,661	60,489	4,079	.....
6	76,465	79,269	47	.....	19	6	80,348	80,426	3,392	.....
3	*	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	27,450	24,646	1,435	.....
6	61,934	59,034	774	378	36	6	67,073	64,417	868	412	
3	15,351	10,752	.....	.....	.....	3	14,150	15,183	.....	.....
4	22,923	23,849	.....	.....	.....	4	23,654	27,964	.....	.....
11	130,088	50,446	.....	.....	.....	11	52,648	102,522	481	.....
21	258,601	278,232	17,233	141	286	21	318,037	277,321	26,358	596	
15	213,526	208,011	9,533	.....	.....	15	232,164	225,528	12,986	.....
11	112,099	171,327	9,001	36	.....	11	183,904	105,845	32,327	630	
5	37,902	78,322	7,778	110	23	5	121,520	59,789	19,710	.....
12	159,690	97,156	1,944	818	.....	12	101,550	147,999	11,498	257	
8	70,508	75,135	.....	.....	.....	8	37,994	65,310	439	.....
7	49,823	66,300	663	.....	.....	7	74,039	65,171	4,408	235	
8	91,780	71,981	33	10	.....	8	78,515	93,706	818	.....
13	108,777	150,063	779	84	.....	13	165,205	111,960	4,548	799	
11	141,095	166,534	9,060	766	71	11	185,190	131,300	34,795	1,156	
5	48,799	72,962	2,311	72	.....	5	93,903	53,315	3,267	286	
8	112,173	52,605	.....	.....	.....	8	34,854	75,750	5,797	677	
15	203,077	145,029	3,498	64	97	15	153,567	208,609	35,045	.....
3	17,554	31,916	2,320	1,599	117	3	54,979	23,523	3,853	.....
3	9,308	10,383	.....	.....	.....	3	8,732	9,611	.....	.....
5	38,509	41,539	76	.....	.....	5	44,832	40,794	528	189	
9	115,962	103,517	712	43	.....	9	120,555	122,565	2,617	191	
35	521,949	489,207	1,987	2,359	1,828	35	555,544	534,511	12,373	2,177	
10	125,427	108,417	.....	.....	.....	10	115,878	121,204	1,136	.....
22	323,182	330,698	3,057	1,636	76	22	375,048	340,821	6,456	2,642	
3	14,149	15,206	510	.....	.....	3	20,619	19,948	249	.....
29	366,158	384,122	7,187	1,319	83	29	444,704	407,428	20,668	1,983	
4	10,712	15,787	68	60	.....	4	18,195	10,779	236	25	
7	90,906	91,870	.....	.....	.....	7	58,071	112,312	566	7	
12	133,166	89,566	.....	.....	.....	12	107,677	128,191	5,916	43	
8	104,755	44,800	.....	.....	.....	8	57,845	156,228	27,405	.....
5	20,254	44,092	.....	.....	.....	5	45,090	18,181	1,212	110	
11	139,670	95,558	.....	.....	.....	11	84,020	127,976	139	.....
5	56,455	42,698	1,373	.....	.....	5	46,243	57,391	9,079	.....
10	123,927	130,668	1,509	27	.....	10	144,397	114,634	7,980	161	
369	4,284,757	4,033,950	81,740	9,522	2,636	369	4,449,053	4,442,035	307,306	12,576	
8,412,605						9,204,428					

candidate for President, and 707 votes for John W. Phelps, "American" or Anti-Secret-Society candidate.

³ The Electoral vote of Georgia was cast irregularly, on the 2d Wednesday of December, instead of the first Wednesday, as required by Act of Congress. In the count of the Electoral vote Feb. 9, 1881, Congress declared Hancock to have received 155 votes, if Georgia were counted, and 144 votes if not counted; that in either case Garfield had received a majority of the votes and was duly elected.

CITIZENSHIP QUALIFICATIONS.

STATES.	Age.	REQUIREMENTS AS TO CITIZENSHIP.	RESIDENCE IN		REGISTRATION.	EXCLUDED FROM VOTING.
			State.	County. Vol. Pr		
Alabama.	21	Citizens or declared intention	1 year.	3 mos.	Leg. may regulate.	Idiots, Indians, convicted of crime.
Arkansas.	21	Citizens or declared intention	1 year.	6 mos.	Prohib'd as bar to suff.	Idiots, Indians, convicted of crime.
California.	21	Actual citizens.	1 year.	90 days.	Reg. required by law.	Idiots, Indians, convicts, Chinese.
Colorado.	21	Citizens or declared intention	6 mos.	6 mos.	Reg'd by Constitution	Persons in Prison.
Conn.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	6 mos.	Required by law	Those unable to read and convicts.
Delaware.	21	Actual county tax-payers	1 year.	1 mo.	No registration req'd.	Idiots, insane, paupers, criminals.
Florida.	21	U. S. citizens or declared int.	1 year.	6 mos.	Reg'd by Constitution	Idiots, insane, criminals, duellists, etc.
Georgia.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	6 mos.	Leg. may regu., no act	Idiots, insane, criminals, non-taxpay'rs.
Illinois.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	90 days.	Required by law	Convicts.
Indiana.	21	Citizens or declared intention	6 mos.	30 days.	No law for registrati'n	Fraudulent voters and bribers.
Iowa.	21	Actual citizens	6 mos.	60 days.	Required by law	Idiots, insane, criminals.
Kansas.	21	Citizens or declared intention	6 mos.	30 days.	Reg'd in cities only	Idiots, insane, convicts, rebels.
Kentucky.	21	Free white male citizens.	2 years.	1 year.	No registration req'd.	Bribery, robbery, forgery, etc.
Louisiana.	21	Citizens or declared intention	1 year.	6 mos.	Leg. may regulate.	Idiots, insane, criminals.
Maine.	21	Actual citizens	3 mos.	30 days.	Required by law	Idiots, insane, criminals.
Maryland.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	6 mos.	Reg'd by Constitution	Paupers, Indians not taxed.
Mass.	21	Citizens	1 year.	6 mos.	Required by law	Lunatics, convicts and guilty of bribery.
Michigan.	21	Citizens or declared intention	3 mos.	10 days.	Required by law	Paupers, persons under guardians, etc.
Minnesota.	21	Citizens or declared intention	4 mos.	10 days.	Required by law	Duellists.
Mississippi.	21	Actual citizens	6 mos.	1 mo.	Required by law	Idiots, insane, convicts.
Missouri.	21	Citizens or declared intention	1 year.	60 days.	Reg'd by Constitution	Idiots, insane, criminals.
Nebraska.	21	Citizens or declared intention	6 mos.	30 days.	Reg'd by Con. in cities	Inmates of asylums, poor-houses, etc.
Nevada.	21	Citizens or declared intention	6 mos.	30 days.	Required by law	Idiots, convicts, U. S. army.
N. Hamp.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	5 mos.	Reg'd by Constitution	Idiots, insane, convicts.
N. Jersey.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	4 mos.	Reg'd in cities of 10000	Paupers, idiots, insane, convicts.
New York.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	30 days.	Reg'd in cities of 10000	Election bettors or bribers, convicts.
N. Carolina.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	90 days.	Reg'd by Constitution	Convicts.
Ohio.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	6 mos.	No registration req'd.	Idiots, insane.
Oregon.	21	Citizens or declared intention	6 mos.	2 mos.	Reg'd by Constitution	Idiots, insane, convicts, U. S. army, etc.
Penn.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	T'n 6m.	Required by law	Non-taxpayers, political bribers.
R. Island.	21	Actual tax-paying citizens	1 year.	T'n 6m.	Required by law	Persons without property to value of \$134
S. Carolina.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	60 days.	Reg'd by Constitution	Insane, inmates of asylums, prisons, etc.
Tennessee.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	6 mos.	No registration req'd.	Non-payers of poll-tax.
Texas.	21	Citizens or declared intention	1 year.	6 mos.	Prohibit'd by Const'n	Lunatics, idiots, paupers, convicts, etc.
Vermont.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	1 year.	Required by law	Bribers.
Virginia.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	T'n 3m.	Required by law	Lunatics, idiots, convicts, duellists, etc.
W. Va.	21	Actual citizens	1 year.	60 days.	Prohibit'd by Const'n	Lunatics, paupers, convicts.
Wisconsin.	21	Citizens or declared intention	1 year.	1 year.	Required by law	Insane, idiots, convicts, bribers, etc.

NOTE.—All the 38 States unit suffrage to male citizens, but in Cal., Mass. and some other States women may vote at school elections.

